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JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

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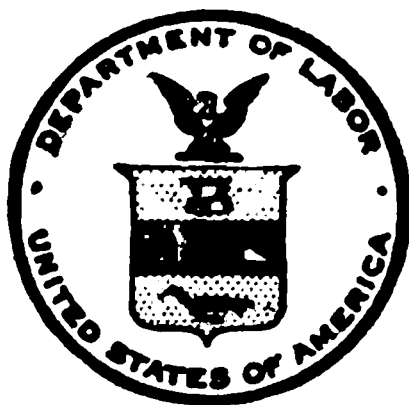
JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

PHYSICAL STANDARDS FOR WORKING CHILDREN

**PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED
BY THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR TO FORMULATE STANDARDS OF NORMAL
DEVELOPMENT AND SOUND HEALTH FOR THE USE OF
PHYSICIANS IN EXAMINING CHILDREN ENTERING EM-
PLOYMENT AND CHILDREN AT WORK**

CONFERENCE SERIES No. 4

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Gen.
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O.S. Smith,

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, May 25, 1921.

SIR: I transmit herewith a report on Physical Standards for Working Children. This report is the result of a motion unanimously carried at a session of the Children's Bureau Conferences on Standards of Child Welfare to the effect that the Children's Bureau appoint a committee to formulate definite standards of normal development and sound health for the use of physicians in examining children applying for work permits. The following physicians consented to serve on the committee:

Dr. George P. Barth, Director of School Hygiene, City Health Department, Milwaukee, Wis., *Chairman*.

Dr. Emma M. Appel, Employment Certificate Department, Chicago Board of Education.

Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Chief, Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City.

Dr. Taliaferro Clark, representing the United States Public Health Service.

Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Dean, Normal School of Physical Education, Battle Creek, Mich.

Dr. D. L. Edsall, Dean, Harvard Medical School.

Dr. George W. Goler, Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.

Dr. Harry Linenthal, Industrial Clinic, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Mass.

Dr. H. H. Mitchell, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Dr. Anna E. Rude, Director, Hygiene Division, United States Children's Bureau.

Dr. Thomas B. Wood, Chairman of Committee on Health Problems and Education, Columbia University.

Miss E. N. Matthews, Director of the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau has acted as secretary to the committee.

The bureau wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to the members of the committee who have given generously of their time, enthusiasm, and technical knowledge. Thanks are due also the many physicians, State labor officials, local certificate-issuing officers, and others, whose criticisms and suggestions have been especially helpful in adapting to practical use the record form recommended by the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief*.

JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

Legal requirements for physical examinations¹ of children going to work—January 1, 1921.

(Examinations to determine age not included.)

¹ Required for issuance of regular employment certificates.

● The law does not specifically demand an employment certificate, but if obtained it is prima facie evidence that child is of legal age for employment.

* Examination mandatory in Milwaukee by order of State Industrial Commission.

† Previous record of school physician showing child sound in health may be accepted as substitute.

PHYSICAL STANDARDS FOR WORKING CHILDREN.

FOREWORD.

The child who goes to work between 14 and 18 years of age is in need of special protection if he is to arrive at maturity with good health and a vigorous and well-developed body. During these years he is passing through the most critical period of his physical development, when his body must meet the unusual demands of rapid growth and physiological readjustment. If at the same time he is subjected to the mental and physical strain of occupational life, the burden upon his immature physique is a double one, and special precautions are necessary if normal growth and development are not to be endangered. Prohibiting the employment of children in certain occupations generally recognized as injurious to health is an important but obviously limited means of affording protection. Raising the minimum age for entrance upon any employment offers only a partial solution of the problem. A tendency to keep children out of industry until they are at least 16 years of age is becoming apparent in child labor laws, but even with 16 years as a minimum age, large numbers of young persons will continue to go to work before their physical growth is completed and will stand in need of protection if they are to reach normal development. An effective means of protecting the health of children at work lies in the adoption of standards of physical fitness which all children entering employment are required by law to meet.

TYPES OF LEGISLATION.

The first attempts to protect the health of employed children through direct legal provisions took the form of laws giving factory inspectors or other law-enforcing officials power to require physical examinations of children found at work who appeared to be physically unfit for employment. Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, and New York were among the States enacting legislation of this type. A number of these early laws are still on the statute books, and a few States have in recent years passed laws of the same type,¹ but generally powers of this kind are not so exercised as to protect any considerable number of children from the strain of too early or inappropriate labor. This is due not only to the inherent weakness

¹ See Appendix, p. 22.

of a mere permissive regulation, but also to the fact that the unfitness of a child for his work is seldom so apparent as to force itself upon the attention of an official—usually not a physician—whose inspection duties cover far more than the child-labor provisions of the law. The next form of legal provision permitted the certificate-issuing officer to require a child who did not appear to be in fit physical condition for work to be examined by a physician before he could secure an employment certificate. Ten States² and the District of Columbia now have permissive laws of this type, and though in a few instances they may be so enforced as to require practically every child going to work to be passed upon by a physician, they have the serious disadvantage of depending for their effectiveness upon the degree of interest evidenced by each one of a large number of enforcing officials, who are in most States practically unsupervised by any central authority and who in many cases do not realize the importance of this phase of their work.

The mandatory requirement of a physical examination for every child securing an employment certificate, now found in the laws of 18 States,³ represents the third step in the development of the legal protection of the health of working children. In some of these States the child must be examined with reference to the particular kind of work which he is to do and must obtain a new certificate of physical fitness whenever he goes from one employer to another. But a child fitted for one occupation may be transferred by his first employer to an entirely different kind of work for which he is not at all fitted, and he may stay with his first employer until he passes the certificate age. It is thus obvious that even requiring a certificate of physical fitness for the issuance of every employment certificate and a new employment certificate every time a child changes employers does not give an opportunity for adequate and uniform health supervision of employed children.

No State has as yet advanced to the next stage—examination of every working child at regular intervals during the years when he is peculiarly susceptible to the strains of industry in order to determine whether the work at which he is engaged is injuring him or interfering with his growth.⁴ The laws of 20 States,⁴ moreover, still

² See Appendix, pp. 19-21.

³ An exceptionally good opportunity for putting into effect an adequate program of health supervision of working children is furnished by the compulsory continuation school laws now in force in 22 States, which keep still under the control of the school authorities children who have left the all-day schools to enter industry by requiring them to spend a certain number of their working hours in classes specially provided for them. These States are Arizona, California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. All except four have provisions requiring schools to be established and children to attend under certain specified conditions. These four are Indiana, where local school authorities may establish schools and require attendance; and Kentucky, Ohio, and Washington, where certain groups of children must attend if schools are established, but there are no compulsory provisions for establishment.

⁴ See Appendix, pp. 19-21.

make no provision at all for a physical examination even when the child first goes to work.

The most comprehensive type of law now found requires that a child be of normal development, in sound health, and physically qualified for the occupation in which he is to engage, and stipulates that the examination shall be made and the certificate of physical fitness granted by a physician who is officially connected with some public department, usually the public-school system or the board of health, but in some cases the department enforcing the child-labor laws. In order that the physician may judge the child's fitness for his intended work, the latter is required to bring a promise of employment signed by the prospective employer and stating the occupation in which he is to be engaged.

STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION.

Even where provisions which might go far toward protecting the health of employed children are found on the statute books, inadequate appropriations and a failure to recognize the importance of the physical requirement are responsible for inadequate administration. The first examination is in many cases hurried and superficial rather than thorough. Reexaminations when the child goes from one employer to another, required under the laws of a few States and possible, at least, in most of the States where the first examination is mandatory,⁵ are either omitted or only perfunctorily given. In States where the law is permissive, issuing officers seldom take full advantage of their power to require examinations.

The procedure followed in making physical examinations of children applying for employment certificates is usually determined by the policy of each individual issuing office, but in a few States, among which are Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania, a uniform blank for recording the results of the examination is in use. These forms, which are prescribed by the State board responsible for the enforcement of the child labor law, specify the points which should be covered by the physician's examination, and in some States they are supplemented by detailed instructions. In certain cities the local officials in charge of issuing certificates have devised special forms and have attempted to develop standard methods of procedure.

One of the most usual forms of physician's certificate does not furnish in any sense a record of the examination, since it contains merely the bare statement required by law that the child has been examined and has been found in sufficiently sound health and physically fit for the work which he intends to do. Among the forms which do attempt to furnish a record of the results of the

⁵ See Appendix, pp. 21-22.

examination, wide variation in details is found. Some require entries of only a few of the outstanding facts about the child's physical condition, under such items as: Ears, eyes, teeth, throat, chest development, height, weight, vaccinated, malnutrition, heart action. Others go into great detail as to the points to be covered by the examination, in effect instructing the physician as to exactly what indications he should look for, and what methods he should use in examining each child. Such a form serves the double purpose of preserving a record of the child's physical condition and of insuring at least a certain degree of thoroughness as well as of uniformity where any conscientious attempt is made to make the practice conform to that obviously demanded by the record blank.

Even where directions are issued and forms are used, the examinations in practice vary widely. No form can be more than a guide and a reminder; its use can not make certain that a child will be thoroughly or scientifically examined, but a form which is properly arranged and adequate for its purpose greatly increases the probability of such examinations.

The object of the physical examination is obviously to prevent children from going to work in unsuitable occupations, or from going to work at all if they are not in a fit condition to do so. The key to its actual value to the child, therefore, is found in the standards set for the granting of a certificate of physical fitness. This standard varies probably fully as much as the standard of the examinations themselves, becoming more exacting the more thorough the examination. As would be expected, the more definite standards are found in offices where specially devised record forms are used—these forms, in fact, being in many cases accompanied by detailed instructions as to the defects for which children must be permanently refused or temporarily refused until such defects are corrected.

COMMITTEE ON PHYSICAL STANDARDS.

The difficulties in the way of adequate enforcement of the physical provisions of child labor laws are recognized as due to a large extent to the lack of definite standards and of uniformity in procedure. "Sound health" and "normal development" are not defined in the laws, and physical fitness for a specific occupation can not be determined unless precise and definite knowledge of occupations and their effect on the growth of the body and on the health of the child is available.

At the Children's Bureau Conferences on Standards of Child Welfare (May and June, 1919) considerable attention was devoted to the subject of physical standards,⁶ and the following physical minimum

⁶ Standards of Child Welfare, A Report of the Children's Bureau Conferences May and June, 1919, pp. 86-97. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 60.

was adopted as a part of the minimum standards for children entering employment:⁷

A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be annual physical examinations of all working children who are under 18 years of age.

Acting on a proposal made by members of the Conference who realized that such a standard could not be adequately applied until it was more carefully defined, the Children's Bureau appointed a committee of physicians whose task it was to formulate definite standards of normal development and physical fitness for the use of medical examiners in making physical examinations of children applying for employment certificates, and also of working children. Following its first meeting in January, 1920, the committee prepared a preliminary report and a tentative record form, which were sent for criticism and suggestions to State labor officials, local certificate issuing officers, examining physicians, and others interested in physical standards for working children. The record form was also tried out in several cities. In the light of suggestions and criticisms received from these sources, this preliminary report was revised at the second meeting of the committee, January, 1921, and submitted to the Children's Bureau. It is expected that from time to time the report will be revised to embody the results of further scientific research and practical experience in this field.

⁷ Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919, pp. 3-5. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PHYSICAL STANDARDS FOR WORKING CHILDREN.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. Age minimum for entrance into industry.

The minimum age for the entrance of children into industry should be not younger than sixteen years. Since it is recognized that the physiological and psychological readjustments incident to pubescence (which in the vast majority of cases are not completed until the sixteenth year) determine a period of general instability which makes great and special demands upon the vitality of the child, it is of paramount importance that he should be protected during this period from the physical and nervous strain which entrance into industry inevitably entails. The committee recognizes the fact that pubescence may occur early or may be very greatly delayed, and is convinced that the longer it is delayed the stronger is the indication of a physical stage during which it is highly inappropriate to subject the child to the strains of industry.

2. Physical minimum for entrance into industry.

No child between the ages of sixteen and eighteen should be permitted to go to work who is not of normal development for his age, of sound health and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

3. Physical examinations for children entering industry.

The physical fitness of children entering industry should be determined by means of a thorough physical examination conducted by a public medical officer appointed for this purpose. Where possible all examinations should be made without clothing. Before such a physical examination is made, the child should present a definite promise of employment in writing from his intended employer, stating the specific occupation at which he is to be employed.

4. Reexaminations for children changing occupations.

The employment certificate should not be given to the child, but sent by mail to the employer. When a child leaves the specific employment for which the certificate was issued, the employer should return the permit to the issuing officer by mail. With each change of employer another examination should be made before the child is again permitted to work, the mode of procedure to be the same as in the issuance of the original permit. When a child is transferred to any

occupation in the same establishment differing in its physical demands and hazards from those common to the occupation for which the permit has been issued, this must be communicated by the employer to the issuing officer in writing, and a new physical examination of the child made and a new certificate issued.

5. Periodical reexaminations for all working children.

All employed children up to the age of eighteen should have at least one yearly physical examination, to be made by a public medical officer appointed for this purpose. Whenever in the judgment of the medical examiner more frequent examinations are desirable, the child should be ordered to report at stated intervals for this purpose. These examinations should take place in the certificate issuing office, in the continuation school, or in the establishment in which the child is employed.

6. Centralized control of methods of examination.

In order to insure uniformity in methods of examination in each State the State labor or other department administering the child labor law should have authority to make rules and regulations relative to methods of examination and qualifications of examining physicians, to prescribe record forms, and to require reports with reference to examinations made. Each such department should employ one or more physicians qualified in industrial hygiene, who shall be authorized and required to supervise the work of the local examining physicians.

7. Desirability of physical examinations of children during school and preschool period.

Many of the physical defects found in children applying for work permits could easily have been discovered and cured, or prevented altogether, by proper examination and treatment during the child's school life, or even earlier. The committee therefore urges the necessity for the provision of adequate facilities for medical examination and treatment of all children of school and preschool age.

8. Need of study by local administrative and medical officers of occupations in which children are employed and of their effect upon health.

Occupations in which children are likely to be employed should be made the subject of special study for the purpose of ascertaining their physical requirements and their effect upon the health and development of the growing child. The examining physician should be authorized and required to visit periodically industrial establishments and to familiarize himself with conditions of employment and with the various health hazards of industry.

9. Need of authoritative scientific investigation.

The committee recognizes the impossibility of formulating definite physical standards for children in industry which will be complete and finally authoritative without a great deal of further scientific study of the effect of different kinds of work upon the health and physique of the adolescent child.

Research is especially needed with reference to:

- a. The rate of growth and development of children employed in different occupations and industries as compared with children not in industry.
- b. Morbidity among children employed in different occupations and industries as compared with children not in industry.
- c. Mortality among children employed in different occupations and industries as compared with children not in industry.
- d. Fatigue in children employed in different occupations and industries.
- e. Effect of employment in specific occupations at different stages of physiological development upon the growth and health of:
 - (1) Normal children.
 - (2) Children with certain physical defects (such as compensated cardiac disease or with orthopedic defects) or with a personal or family history indicating predisposition to certain diseases.
- f. Effect of employment in specific occupations upon the menstrual function and pelvic organs of adolescent girls and young women.
- g. Types of work desirable for:
 - (1) Children and young persons with some mental defect who, nevertheless, are able to fulfill the educational requirements necessary to obtain an employment certificate.
 - (2) Children and young persons who are suffering from certain physical handicaps, such as the partially disabled child and the child with seriously impaired vision or hearing.
- h. Industries and occupations in which children are customarily employed with special reference to health hazards.

NOTE.—Material for at least the greater number of such studies might effectively and economically be secured from the records of examinations made in the public schools and in connection with the issuance of employment certificates in States where reexaminations are required. It is, therefore, urged that all such examinations be scientifically and thoroughly made and that methods and record forms be standardized so as to be statistically comparable.

10. Certain tentative minimum standards obtainable from results of scientific research already available.

While recognizing the necessity of further study, the committee is of the opinion that the results of scientific research already available, together with the experience acquired in the administration of laws prescribing physical requirements for admission to industry, permit the recommendation at the present time of certain tentative minimum standards. The acceptance of these standards will aid materially in safeguarding the physical welfare of the child obliged to enter industry before reaching his full development.

MINIMUM STANDARDS OF PHYSICAL FITNESS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING AND WORKING IN INDUSTRY.

1. Standards of normal development.

- a. Certificates should be refused to children who do not come up to the following minimum standards of height and weight for specified age, which are based on the most reliable experience and present-day practice. (Since at the present time children under 16 may be legally employed in a considerable number of States, minimum standards of height and weight are furnished for children 14 and 15, as well as 16, years of age.)

Age.	Weight (in clothing). ¹	Height.
14	80 pounds.	58 inches.
15	85 pounds.	58 inches.
16	90 pounds.	59 inches.

¹ When children are weighed without clothing, not more than 5 pounds should be allowed for clothing.

In exceptional cases, a child who falls below the prescribed minimum of height or weight may, however, be granted a certificate if, after examination by two physicians, it is found that this condition is a family or a racial characteristic, and that he is free from any other defects which would justify the refusal of the certificate.

- b. Certificates should be refused to children who do not show unmistakable signs of puberty.

2. Standards of sound health and physical fitness for employment.

- a. Certificates should be refused to all children who have the following defects:
 - (1) Cardiac disease, with broken compensation.
 - (2) Pulmonary tuberculosis or other evidence of serious pulmonary disease.

- (3) Active glandular tuberculosis.
- (4) Active tuberculous or syphilitic disease of joints or bones.
- (5) Total blindness. (Unless no further educational facilities can be provided for such children.)
- (6) Total deafness. (Unless no further educational facilities can be provided for such children.)
- (7) Trachoma.
- (8) Chorea.
- (9) Syphilides.
- (10) Hyperthyroidism.
- (11) Acute or subacute nephritis.
- (12) Hookworm.

All children who are refused employment certificates because of physical defects as noted under "a" should be referred to some appropriate person or agency for whatever medical or other assistance they need.

b. Certificates should be refused to all children pending correction of all serious remediable defects, such as:

- (1) Defective vision subject to correction by glasses.
- (2) Contagious eye and skin diseases.
- (3) Defective teeth: extraction or prophylactic care needed.
- (4) Malnutrition requiring supervision or medical attention and not under treatment.
- (5) Untreated inguinal or femoral hernia.
- (6) Diseased tonsils.
- (7) Defective nasal breathing requiring correction and not under treatment.
- (8) Discharging ears not under treatment.
- (9) Orthopedic defects not under treatment.
- (10) Intestinal parasites (other than hookworm) not under treatment.

All children who are temporarily refused employment certificates because of the existence of physical defects as outlined under "b" should be referred to the care of a public medical officer, school physician, family physician, or school nurse, who should make every effort to see that the necessary medical treatment or other care is secured for the child. As soon as such treatment has been completed, or the defect has been corrected, the issuance of the employment certificate may be recommended.

c. Provisional certificates for a period of not more than three months may be issued on recommendation of the medical examiner under the following conditions:

- (1) Where treatment has been started but not completed, in such cases as:
 - (a) Defective teeth.
 - (b) Malnutrition.
 - (c) Orthopedic defects.
 - (d) Defective nasal breathing.
 - (e) Discharging ears.
 - (f) Intestinal parasites (other than hookworm).
- (2) Partial blindness.
- (3) Partial deafness.
- (4) Other defects (not specified under "a" and "b") which in the opinion of the medical examiner require supervision.

Children receiving provisional certificates shall be reexamined at the expiration of the provisional certificate, or at such intervals as the examining physician may deem necessary. If in the opinion of the examining physician every conscientious effort has not been made to correct the defect during the provisional period, no new certificate shall be issued until correction has been obtained.

d. All children who, because of their physical condition, or because of their family or previous history, show a tendency to weakness or disease of any organ should be excluded from occupations which would tend to aggravate that tendency.

POINTS TO BE COVERED AND METHODS TO BE EMPLOYED IN PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS.

1. Items for inquiry.

a. Information with reference to the following items should be recorded upon the examination record blank by the issuing officer or his clerk before the child is sent to the physician for examination:

- (1) Age.
- (2) Sex.
- (3) Color.
- (4) Nationality of father.
- (5) Nationality of mother.
- (6) Intended employer.
- (7) Industry.
- (8) Occupation.
- (9) Grade completed.
- (10) Child's previous industrial history.

b. The examining physician should inquire into and record the condition found with reference to the following items:

(1) Significant family history (medical).

(2) Previous illnesses.

(a) Scarlet fever.

(b) Diphtheria.

(c) Infantile paralysis.

(d) Asthma.

(e) Bronchitis, chronic.

(f) Pneumonia.

(g) Pleurisy with effusion.

(h) Chorea.

(i) Epilepsy.

(j) Rheumatism.

(k) Frequent sore throats.

(l) Operations.

(m) Vaccination (against smallpox).

(n) Hospital or dispensary care.

(3) Physical examination—

(a) General physical condition—

Height in inches and fractions.

Weight in pounds and fractions

Nutrition.

Anemia.

Evidence of puberty.

Menses (sp. abnormalities).

(b) Skin—

Parasitic diseases.

Other diseases.

(c) Eyes—

Vision.

Diseases.

(d) Ears—

Hearing.

Diseases.

(e) Mouth—

Dental caries.

Gingivitis.

(f) Nasopharynx—

Nasal obstruction.

Tonsils—enlarged—diseased

(g) Glands—

Enlarged.

Infected.

(3) Physical examination—Continued.**(h) Thyroid—****Goiter, simple—exophthalmic.****(i) Chest—****Deformities.****(j) Lungs—****Abnormal breath sounds.****Abnormal dullness.****Rales.****Respiratory disease.****(k) Heart—****Apex-interspace.****Sounds.****Murmurs.****Pulse rate.****Heart disease.****(l) Abdomen—****Hernia, truss—operation.****Intestinal parasites.****(m) Orthopedic defects.****(n) Nervous system—****Chorea.****Other abnormalities.****(o) Kidneys—****Disease.****(p) Diabetes.**

In making reexaminations, physicians should cover the same points as in the first examination, and in addition should note in detail any changes in physical condition, either improvement or defect, and all diseases or operations the child may have had in the interval between the two examinations.

2. Use of previous examination records.

Records of examinations made by school medical officers during the child's school period should when practicable be made available to physicians making examinations of applicants for work permits.

3. Record card and instructions for use of examining physician.

For the purpose of securing uniformity in administration and in statistical analysis, the committee recommends the use of a uniform record card in all States where the law provides for a certificate of physical fitness for children entering employment.

Three forms of record card were tentatively approved by members of the committee, as follows:

- a. Form 1 providing on the face of the card for a record of the first examination only. Space on back of original form may be used for records of reexaminations. (5 by 8 card.)
- b. Form 2 providing on the face of the card for a record of the original examination and three reexaminations. (8 by 10 card.)
- c. Form 3 providing for a record of the original examination and three reexaminations, similar in detail to Form 2, except that both sides of the blank are used, making possible a smaller sized card. (5 by 8 card.)

It was finally agreed by the majority of the committee that Form 2 appeared to offer the smallest number of difficulties in administration and that it should therefore be the form printed in this preliminary report and thus made available for general distribution. Unprinted copies of Forms 1 and 3 have been submitted by the committee to the Children's Bureau, with the suggestion that they be made available to any interested persons upon request.⁸

⁸ State and city officials and other interested persons may obtain copies of these forms upon application to the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Reserve for
Statistical
Use

STATE:

CITY OR TOWN:

5. COL.: W. C. Oth (sp.) 6. GR.:

1. NAME:

NATIONALITY: 7. Faith
10. PREVIOUS ILLNES

epilepsy—Rheumatism—Frequent Sore Throats—
Care (sp.)

Reexaminations

on

First

Second

Third

11. Intended Job (No. on Ind

12. Date of Examination

13. Date of Birth

14. Age

GEN. PHYS. CONDITION

15. Height

16. Weight

17. Nutrition

18. Anemia

19. Evidence of Puberty

20. Menses (sp. abnorm.)

SKIN: 21. Parasitic Disease

22. Other Diseases (sp.)

EYES: 23. Vision

24. Diseases (sp.)

EARS: 25. Hearing

26. Disease (sp.)

MOUTH: 27. Dental Caries

28. Gingivitis

NASOPHARYNX: 29. Na

30. Tonsils

GLANDS: 31. Enlarged (sp)

32. Infected (sp.)

33. Thyroid: Goiter

CHEST: 34. Deformities (s

LUNGS: 35. Abn. brth. sou

36. Abnormal dullness (sp)

. Op.

Y. N. Tr. Op.

Y. N. Tr. Op.

Y. N. Tr. Op.

Employment

No.
of
Job

Kind and No.
of Certif.

ed

Length

Y.

M.

D.

Remarks

1.

2.

3.

4.

APPENDIX

LAWS RELATING TO PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS FOR EMPLOYMENT (JAN. 1, 1921).

EXAMINATION BY PHYSICIAN BEFORE CHILD GOES TO WORK.

[This summary shows the requirements for the issuance of regular employment certificates only, special permits, such as those granted on account of poverty, being omitted. Since an employment certificate is not always required for all occupations in which a child may legally be engaged, these requirements may not by any means affect all children entering industry. Examinations to determine age are not considered here.]

State.	Requirement of examination.	Examining physician.	Physician certifies to—
Alabama.....	Mandatory.....	Public-school physician or regularly licensed physician in good standing.	1. Good physical development for age. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
Arizona.....	do.....	Medical officer of board or department of health, or physician appointed by school committee.	1. Normal development. 2. Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Arkansas.....	[No provision]...		
California.....	Mandatory.....	Physician appointed by school board or other public medical officer.	1. Normal development. 2. Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Colorado.....	[No provision]...		
Connecticut.....	Mandatory.....	Physician designated by State board of education.	1. — 2. Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. ical fitness for intended work. ¹ [Certificate shall also indicate kind of work suited to the child.]
Delaware.....	do.....	Physician designated by labor commission.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
Dist. of Columbia...	Optional ²	[None specified (choice apparently left to issuing officer).]	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Florida.....	do.....	Medical officer of board or department of health or the county physician.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Georgia.....	[No provision]...		
Idaho.....	do.....		
Illinois.....	Mandatory.....	Physician appointed by municipal health department, or by board of education or other local school authority.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
Indiana.....	[No provision]...		
Iowa.....	Mandatory.....	Medical inspector of schools or physician appointed by board of education.	1. Normal development. 2. Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Kansas.....	[No provision]...		
Kentucky.....	Mandatory.....	Public-health officer or physician appointed by board of education.	1. Normal development. 2. Good health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
Louisiana.....	[No provision]...		
Maine.....	Optional ²	School physician or medical officer of board of health.	1. Normal development. 2. Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. ical fitness for intended work. ²

NOTE.—See footnotes on p. 21.

EXAMINATION BY PHYSICIAN BEFORE CHILD GOES TO WORK—Contd.

State.	Requirement of examination.	Examining physician.	Physician certifies to—
Maryland.....	Mandatory.....	Physician appointed by issuing officer. ⁶	1. Normal development. 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Massachusetts.....	.....do.....	School or family physician or physician appointed by school committee.	1. — 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Michigan.....	Optional ²	Medical officer of board or department of health.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
Minnesota.....	Mandatory.....	Physician designated by school board.	1. Normal development. 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Mississippi.....	[No provision].....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	Optional ²	Medical officer of board or department of health or regularly licensed physician.	1. Normal development. 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for intended work. ¹
Montana.....	[No provision].....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	Optional ²	Physician provided by State department of labor.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Nevada.....	[No provision].....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	Mandatory.....	Medical officer of board of health or physician designated by school board.	1. Normal development. 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for intended work. ²
New Jersey.....	.....do.....	Medical inspector employed by board of education.	1. Normal development. 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for any occupation in which child may legally engage. ¹
New Mexico.....	[No provision].....	.....	.....
New York.....	Mandatory.....	Medical officer of local board or department of health.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
North Carolina.....	Optional ² , ³	[None specified].....	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹
North Dakota.....	.....do ²	Medical officer of board or department of health.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Ohio.....	Mandatory ²	School physician, physician of board of health, or physician appointed by school board.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for any occupation in which child may legally engage. ¹
Oklahoma.....	Optional ²	Medical officer of board or department of health.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Oregon.....	.....do.....	[None specified (choice apparently left to issuing officer).]	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Pennsylvania.....	Mandatory.....	Physician "approved" by board of school directors.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ²
Rhode Island.....	.....do.....	In Providence either of 2 physicians appointed by State commissioner of public schools; elsewhere physician to whom child is sent by issuing officer.	1. — 2. { Sufficiently sound health and phys- 3. { ical fitness for any occupation in which he may legally engage. ¹
South Carolina.....	[No provision].....	.....	.....
South Dakota.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	.....do.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	Mandatory.....	Medical inspector of schools or public-health officer.	1. Normal development. 2. Sound health. 3. Physical fitness for intended work. ¹

NOTE.—See footnotes on p. 21.

EXAMINATION BY PHYSICIAN BEFORE CHILD GOES TO WORK—Contd.

State.	Requirement of examination.	Examining physician.	Physician certifies to—
Wisconsin: Outside Mil- waukee.	Optional ²	[None specified (choice apparently left to issuing officer).]	[Issuing officer ¹⁰ may refuse to grant work permit to child who seems "physically unable to perform the labor" at which he "may be employed," or if best interests of child will be served by such refusal.] ¹
Milwaukee.....	Mandatory.....	Physician of city health department, of the school hygiene department of the city board of education, or any other competent physician.	1. — 2. — 3. Physical fitness "to enter employment subject to the following limitations" (the limitations, if any, to be specified). ¹
Wyoming.....	[No provision]...	.....

¹ Presentation of promise of employment required. [In certain States, this requirement is not specified in the law, but may be implied from the following facts: *Michigan*.—Certificate is to be returned to issuing officer upon termination of employment, and child must report to issuing officer each month, giving name of employer. *Minnesota*.—Issuing officer's monthly report to labor commissioner must show name of employer and nature of work child is to do, and employment certificate is returned to issuing officer upon termination of employment. *New Jersey*.—Employer must notify issuing officer of nature of child's employment within 2 days after employing child, and certificate is returned to issuing officer upon termination of employment.] In North Carolina this requirement is prescribed by the State child-welfare commission.

² Because issuing officer's power to require an examination by a physician is implied from the fact that the law requires him to certify to child's physical condition (*District of Columbia* and *Oregon*); because issuing officer must certify to child's physical condition and is specifically empowered to require examination by physician (*Florida*, *Michigan*, *Missouri*, *Nebraska*, and *North Dakota*); because issuing officer must "be satisfied" as to the child's physical fitness and is empowered to require examination by physician (*Oklahoma*); because issuing officer is empowered to require examination by physician "in doubtful cases" (*Maine*); or because issuing officer (Industrial commission or some person designated by it) may refuse permit to a child who seems physically unable to perform intended work or if in his judgment "the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal" (*Wisconsin*); or because State child-welfare commission, which may prescribe conditions under which employment certificate shall be issued, has authorized issuing officers to require examination by physician if physical condition of child is doubtful (*North Carolina*).

³ Promise of employment not required by law. (But where child must be physically fit for intended work, it might be implied that the issuing officer may demand formal notice of the work child is to do.)

⁴ If specified evidence of age is not available, issuing officer may certify that in his opinion child is over 14 and physically fit for intended work.

⁵ Child at work who appears to factory inspector to be under legal age must obtain from city or parish physician a certificate as to physical fitness to perform work required. As factory inspector is also issuing officer, it is possible that he might require examination before issuance of employment certificate.

⁶ State board of labor and statistics issues employment certificates in Baltimore and branch offices; elsewhere the local school superintendents appoint the examining physicians, who also issue the employment certificates.

⁷ Promise of employment not required by law, but kind of work which child "states he intends to perform" is recorded on employment certificate, and monthly reports from issuing officer to State factory inspector must show prospective employer, "if known," and nature of work in which child intends to engage.

⁸ Employment certificate is not specifically demanded by the law, but, if obtained, it is prima facie evidence that child is of legal age for employment.

⁹ Previous record of school physician showing child sound in health may be accepted as substitute in discretion of issuing officer.

¹⁰ State industrial commission or person appointed by it.

REEXAMINATIONS.**1. Reexamination when child changes employers.**

In Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, and Pennsylvania the law specifically requires a child to be reexamined by a physician whenever he goes from one employer to another. The Maryland and Pennsylvania laws provide further that the employment certificate shall be valid only for the specific occupation for which it is issued, but as the employer is not obligated to return it to the issuing office when he puts the child at another kind of work, this limitation of the certificate to a single occupation in a single establishment is practically unenforceable. Although the express requirement of a reexamination when changing from one employer to another is not found in the laws of any of the 14 remaining States which make the first examination mandatory, there is reasonable ground for believing this to be implied

wherever the law, in addition to requiring a child to be physically fit for the work he intends to do before he can obtain an employment certificate, makes him secure a new promise of employment and a new certificate for each new employer.¹ In any case an opportunity is offered for a reexamination wherever the child must come back to the issuing office for an employment certificate before he goes to work for a new employer (whether he gets a new certificate or merely his old one reissued), and this he is obliged to do in all the States where the original examination is mandatory, except in New York and possibly California and New Hampshire, where the law is ambiguous, and in at least two of the States (Michigan and Wisconsin) where the examination is optional.

2. Periodical reexaminations.

No State law as yet provides for periodical physical examinations of children who have entered upon employment, but in 10 States (Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, and Oklahoma) the factory inspector or some other State official enforcing the labor law is authorized to require a child found at work to secure a certificate of physical fitness from a physician in order to continue in employment. In most of these States this demand may be made only in case a child seems physically unfit for the employment at which he is engaged, but in New York children must submit to such an examination whenever required to do so by a medical inspector of the Industrial Commission, and in Louisiana the provision applies only to children apparently "under legal age." Besides these 10 States, three others (Alabama, Massachusetts, and Mississippi) have laws of this general type. In Alabama the inspectors of the child welfare department, which enforces the child labor law, must remove from an establishment any child with an infectious, contagious, or communicable disease, or whose physical condition makes his continuation at work hazardous to himself. In Massachusetts, inspectors of the State board of labor and industries are directed by law to inform themselves concerning the health of minors employed in factories in their districts, and, whenever they think it advisable or necessary, to call the ill health or physical unfitness of any minor to the attention of his parent, his employer, and the State board. In Mississippi, county health officers must inspect manufacturing establishments and report to the sheriff any child whose physical condition incapacitates him to perform the work required of him, the sheriff being required thereupon to remove the child from the establishment.

3. Reexamination required through issuance of temporary certificates.

In Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the law expressly permits the physician, whenever he deems it advisable, to issue a certificate of physical fitness good only for a limited period, at the end of which the minor must return to the issuing office and submit to reexamination in order to be allowed to continue in employment. In practice such temporary certificates are issued in some States even where this express provision of the law is not found.

¹ These requirements are found in all the mandatory States, except New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and possibly California (law ambiguous).

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.

1. Issuing officers.

In twenty-eight States and the District of Columbia the issuance of employment certificates is placed by law in the hands of local public-school officials,² usually the superintendent of schools or some person designated by him. These States are: Alabama, Arizona, California, Delaware,³ District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico,⁴ North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, and West Virginia. Three other States, while permitting local public-school officials or their appointees to issue certificates, give equal powers to some other person: Arkansas, State Commissioner of Labor and Statistics; Colorado, superintendent or principal of a parochial school; and Kansas, judge of a juvenile court.

States in which the issuance of certificates is to a greater or less degree centralized through being placed under direct control of some State authority are: Connecticut, where the State board of education has entire control of issuance; Maryland, where the State board of labor and statistics must issue certificates in Baltimore and may issue them in other parts of the State;⁵ New Hampshire, where local school officials issue certificates, but the State board of education, through its power to enforce the certificate law, has the work under its control; North Carolina, where the State child-welfare commission, which enforces the child labor law, appoints the issuing officers and prescribes the conditions under which certificates⁶ shall be granted; Oregon, where the State board of inspectors of child labor either itself issues or appoints the issuing officers and directs the work; South Carolina, where the commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industries issues "permits" based upon the parents' affidavits, which are obtained by the employer and forwarded to him; Vermont, where the commissioner of industries alone is empowered to grant certificates; and Wisconsin, where the industrial commission issues certificates in Milwaukee and appoints the issuing officers and supervises their work throughout the State.

Louisiana provides for only a certificate of age, which is granted by the State factory inspector or the New Orleans factory inspector or, if specified evidence of age is not available, by a judge of a juvenile or a district court before whom the parent makes affidavit to the child's age. In Nevada and Washington, the continuation school laws call for permits from the school officials, and the labor laws require also permits from a judge—in Nevada a district judge, and in Washington a superior court judge. In New York, the local boards of health issue the employment certificates. In Texas the only working papers

² Not including New Hampshire, where local public-school authorities issue certificates but are under the supervision of the State board of education.

³ Outside Wilmington, if school official appointed fails or refuses to issue certificates, the Commissioner of Labor may designate some person as issuing officer.

⁴ In New Mexico the employment certificate is not directly demanded by the law as a prerequisite for employment, but the compulsory education law requires attendance at school of all children between 6 and 16 years of age not physically or mentally incapacitated, or living more than 3 miles from a public school, unless they are 14 and excused to enter employment through the issuance of such a certificate.

⁵ Local school superintendents have coordinate authority outside Baltimore. The board issues certificates in Baltimore and in its branch offices; elsewhere the school superintendents appoint the issuing officers, the practice being to appoint physicians, who not only issue the certificates but give the physical examinations.

⁶ The certificate is not specifically required by the law, but if obtained it is *prima facie* evidence that child is of legal age for employment.

issued are temporary permits granted by county judges to children permitted to be employed under the legal working age (15) on account of poverty. In Virginia, any notary public may issue an employment certificate. In Mississippi and Idaho there is no "issuing officer" strictly speaking; in the former State the only paper required is an affidavit from the parent, and in the latter the employer must keep an "age record" of children employed. In Wyoming, no provision at all is made for work permits.

2. Power to prescribe forms.

One of the first steps toward standardizing physical examinations is the use of a uniform record blank. In the following 12 States some official or board is given specific authority to formulate and furnish the preliminary forms necessary for issuing employment certificates, including record forms for physical examinations, though the law is not always clear as to whether the use of these forms is compulsory:⁷ Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York,⁸ and West Virginia. In Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and New Jersey this power is given to the State board of education, in the other States to the State board or official enforcing the child labor law. In Massachusetts the State board of education is to be consulted and the form must be approved by the attorney general. In Maine also the attorney general must approve the form. In New York the State industrial commission not only prescribes the forms for recording the physical examinations, but receives duplicate copies of these records. In States where the issuance of certificates is under direct control of some State authority this power to prescribe forms might be implied even when it is not specifically given in the law.

3. Revocation of employment certificates.

In the following 10 States the State board or official charged with the enforcement of the child labor law is authorized to revoke certificates improperly issued:⁹ Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Kansas, Maine, New Jersey,¹⁰ Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. In Wisconsin this power extends also to cases where the physical or moral welfare of the child would be best served by such revocation. The power to require a child found at work who appears to be physically unfit for his tasks to be examined by a physician, found in the laws of a number of States,¹¹ carries with it the right to cancel the employment certificate if the child can not secure a satisfactory report from the physician. In States where the issuance of certificates is under direct control of some State authority, the power of revocation might be implied even when it is not specifically given in the law.

⁷ In Maryland it is stated that the preliminary forms necessary for the issuance of the certificate need not be those prescribed by the State board if they state fully the facts called for by the law.

⁸ In New York the physical examination record must be on forms prescribed and furnished by the State industrial commission (commission required to furnish only outside first and second class cities).

⁹ In Kentucky, Louisiana, and Missouri, also, powers of revocation are given to State labor officials but are limited to cases where the child is under legal age (Kentucky) or where the certificate was obtained through fraud or misrepresentation (Louisiana and Missouri).

¹⁰ In New Jersey the original papers upon which certificates are granted are sent to the State department of labor, which examines them and notifies the commissioner of education of any cases where the certificate appears to have been improperly issued. The latter has power to direct the board of education of the district where the certificate was issued to cancel the certificate, and the district board must cancel the same if so directed.

¹¹ See Appendix, p. 22.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. B. WILSON, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

PROBATION IN CHILDREN'S COURTS

Monograph prepared for the Children's Bureau

By

CHARLES L. CHUTE

Secretary, New York State Probation Commission

Secretary, National Probation Association



DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE, AND DELINQUENT CLASSES SERIES No. 11

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, August 30, 1920.

SIR: I transmit herewith a monograph on probation in children's courts, prepared for the Children's Bureau by Charles L. Chute, secretary of the New York State Probation Commission and the National Probation Association. This report is one of a series dealing with problems of juvenile-court organization and administration. A previous report of a questionnaire study of courts in the United States hearing children's cases pointed out the rapid growth of the juvenile-court movement in the 20 years that had elapsed since the establishment of the first special juvenile court. However, only one-sixth of the courts having jurisdiction over children's cases were "specially organized" for this work; among those reporting special organization, great diversity in principles and methods existed. It is hoped that the present report on probation—the keystone of the children's court—and other reports that will follow will be of assistance in the development of higher standards and better equipment for the specialized and delicate task of dealing with children in need of the care and protection of the State by reason of delinquency or parental neglect, or other conditions requiring court adjudication.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP,
Chief.

Hon. W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

PROBATION IN CHILDREN'S COURTS.

WHAT IS PROBATION?

Probation, as it relates to children, may be defined as a system of treatment for the delinquent child or, in the case of the neglected or destitute child, for delinquent parents, by means of which the child and parents remain in their ordinary environment and to a great extent at liberty, but, throughout a probation period, subject to the watchful care and personal influence of an agent of the court known as the probation officer. From the narrower legalistic viewpoint probation is either a definite disposition which the court may make in the child's case in place of commitment, or it is an accompaniment or condition of an indefinitely suspended commitment. More broadly considered, probation, as its Latin origin implies, is the entire system of proving or examining, investigating, and supervising for a period a child brought to the court for treatment. It is a definite follow-up system for court cases with a developing technique. But it is much more. It is a mission to those in need, actuated by the highest ideals of human helpfulness and social service.

In dealing with probation as it is applied in the children's courts we must necessarily deal with the fundamental purposes and methods of the court itself. The probation service is not a separate feature or branch of the court's work merely, but is an integral and vital part of it: in fact, the children's court operates through the work of its probation officers, and without it could hardly exist. Probation officers are the investigators and after-care agents; they assist in making the diagnosis and they apply the remedy for the large majority of children treated, for whom institutional care is not prescribed.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROBATION.

In the laws of every State in the United States save one, and in most civilized foreign countries, probation is now recognized as a definite method or plan for treating delinquent, neglected, or destitute children. The probation method did not originate in the juvenile court. Long before social workers began to discuss the advisability of establishing a special court for children's cases, various forms of

the probation system were being started in the criminal courts. The first probation law was enacted in Massachusetts in 1878, 21 years before the first separate juvenile court came into being in Chicago. However, the probation method developed first and principally in dealing with children before the courts.

With the growth of humanitarian ideals and the development of social service agencies, probation work began to be carried on in the courts, though not at first under that name. The first organized work was carried on by representatives of philanthropic societies. The children's aid societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and similar organizations furnished agents for the courts. These and individual volunteers developed the system of probation which was finally recognized by law and by the provision of salaries for probation officers. This probation work, under various names, and the lessons it brought, were influential factors in the movement for separate courts for children. When laws were enacted establishing juvenile courts, probation became the corner stone of their work and probation officers were provided for as a matter of course.

THE MEANING OF THE CHILDREN'S COURT.

Let us consider at this point what the development of probation and the children's court has meant to our entire judicial establishment. No institution is grounded more firmly upon tradition and precedent than our judicial system. Governed by laws and procedure inherited from the past, courts constantly tend to be out of touch with new findings and rapidly changing views as to the individual and society. Revolutionary changes and developments have occurred in very recent years both in the conception of the individual as a responsible unit and in the thought of society's responsibility. To say that our system of courts and correction has not been profoundly affected by these changes would be untrue. However, many traditional ideas still govern and outgrown laws and procedure of the past greatly hamper enlightened administrators who would take advantage of the newer and better thought.

The sympathy and the public interest which the child in trouble always calls forth, together with the growing modern conception of the supreme importance of child protection and education, have in recent years forced a modification of the former method of dealing with all law violators by means of punishment supposed to fit the crime. Society is at last beginning to see that there should be substituted for its system of prosecution, trial, and punishment—ineffectual either to prevent crime or to cure the criminal—the system of investigation, diagnosis, and treatment, such as has now been adopted, in theory and at least partially in practice, in the children's court.

In this court the question of guilt or innocence as to a particular act or acts is wholly subordinated, as it should be, to an examination of the character and condition of the child referred for attention. Its underlying conception and dominant practice is to ascertain the individual and social causes of the delinquency and to remove or counteract them. It is not interested in punishment as such. Its purpose is to understand in order that it may be able to cure and prevent. The children's court works entirely through the individual study and treatment of each child. Properly conceived, its work is analogous and, in fact, closely related to that of the physician. In its study of the individual child before a diagnosis is reached, it employs the psychiatric clinic, the psychologist, and the trained social investigator, usually known as the probation officer. In its treatment it utilizes all the helpful and preventive agencies of the community under skilled direction of the probation staff.

The work of the children's court is thus seen to be scientific. While most courts are still largely influenced by the prevailing theological conception of crime or antisocial conduct as determined by character and free will, and hence calling for fitting punishment, the children's court has become a pioneer laboratory in applying the principles of modern scientific criminology based on the study and treatment of the individual delinquent rather than on punitive law.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE CHILDREN'S COURT AND PROBATION.

The recent questionnaire study of courts in the United States hearing children's cases, made by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor,¹ has shown conclusively that effective children's courts, with paid probation staffs, are by no means universally established. Only 321 "specially organized" children's courts were found to be in existence in the entire country. Most large cities have such courts, but a majority of our smaller cities have neither children's courts nor effective probation service. In very few rural areas in the country are these child-saving agencies developed.

In spite of these rather startling facts, it is still true that in the 21 years since the first court was established in this country the extension and development of the children's court and probation has been remarkably rapid. In spite of inertia and reactionary opposition involving many legal attacks upon the soundness of the principles involved, all of which have been met, rapid development has occurred. Nearly every year new laws have been passed pro-

¹ Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor: *Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases*, by Evellina Belden. Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes Series No. 8, Bureau Publication No. 65. Washington, 1920.

viding for children's courts, and probation and better standards have been adopted.

All but two States in the Union now have laws providing for juvenile or children's courts, these States being Maine and Wyoming. Every State, however, with the single exception of Wyoming, now has laws providing for the appointment of probation officers for dealing with children in the courts. Although in many States children's courts are found only in one or two of the largest cities, State-wide systems intended to reach every child are in existence in a majority. The development in the last few years has been notable, especially in certain Southern States. Within the past five years the States of Mississippi, West Virginia, and New Mexico have provided for juvenile courts and probation for the first time, and the States of Georgia and North Carolina have extended their systems to the entire State. The North Carolina law of 1919² is especially notable, providing for a special juvenile court and judge and a paid probation officer in every county.

Broadening the work of the children's court to include jurisdiction over negligent and nonsupporting parents, increasing the age limit for hearing children's cases in the first instance (usually from 16 to 18), and combining the work for children with that of the so-called domestic relations court, creating a family court having jurisdiction over all actions affecting the family relation—these have resulted from recent laws in a number of States.

In recent years many cities have secured better trained and larger probation staffs. The work of the probation officer has largely been taken out of the volunteer, unpaid, or partly paid class, and more adequate salaries are now provided, though there is still much to be accomplished in this direction.

PROBATION METHODS.

INVESTIGATION.

In a large majority of children's courts the probation officer performs a double function. He is an investigator and a case supervisor. In the first capacity he assists in the diagnosis and disposition of the child. His part is to make a social investigation of every case assigned to him by the court, or, where the best system prevails, of every case as soon as possible after the complaint is received.

The duties and powers assigned to the probation staff vary in dealing with the children before court disposition. In some courts probation officers to a large extent control the intake of the court. Children's cases—and included with these in the best equipped chil-

² Acts of 1919, ch. 97.

dren's courts are cases against parents or guardians in behalf of the child—are brought before the courts either through arrest by a police officer or by the more approved, and in the most successful courts more generally used, method of the filing of a petition in the court and the issuance of a summons to the parents and child. Where the complaint is made to the court, probation officers frequently decide through interviews or investigation whether the case is sufficiently serious to come before the court. When a petition is filed the probation department often has power to determine whether the child shall be taken to the detention home or remain with its parents pending investigation. (In the best organized courts the probation staff is given an opportunity in every case to make a thorough social investigation in the first instance, regardless of what the method of starting the action may be and whether or not the child is taken into custody before hearing.) In this matter it should make no difference whether a boy is arrested by a police officer for committing a burglary, or is taken to the detention home by a police officer upon complaint of the parents as incorrigible, or whether the child is brought before the court by the method of filing a petition in the court upon complaint duly presented and vouched for by a citizen.

Opinions vary somewhat in regard to this matter and practices differ greatly, but it is generally conceded that the method still used in some children's courts of first arraigning children for trial and then making the investigation is "putting the cart before the horse." Some courts, adhering still to a criminal procedure in part, determine the question of guilt or innocence upon strict rules of evidence before receiving the probation officer's previously prepared report and recommendations. However, even this does not seem to be necessary, for the true purpose of the court is not to punish for a given offense; it is to ascertain all the important underlying facts involved in the case of a child or family displaying certain antisocial symptoms and to decide upon a course of treatment which will remove the causes and best help and protect both the child and society. The court's function is parental. The court should proceed as does a wise parent and should have before it all the information that can be secured before any decision is reached.

When a probation officer receives a case for investigation he has a very difficult and responsible task to perform. The petition or complaint tells him little. Take a concrete case: A mother has come to the complaint department, directed thither by a policeman or social worker; she has made affidavit that her boy of 16 is incorrigible. She has stated that the boy's father is dead; that there are several other children; that the boy stays out nights, will not work, and is beyond her control. The petition is received and the case is

referred to the probation officer to make an investigation. The officer goes to the home, sees the mother, and obtains her full story. He notes conditions in the home and neighborhood. He sees the boy alone. He learns the condition of the other children. By discreetly interviewing present neighbors and neighbors at former addresses, hunting up relatives who are available, and seeing others who know the family, he learns the general reputation, past history, and something of the antecedents of the family. The officer may then visit the employer and previous employers, the school which the boy last attended, the church, and any settlement or other social-service agency which knows the family. The names of any such agencies are secured by registering the case, as soon as the petition is filed, with the confidential social-service exchange of the city.

Many unsuspected facts are revealed by the field investigation; many times, in fact, conclusions are reached which are entirely different from those that would have been reached through merely seeing the entire family in court. Such facts as these are discovered: Bad housing, immoral neighborhood, antagonism and quarrelsomeness between members of the family, lack of discipline, or too much of it, and so on. The probation officer has many things to decide. His written report usually determines whether the judge will give the boy a chance to make good in his own home under probation or whether he will do as the mother may suggest—send the boy away for a long time to the State industrial or reform school.

In such cases as the above, which are common, it is often not so much a question of facts—these are mostly admitted though not always easy to balance; the main questions which both the probation officer and the judge must decide relate to the attitude and latent capacities of the individuals involved, combined with environmental conditions. Much will depend upon the attitude of the mother. Much will also depend upon the real character of the boy. The probation officer in this work must have judgment, psychological insight, and, above all, common sense based on experience. In the absence of psychiatric and medical examination of the boy, which ought to be made at the start in every case but which now is possible in most courts only where serious defect is suspected, the probation officer should ascertain, if possible, whether there are the symptoms of mental and physical disorder. If these are suspected he should arrange for an examination in the clinic available to the court.

Having obtained all these facts, which vary in the infinite range of human complexities, the probation officer must prepare a full written report. This must state all important facts, not overemphasizing any. It must state facts and not opinions, though opinions will undoubtedly color it. It is impossible for any court, even if it were desirable, to get away from the opinions and recommenda-

tions of the probation officer. The essential thing is that these be founded on careful study of the case, fairness, accuracy, and good judgment.

(Some children's courts minimize the preliminary investigation on the ground that if in doubt the court will use probation, giving time for continued and more careful subsequent study of the case.) Experience seems to show that this theory frequently leads to placing cases on probation which are bound to fail, and also that it may lead to other wrong disposition by the court. The study of this matter in many courts also shows that the same thorough all-around investigation is not made by probation officers after they receive a case on probation as is made before. This is perhaps due to the need of all of us to be held to account, and to the fact that it is human nature to do a piece of work more thoroughly when the results of that work will be reviewed and will count in making a responsible decision. Perhaps this ought not to be the case, but in practice it is so.

In most courts the officers shift from investigation to supervision, following their cases through. The question whether certain officers should be employed to devote their time entirely to investigation, with a special staff of supervising probation officers for the after-care work, is being discussed to-day. It has been tried out in a few courts and there is much to be said for the plan. The work of investigation differs from the supervision of children on probation in certain respects: though the two are similar, they involve different emphasis and systems of work. In the investigation the important thing is to find out facts; in the supervision it is to give constructive help.

There is a peculiar investigating knack. It consists of the ability to grasp facts quickly, possession of a great deal of tact and diplomacy, unusual memory, ability to get around quickly and to "get in." It also requires a sympathetic approach. In any case the investigator, like the supervisor, should be a real social worker, actuated by genuine sympathy and a spirit of service.

Besides the advantages of specialization it would seem that some economy of time might be effected by providing for an investigating staff and a supervising staff, and that the neglect of either branch of the work would be avoided more successfully. The problem also of the necessary presence in court of the investigator when his case is heard would be more easily solved if certain probation officers did nothing but investigate. The principal objection is that a new officer not so familiar with the facts as the officer who made the investigation, must take up the case after probation has begun. However, with a full written report given to the supervisor at the start, supplemented by an interview with the investigator, there is little loss here. The supervisor in any case should see all persons interested in the child after probation has been ordered, approaching them in a some-

what different manner and for quite a different purpose than does the investigator. It is to be hoped that more of the larger children's courts will try the plan of separate officers for investigating and supervising, working in close cooperation.

THE PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC AND ITS RELATION TO PROBATION WORK.

As an adjunct to the work of the children's court, developed more recently than the probation staff but now considered indispensable, is the court clinic, where physical, psychiatric, and psychological examinations are made by expert physicians and psychologists. The remarkable developments of the last decade in the study of psychopathology and abnormal psychology, especially in their relation to antisocial behavior, have profoundly affected the work of the modern court. Not only is the clinic operated in connection with the juvenile court of inestimable value as a research laboratory, but it is of practical, everyday importance in the diagnosis and treatment of the cases brought before the court.

It is generally admitted that under ideal conditions expert examination of every child, mentally and physically, should be made periodically. The place for these examinations would seem to be in the school, but the schools have not equipped themselves generally for thoroughgoing work of this kind. With the exceptional children brought before the court a more thorough study is demanded by experts skilled in dealing with the abnormal and difficult child, and a clinic in connection with the court is required. It would be well if every child coming before the court for treatment could pass through the clinic, but in few courts as yet are the facilities adequate for this. The judge or the probation officer, frequently the latter, is called upon to select cases presenting symptoms of abnormality requiring special examination. It is often impossible in connection with the probation officer's investigation to examine all the children who present these symptoms, but this is the time when it should be done rather than after the child has been placed on probation. A clinical examination is often essential to a correct diagnosis and decision.

While recent studies have seemed to disprove the theory that a very large percentage of the children dealt with by our courts are feeble-minded or even seriously psychopathic, yet, according to recent estimates, many of them are definitely abnormal.³ Among these children are some of the most difficult with whom the court has to deal. Besides the definitely defective are many subnormal or border-line

³ Healy, William, M. D.: *The Individual Delinquent*. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915. Chs. IV and VIII.

Groszmann, Maximilian P. E.: *The Exceptional Child*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. P. 193 et seq.

children, neurotic, retarded, or with mental conflicts and complexes, often the result of evil environment and mistreatment by those who should have been their guardians and protectors. Here the advice of a trained psychiatrist and psychologist is of immense value both to the court in determining what to do with the child and to the probation officer when probation is tried. Probation can do much for these children when applied with full knowledge and skill, saving many from permanent institutional life. The probation officer's knowledge is practical: he needs the scientific advice of the expert, not only at the start but throughout the treatment of some of his difficult cases. Of course, the more the probation officer can himself learn about psychology and the symptoms of mental abnormality the more valuable he becomes.

Psychological examinations greatly assist the probation officer in understanding children and in dealing with them most effectively. Though a majority are inherently normal, they are abnormal in conduct at least. They are "unbalanced," suffer from emotional instability, mental repression, extreme diffidence or exaggerated ego, have feelings of imaginary superiority or social isolation. These personality defects are often responsible for imperfect life adjustments. There is need for united effort to search out and develop appropriately the basic instincts and deep emotional undercurrents which have so much to do in shaping personality, determining character, and controlling conduct. Every child must be studied and understood. The probation officer must do this, securing all the assistance he can from available experts.

THE PROBATION OFFICER AND THE COURT HEARING.

It is not always practicable or possible for the probation officer who makes the investigation to be present in court when the case is being tried, although it is advisable that he should be there. Sometimes another officer must represent him, but in any case his complete written report of the investigation should be in the hands of the judge at the time of the hearing. The probation officer should be present, not as a witness but as an adviser and consulting expert, to give information and suggestions when requested to do so, supplementing his written report.

In several large courts the chief or an assistant probation officer hears cases in the first instance, rendering decisions—to be approved afterwards by the judge—in uncontested cases, and placing children on probation. In this they are more than probation officers, acting rather as referees of the court and performing judicial duties. In several courts the judge appoints a woman probation officer to hear all girl cases. The method appears to have worked well where it has

been tried; but is open to criticism if the officer is not carefully selected and if this sifting of cases is not under close supervision by the judge.

SELECTING PROBATIONERS AND PROBATION OFFICERS.

"What is the best way to help this child?" is the question demanding an answer from the children's court judge many times daily. It requires the highest wisdom and finest judgment to decide aright. The child himself and his relation to his home and environment must be considered. In the well-equipped courts, unless the child is found to be definitely feeble-minded, probation is used in the first instance in a large majority of cases. If there is only a fair chance that the child can remain in his home and successful results be secured by probation, that chance is taken. If it turns out that the child must be removed from an unfit home the court seeks to have him placed in another family home. Some courts have well-equipped placing-out bureaus, all placing out and subsequent supervision being performed by probation officers. More often placing-out societies are used. In such cases the children may remain under the probation officer's supervision or the court may commit them to the placing-out society or bureau, which assumes the entire supervision. Almost always the institution either for dependent or delinquent children is properly considered a last resort.

When the judge pronounces probation and the child and his parents leave the court room the probation officer to be assigned to the case arranges, if possible, for an immediate interview with child and parents in a private room. At this time a card is given the child and the requirements explained.

The assignment of probation officers is most commonly on a district plan. Some courts assign every child in a district to one officer, others divide on the basis of sex, some on nationality, and a few on religion. It is agreed that girls, in general, should be placed under women officers, and the older boys, at least, under men. Aside from this, the only practical division in most courts is on district lines. There is undoubtedly some advantage in having probation officers of the same race or nationality and also of the same religion as the child, but in most courts it is not a practical arrangement.

METHODS OF SUPERVISION.

After the investigation, diagnosis, and adjudication by the court, when the child is placed on probation and the conditions have been explained, the real work of probation begins. Probation officers have developed various systems for dealing with their charges, but the vital thing is the personal relationship and not the applying of

any system of rules or technique. The relationship created by the decision of the court is largely a psychological one. Certain rules are usually laid down by the court, supplemented by others developed by the probation officer, but rules alone are of little value. It is, of course, requisite that the probation officer should see his young charge frequently. There can be no personal relationship without contact. Hence, most probation officers require regular reports or visits by the child to the probation officer, and all officers visit the children as often as possible in their homes, schools, or places of employment. But probation is not chiefly a system of discipline or surveillance or coercion. It is a spiritual thing. It is based on mutual understanding and mutual trust; on friendship, liking, and gratitude on the part of the child; and on an earnest desire to help on the part of the probation officer.

The probation officer must have the spirit of the artist, working with human clay. He must have what religious workers know as a "passion for souls." He must be human; he must work with his heart as well as with his head. He must be religious in its broadest and best sense. He must have faith in humanity, especially in boys and girls. He must love and understand children. He must be a child himself at heart, not a "grown-up" who has forgotten how it feels to be a child. He must be an expert in child life and child nature.

The probation officer must avoid a sentimental attitude; soft-heartedness breeds contempt. He must appeal to the sense of justice and fairness, found in almost every child, by being just and fair himself. He must at times be severe without being hard; uncompromising without stubbornness. He must show sympathetic interest in all that concerns and interests the probationer. This is the surest road to the child's confidence, without which the probation officer can do nothing.

A practical worker with boys of many years' experience sums up the basic work of the probation officer in these words:

Be sure you don't talk *at* the boys, or even *to* the boys. Talk *with* the boys. Think their thoughts. Get down (if it is getting down, and I'm not sure it is)—get down to their intellectual perspective. Touch them just where they are in their own words and ideas. Never use your own forms of speech if you can help it. Talk slang. Be a boy. Be one of them. Then you have the leverage under them, and you can lift them gently and unafraid just as high as they can go—and no higher. You will probably be surprised how far they will go, however.

This is where high art comes in, this knack of getting the boy with you. He may slip away from you many times, and he will always be unable to go as high as you would like. * * *

Patience is the mother of virtue. "Rome was not built in a day." Neither is character, in a boy or in any of us. How interesting it must be to be a master builder, to plan and erect a great building, or a railroad system, or a manufacturing or commercial enterprise, or a great city. But to build a great or greater man from a slouch and a liar is more interesting, more heartening, and more worthy.*

With such equipment and spirit the good probation officer begins his difficult task with the child delinquent. Parents, teachers, respectable people, doubtless it often seems to the child the whole world, has given him up as "bad." He may have had but little chance and small encouragement to be different; he may have had apparently every chance a child could have, yet something somewhere has been wrong in his environment or education which the probation officer must now try to remedy. This is often a complicated process. It requires imagination and ingenuity; machine methods will not do. The officer must stimulate and develop all that is good in the child's make-up, and must counteract bad habits and harmful interests by putting good ones in their stead. He must say "do, do," rather than "don't, don't." It goes without saying that he can not work alone, but will accomplish most of what he does accomplish through the help of others and by cooperation.

Space forbids the quoting of an entire probation record from the many successful records in the possession of the writer, but herewith follow brief summaries of records showing specific methods used by successful probation officers to secure the results they seek with delinquent children:

Case of a boy of 15 twice brought before the children's court for stealing. The probation officer found the boy in a good home, except that there was a decided lack of discipline. The boy had been allowed to stay out late at night, and entirely unknown to his parents had been associating with bad companions. The probation officer found this out and told the father everything. Strict discipline followed. The boy was required to attend a special school until he could secure his working papers. Then the probation officer secured steady employment for him, and he was kept entirely away from bad associates.

Another boy of 15 was placed on probation, having been caught forging an order for goods. He had never been in trouble before. He had no parents and was living with a married sister. Supervision at this home was entirely lacking. He was the victim of bad associates and an evil neighborhood. The probation officer took him out of this bad environment and arranged for him to live with another sister in a distant part of the city. Here he had a very

* Fairfield, Frederick P.: *Shall We Train a Boy by Fear or Kindness?* pp. 23-24. Suffolk School for Boys, Rainsford Island, Boston, Mass.

good home. The boy was induced to work steadily and to save part of his earnings. He showed great improvement at the time of his discharge from probation.

A woman probation officer reports the following special services for girl probationers:

Secured medical attention.

Induced probationer to take regular baths.

Secured suitable employment and saw that the girl was regular in her work in spite of an indifferent mother.

Other special services reported by probation officers as frequently rendered are as follows:

Finding new living quarters for the family.

Taking children to places of amusement and libraries.

Sending children to the country.

Teaching mothers how to care for their children.

Helping probationers and their parents to save money.

Placing children in trade schools for special training.

Removing insanitary home conditions by securing the cooperation of the boards of health.

THE DETAILS OF SUPERVISION.

While emphasizing personal service and individual work with each probationer as indispensable, the importance of a system of supervision which will insure adequate and effective contacts with each child on the probation officer's list must not be overlooked. The probation officer must distribute his time among his cases, be they few or many, to the best possible advantage. The National Probation Association in its standards has recommended that an average of 50 probationers is the maximum that any probation officer ought to be required to supervise.⁵ Even this is probably too large for the best results, and yet a great majority of the probation officers of the country have more, sometimes several times more, than this number to care for.

Reporting.

When officers have an excessive number of probationers there is all the more reason why they should adopt methods which will insure regular contact with all their charges. None of the cases must be neglected entirely; some supervision must be maintained over all of them. To this end, requiring children on probation to come regularly to the probation officer at a stated time and place for a "report" or interview is in most courts considered a necessity. Many courts require weekly reporting of a majority of the children on probation

⁵ The Social Work of the Courts. Annual report and proceedings of the tenth annual conference of the National Probation Association, 1918. Albany, 1919. P. 95.

for delinquency, except toward the close of the probation period when less frequent reports are often allowed. As the method is disciplinary in nature it is less often used for children classed as "dependent" or "neglected." In the latter class a parent is sometimes required to report. Girls and very young boys are in many courts not required to report but are visited more frequently. Experience shows that in general reporting is the only way to insure seeing the probationers with any degree of regularity or frequency. Visits to the home alone do not insure this result, the child frequently not being there. Reporting followed by the home visit brings the officer into contact with both the child and the home and forms a complete system of supervision which has proved most effective.

Mistakes are very commonly made in connection with the reporting of children on probation, which, unless carefully guarded against, may nullify the whole value of it. In the first place, children should be kept away from the court room or court building as much as possible. The greatest success in reporting has been secured by districting the city and using school buildings, settlement houses, or private offices as reporting centers. In the second place, children on probation should not be congregated. It is possible, by strictly limiting the number of children to be received at any one hour and by the proper arrangement and supervision of the reporting rooms, to avoid all harmful mingling. Perfunctory reporting, which consists of asking a few stereotyped questions and marking a card, is valueless. This can and should be avoided. The writer has observed reporting when it was a living, vital thing, the probation officer obtaining information on the child's conduct, habits, use of time, etc.—afterwards checking up this information: giving a personal word of encouragement or warning to each child; and, above all, cementing the bonds of friendship and mutual confidence by his kindly, heart-to-heart approach.

The question of bringing the child before the judge at stated times during the probation period or only for final discharge at the end of the term is a much mooted one. At one extreme is the court where the judge is in reality a probation officer, receiving regular and frequent reports from the child. At the other extreme are the many large courts where the entire supervision, fixing of the probation term, and the final discharge are all in the hands of the probation staff. It would seem that the best method lies between these two extremes. Doubtless it is best that the judge should not lose all contact with the child placed on probation, even when the child is doing well. On the other hand, bringing the child into the court room, except where a reprimand seems needed or for a change of order, should be avoided. In some courts, the judges maintain close supervision over the work of the probation officers,

reviewing their cases with them regularly but not seeing the child if he is doing well, not even at the termination of probation. This is largely a matter of the preference of the various judges. Whether one plan or the other is used, the child doing well on probation should not be subjected to the court atmosphere and surroundings. If the judge meets the child at the close of probation it should be for a friendly talk, not to awe the child but to encourage and back up the helpful influence and the constructive work wrought by the probation officer.

There is a disciplinary side to the probation plan which can not be lost sight of. The greatest value of reporting is the discipline involved in it. It is something other than the ordinary duties of life which the child must perform regularly, whether he likes it or not. If the probation officer is successful and the child is taking his experience in the right spirit he will like it. In the words of one experienced probation officer: "The child who resents reporting is the very one who needs it most." It gives the probation officer a chance to teach obedience and punctuality. Home discipline is often so entirely lacking, habits of rebellion to all authority, willfulness, and selfishness so strongly established, that the probation officer may need all the power he can command to counteract them, including bringing the child several times before the court for reprimand.

An example of this method and its success is contained in the following probation report made to the judge upon recommending the discharge of a boy from probation:

S. L. has been on probation for eight months. At first the boy did not respond to the advice of his probation officer, which, I believe, was due to lack of cooperation on the part of his parents, but after a severe reprimand and threatening that I would bring him back into court, the boy responded and has conformed to the conditions laid down by me. His school report has improved greatly, until now his principal reports that to date this term the boy has been present in school every day. His conduct is B-plus. His parents now report that the boy is obedient, attends school regularly, and retires early.

Home visits and work with the family.

That every probationer's home should be visited frequently goes without saying. After all, the unit of society and the unit for probation service is the family. Very frequently, in courts having jurisdiction over adults as well as children, it is difficult to decide whether the child or the parent should actually be placed on probation. So far as the work of the officer is concerned this makes little difference. Practically speaking, the parent is always on probation. As the parent is frequently at fault, although often the victim of ignorance, poverty, and unjust industrial conditions, the probation officer must frequently do his most important work in endeavoring to aid and

educate the parents to their responsibilities toward their children. Parents sometimes need to be taught to understand their own children. Not only neglect but overindulgence is commonly met with. The officer should become acquainted in many cases with every member of the family. He should not confine his assistance to the probationer, but should aid the entire family in every way possible.

Broken and defective homes constitute a distinct and oft-recurring problem. In the Seattle juvenile court for the years 1918 and 1919, 45 per cent of all delinquent and neglected children came from homes in which the parents were not living together due to death, divorce, separation, or desertion.⁶ In a study of 131 delinquent girls in the juvenile detention home in Chicago in the autumn of 1917, the parents were found not living together in 69 cases.⁷ The probation officer's work in these homes is difficult, but much can be done. Sometimes he can reconstruct the home, bringing separated parents together and causing deserters to return. More often he must find other means of supplying the need. Sometimes he secures a pension or relief for a widow, enabling her to take better care of the children. A "big brother" or "big sister" may be enlisted for friendly visiting and more intensive supervision than the officer can himself give, or he may interest a church, settlement, boys' or girls' club, or other agency in the family. To obtain information, cooperation, and assistance, the successful probation officer must visit every person and agency with which the child comes in direct contact, whenever they can help him. Cooperation is the keynote of success in probation work.

THE PROBATION OFFICER AND THE SCHOOL.

The cooperation of the probation officer with school teachers and officials should be a real working together. Many children now passing through the courts could appropriately be dealt with by the public schools if the latter were equipped with sufficient attendance officers or visitors, having approximately the training which good probation officers now have. However, this seems nowhere to be the case. The schools are generally underequipped for handling the normal child, and, though excellent work is done in many cities with truants and delinquents by means of ungraded, truant, and parental schools, most of the school authorities have been only too glad to leave the handling of delinquents outside of the special school to the court. As a large number of the children dealt with in children's courts have already left school, any general turning over

⁶ The Seattle Juvenile Court Report for the Year 1919. Seattle, 1920.

⁷ Purcell-Guild, June: "Study of one-hundred and thirty-one delinquent girls held at the juvenile detention home in Chicago, 1917," in *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. X, No. 3 (November, 1919), p. 462.

of the parental function of the juvenile court to the school system will have to await the time when the schools will oversee the education and training of every child at least up to the age of 18 years.

In any case, whether probation work with school children is to be more largely carried on by the schools or is to remain, as now, in the juvenile court, a closer coordination of the two services should be worked out. There is usually good cooperation. Probation officers, as a rule, receive during the school term weekly reports from school-teachers on the attendance and conduct of their charges. They visit the teachers and exchange information. They consult with attendance officers. In many rural districts the probation officer and attendance officer are one. This would seem to be a very desirable combination, provided that too much work is not given to one officer. As dissatisfaction with school is often the cause and accompaniment of delinquency, to secure awakened interest the probation officer often recommends a change of school, a better environment, or a different teacher. Often it is clear that a special class or different kind of education altogether is needed, usually more industrial and less from books. Unfortunately this can not always be secured. In these matters close cooperation and frequent consultations between probation officers and school-teachers is needed.

The special activities now being developed in so many communities in connection with the schools, such as the night school, the social center furnishing evening recreation, and Americanization classes are very useful to the probation officer. All of them are used in certain cases.

THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT.

With the employed boys and girls and those beyond compulsory school age who can not be induced to attend school or whose mentality and circumstances do not justify it, the probation officer has an important task in vocational guidance. In but few communities are there agencies developed to aid every child at that critical period when he or she first seeks a job. In still fewer communities is there available any system of scholarships or allowances to poor parents to prevent children from leaving school because of poverty alone. The probation officer who thoroughly understands his child, its home and environment, is in the best possible position to advise and help in these matters. He must go about it constructively. Labor injurious to the child, physically or morally, can be avoided only by helping to something better. In this the probation officer must have the cooperation of employers.

In some large courts, especially the New York City children's court, a special bureau of vocational placement has been established with

a probation officer in charge. This officer helps boys and girls to get suitable positions, advises with them about their future, seeks to have them leave unsuitable work and secure places with vocational value. He keeps a list of positions and employers with whom he keeps in close touch, especially with those whose interest is not wholly commercial. There are employers, and they are not uncommon, who will employ delinquent boys knowing all about them, not only giving them a chance but seeking to place them under good supervision, helping them all they can. Such employers are frequently consulted by the probation officer and are of great assistance to him in his constructive work. Ordinarily probation officers are very careful about visiting employers who may not know of the child's delinquency, as a very different attitude is frequently encountered.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES.

Every agency that can help the child is used, depending upon the individual needs of the child and his home environment. Everywhere the problem of recreation and the use of spare time is of the greatest importance. Undoubtedly injurious recreation and loafing—often caused by the lack of any recreational facilities—are great factors in delinquency. According to a careful study made in 1908 the establishment of municipal playgrounds in certain districts in Chicago reduced the number of delinquents brought into the juvenile court from those districts, with reference to delinquency in Chicago as a whole, 29 per cent. though in the same period delinquency in the whole city had increased.*

The probation officer seeks to get his charges interested in all agencies furnishing wholesome recreation, including playgrounds, settlement houses, boys' clubs under proper supervision, and, of late years, especially the Boy Scouts. He follows the plan of overcoming evil with good so far as possible.

Probation officers use the churches, often insisting on attendance at church and Sunday school because of the moral discipline involved. With these, as with other cooperating agencies, the wise probation officer finds the maximum of good results from securing the child's interest and voluntary attendance.

The probation officer secures direct and effective cooperation from private agencies working in the children's court. Relief societies, protective societies, and agencies, such as the "big brother movement" and the "big sisters," which furnish volunteer probation officers, are all utilized. These agencies are called upon for all sorts of special services, such as furnishing relief to destitute families and

* Burns, Allen T.: "Spare time and delinquency," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 16. Chicago, 1920.

assistance in securing recreation and fresh-air excursions. By acting as friendly visitors they make the work of the probation officer more intensive.

It almost goes without saying that cooperation is had from the police, public relief agencies, and civic and other organizations. As the work of the probation officer touches almost every side of the child's life, even to catalogue all the cooperating agencies is impossible. All this indicates that to secure effective results the probation officer must be a very well-informed and cooperative person.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROBATION STAFF.

One of the most important problems in the large court is the organization and supervision of the probation staff. Principles of efficiency and business management must be applied. In addition to the judge or board of judges—the final authority—there must be a competent chief executive officer, usually known as the chief probation officer. He must have assistants or deputies assigned to special duties or divisions of the court. The work must be divided as evenly as possible among the various officers. To avoid unnecessary travel and overlapping the city or county must be districted. Each probation officer thus becomes familiar with his district, learns the cooperating agencies available, and becomes acquainted with its special problems.

There must be a system of reports and supervision of each officer's work, both as to quantity and quality. Daily and monthly reports by each probation officer to the chief are commonly used. With a large staff, time books for registering hours of work and the time spent by the probation officer in the field are also found desirable.

The periodic review of case records, in a large staff usually performed by an assistant chief probation officer assigned to this special duty, is most important. Suggestions or criticisms of the officer's work, with frequent conferences between the officer and the supervisors, help to promote uniform standards.

General conferences of all the probation officers of a given court, held monthly in a number of cities, are of great educational value to the staff; they also promote cooperation. General conferences of all probation officers in a city, and State conferences of probation officers do much to advance standards.

RECORDS.

As in all case work, good probation records are indispensable. There is a great variety in record systems, many of which are defective and inadequate. The essentials for every child dealt with are a record blank containing the previous history and all data se-

cured in the investigation, and a chronological record of all developments, information secured, and work done by the probation officer during the probation period. Folders for filing all data and index cards for ready reference are important. Some courts of late have adopted the family unit for filing records, which seems in many ways desirable. A great fault in many courts is that of requiring probation officers to spend too much time in clerical or office work instead of allowing them sufficient clerks and stenographers. Full and complete case records not only insure thorough work and promote continuity of treatment, but are most valuable for research purposes.

TRAINING AND SELECTION OF PROBATION OFFICERS.

An eminent British departmental committee reporting in favor of the establishment of the probation system in that country several years ago, said: "The value of probation must necessarily depend upon the efficiency of the probation officer. It is a system in which rules are comparatively unimportant and personality is everything. Probation is what the officer makes it." As has already been pointed out, the personality, intelligence, tact, and character of the probation officer, rather than any rules of procedure, constitute the essence of the probation service. As in teaching, institutional work, settlements or boys' clubs, personal influence and personal work are paramount. More than in almost any other work is this true in probation. There is no apparatus to take its place. Without the personal influence and personal service of the probation officer applied to each individual child, probation becomes nothing but a system of brief surveillance and temporary and ineffectual discipline. Such being the case, the selection and training of probation officers is all important.

Probation officers, with but few exceptions, are now publicly employed and paid. With rare exceptions the societies which at one time selected workers with more or less care and furnished them for social work in the courts no longer do so. Dependence upon a corps of volunteers—a system with theoretical advantages—has proved to be almost a complete failure, even when the volunteers' work is under the supervision of a paid officer. Like most volunteer work, it can not be standardized and effectively supervised or depended upon. The volunteer is not there when he is most needed, nor can the regular performance of his duties be required. Volunteers, "big brothers," "big sisters," as well as representatives of all sorts of cooperating agencies, all render valuable service. Their work, however, in connection with children on probation should supplement the services of the paid officer and should be controlled, coordinated, and under the supervision at all times of the court probation staff. Probationary supervision is so essential a part of the work of the

children's court that it should not be turned over to the control of other agencies. It is so important to have it carried on efficiently, adhering to uniform standards, that it should not be intrusted to volunteer workers.

How shall paid workers with the high qualifications demanded be secured and appointed? In the first place, adequate salaries must be paid. The time has passed for expecting satisfactory service for a pittance. The probation officer must be in the work for the love of it and not alone for the salary; but having found the right sort of officer he must be paid, if not what he is worth, at least a living wage. At this writing salaries are being encouragingly increased. From \$1,500 to \$2,000 per annum is frequently paid at the start, with regular increases; responsible supervising officers receive larger compensation.

A great many States fix the salaries of their probation officers by law. This is not to be recommended, as it results in a lack of elasticity, and amending the law to secure changes is a slow process. In other States salaries are fixed by local boards having control of public appropriations. This means lack of uniformity and frequently the practice of false economy. It would be well if the judges could be trusted with the power, within certain limits, of fixing salaries and determining the number of probation officers required, their action in these matters, as well as their appointments and dismissals of probation officers, to be subject to the approval of a State agency supervising probation work.

The finding and selection of good probation officers is a difficult task. The greatest danger, as in all public work, is in local political interference. Two methods to avoid this have so far been worked out, both of which are in practical operation. First is the placing of probation officers under competitive civil service. Second is the more or less complete control of appointments by a State supervising agency. No method is infallible, but either of the above is better than subjecting appointments to unrestricted local political influence.

The best example of the successful operation of a State-wide civil service system for the appointment of probation officers is in New York State. The methods used have been increasingly successful in bringing out good material and preventing unfit appointments. In this State, however, the obvious dangers and inadequacies of the civil service method have been mitigated to a great extent by the work of the State probation commission, which cooperates with the civil service commissions in a large percentage of the examinations held.

In Vermont, Rhode Island, and Utah the State has complete control through a State agency of the appointment of probation officers.

In Vermont and Rhode Island a State probation officer serving under a State board of charities, and in Utah under a State juvenile court commission appoints all probation officers. In North Carolina the 1919 juvenile-court act makes the county superintendent of public welfare in each county the chief probation officer of the court and requires the State board of charities and public welfare to approve all appointments and removals of probation officers. In Texas, by an interesting statute enacted in 1913, probation officers in juvenile courts must be appointed by the judges from lists of three furnished by a nominating committee consisting of the county superintendent of public instruction and two school principals of the district. In Massachusetts for a number of years the State commission on probation has conducted unofficial examinations for probation officers. Lists of eligibles resulting therefrom are submitted to judges who request them, with information and suggestions concerning the candidates.

All the above methods are attempts to standardize appointments and avoid political interference. Their purpose is also to assist the judges in finding the right material. This is all-important. Experience in New York State has shown that whenever adequate salaries were offered and the opportunities for the work made known through the advertising of examinations, good probation officers, or at least the "makings" of good officers, could always be found.

Little organized effort has as yet been made to train probation officers adequately. Most of the special schools of social work, many of them conducted as departments of universities, have courses preparing in a general way for probation work. Special training courses for probation officers in the service have been inaugurated in several cities. There should be more of these, and in time the taking of such a preparatory course as well as a period of practical field experience under the supervision of a trained officer should be required of every probation officer before entering upon his work.

STATE SUPERVISION OF PROBATION.

Reference has been made to the part played by State supervising agencies in controlling or helping to secure fit appointments of probation officers. The many other advantages of State supervision are well recognized. The State probation commissions in Massachusetts and New York have undoubtedly been large factors in the remarkable extension and development of probation work throughout those States. These commissions, having the sole duty of promoting the efficient organization of the courts for social service, have done much to secure legislation, appropriations, and public support for children's courts, domestic relations courts, and probation work generally.

Their work has been even more important in developing better standards and greater uniformity of methods. Probation work is always largely dependent upon local support and interest. There are always backward courts and communities which need State aid to bring them up to standard. The aid rendered by these commissions is not financial but educational. It is found that in general the great need and unquestioned economy of dealing in a kindly and effective fashion with delinquent and neglected children before the courts are recognized when the matter is put squarely before a community.

Besides this work of promoting probation, the State supervising agency keeps in touch with the probation work all over the State by means of investigations and reports. It develops better standards in the work by such methods as making written recommendations to the judges, publishing reports and literature, holding conferences, and prescribing systems of case records and blanks to be used by the probation officers. This work is as much a State function as the inspection and maintenance of public institutions for the dependent classes. Data compiled in both Massachusetts and New York clearly show that a large reduction in the population of the prisons and other State correctional institutions has resulted from the extension of probation work.

Effective State supervision of probation and court work generally has not advanced far in this country. In addition to the two States—Massachusetts and New York—having independent probation commissions, three States—Rhode Island, Vermont, and Utah—have State control of the appointment and work of probation officers. In 1919 Alabama established a child-welfare department having among its duties advising with and receiving reports from probation officers and judges of all juvenile courts. The same year Oregon established a State child-welfare commission, one of whose duties is to approve all appointments of probation officers in the Portland Court of Domestic Relations, which has exclusive jurisdiction of children's cases. Connecticut supervises probation work through its prison association, a semiofficial body. In addition, nine States require probation officers to report to some State department, usually a State board of charities and correction.

PROBATION FOR ADULTS.

Developments throughout the country seem to indicate that the day of the juvenile court as an agency concerned with children only is passing; not that the methods used in the best courts for dealing with delinquent and neglected children are going to be greatly changed, but that these methods are going to be applied increasingly to adults, and that the family is to be treated as a unit. Chil-

dren's courts will become family courts. The best children's court laws have always given the courts jurisdiction over parents and other adults contributing to the delinquency and neglect of the child. Many children's courts are that only in name, as they deal with practically as many adults as children. Where such jurisdiction is given to the court, the parents can be dealt with directly, through placing them on probation, instead of indirectly through the child. By making the responsible adult subject to direct action by the court the protection of the child from parental neglect and adult misconduct is greatly promoted.

The next logical step, one which has been taken in Cincinnati and more recently in other Ohio cities, as well as in Portland, Oreg., is the combination of the domestic relations and the juvenile court into one family court. One probation staff handles all cases. The family is dealt with as a unit and much duplication of effort resulting from separate courts handling family problems is avoided. There should be no relaxation of the standards developed for probation work with children, but to a large extent these methods and standards should be applied to adult cases also. In fact the recent remarkable progress in the study of mental development and the degree of responsibility in relation to crime have shown that a chronological age limit is arbitrary and absurd in dealing with delinquents. The truth contained in the old saying that men are but children of a larger growth should never be forgotten. With discrimination and the right selection of cases, every method and principle developed in the children's court, including those of probation, can be applied to adult offenders.

THE RESULTS OF THE PROBATION METHOD.

While not enough investigations extending over sufficiently long periods have been made to admit of stating statistically the results of placing children on probation, all the data at hand seem to indicate clearly that the method is very successful when administered properly. If a child going wrong, or in danger of doing so, can be reclaimed by this system of home supervision backed by the power of the court and the personality of the probation officer, there is no question of its advantages and its economies. Stigma is always attached to commitment to reformatory institutions, or even, though in lesser degree, to institutions for dependents. The readjustment of the child from life in an institution to normal social life is always difficult and the results are precarious. Probation is a system of training, of building up good habits in normal home surroundings. If it succeeded in accomplishing its ends in only a minority of the cases, it would well pay. Such statistics as we have, however, show

that it succeeds in a large majority of cases. In all of New York State during the year ended June 30, 1919, 7,647 children finished probation periods. Of these, 6,215, or 81.3 per cent, finished their terms of probation and were reported as successful cases by their probation officers; 417 finished probation but were classed by their probation officers as "not improved"; 882 failed on probation and were committed to institutions; and only 52 in the entire number escaped or were lost from supervision during the year. The results in the remaining 81 cases were unknown.⁹ Statistics from other States show similar results. It is extremely doubtful whether any correctional institution can show so large a percentage of successes as can the probation system, though the cost of probation treatment has been found in New York State to be approximately one-eighteenth of the cost of institutional care.

The probation plan of treatment is most valuable as a sifting process, giving an opportunity to study the child in his normal home surroundings over a considerable period of time. In this way, as through no brief investigation or clinical examination alone, the child can be understood and adjusted to an occupation and surroundings in which he can live his life successfully and happily.

Summary. & CONCLUSION.

We have discussed the broad principles and technical methods of the probation plan as extensively developed in the children's courts of this country. Whatever may be the future of this work, its principles will remain and will continue to be applied to the delinquent and neglected child. They are based upon the eternal principles of human helpfulness and understanding and consideration for the weaker members of society. When there cease to be children of defective heredity and retarded natural development, and when, above all, there cease to be broken and imperfect homes which do not fulfill their greatest function in the protection and education of the children given to them, then, and not until then, shall we be able to do away with probation work, for probation work is, in the last analysis, but the partial supplying of the parental function where that is lacking or incompetent.

The probation officer, besides his primary duty of helping to save the children in his charge, has another duty to perform. (He should be a factor in developing the still more important and many-sided movements to *prevent* delinquency and child neglect.) He should realize, in the words of Ferri, the founder of criminal sociology, that "in the society of the future the necessity for penal justice will be

⁹ New York State Probation Commission, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1919, p. 27. Albany, 1920.

reduced to the extent that social justice grows intensively and extensively." ¹⁰ He is engaged in securing first-hand social data of the greatest value showing the causes of the diseases which he treats. The benefits of his experience should be utilized more fully; more research should be done in connection with his work and more publicity given it, using the valuable records which have accumulated in the best children's courts, without, of course, using publicity in such a way as afterwards to become a hindrance to any child. Valuable case studies could be made and information given out to the public and to agencies such as the schools, the churches, and social and civic societies which are working for social betterment in many different fields. Thus may probation work contribute a greater share toward the elimination of delinquency and human waste.

¹⁰ Hoag, E. B.: Notes on Crime and Delinquency, p. 7. University of California, Berkeley, 1917.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

CHILDREN
DEPRIVED OF PARENTAL CARE

A STUDY OF CHILDREN TAKEN
UNDER CARE BY DELAWARE
AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

By

ETHEL M. SPRINGER



DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE, AND DELINQUENT CLASSES SERIES No. 12

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, March 30, 1921.

SIR: I submit herewith a report dealing with 513 children citizens of the State of Delaware who during a two-year period were taken under care by institutions and agencies, and removed from their homes or other places of abode. The study was made, under the supervision of Miss Emma O. Lundberg, Director of the Social Service Division, by Miss Ethel M. Springer and a staff of field agents, and Miss Springer has prepared this report.

The cases presented are for the most part found at the lowest living level. They represent the most obvious social wastage. They are, however, undoubtedly an index of the low social vitality which marks a much larger number. The report avoids any attempt to arouse emotion in the reader and is confined rigidly to statistical enumerations and to literal descriptions. It compels the reader to follow the tabulations and dull records of type cases. It has the monotony of a catalogue of ships—wrecked ships. Ignorance, poverty, imbecility, crime, sickness, abominable housing and living conditions, and civic neglect of surroundings are seen like so many piled rocks against which the family vessel is crushed and the children maimed or lost. It may be doubted if any effort to interpret or clarify could drive home more relentlessly the questions which must occur to every reader alive to human needs.

Is it prudent, let alone humane, to permit children in the poor-house? Can institutional care be made adequate to cure and make normal the children who have suffered the neglect implied in the case of every one of the 513 children? What are the best practical methods by which a modern State may express its legal responsibility for its neglected child citizens? Does not this study emphasize the necessity for the intelligent review of State conditions represented by the work of the code commissions?

It is only fair to add that Delaware has begun a carefully considered forward movement since this study was made.

The practice of the most advanced States shows that among the basic elements of a reasonable system of State care for dependent and neglected children are a State probation system, mothers' pen-

sions, State placing-out and boarding-out, necessary institutions for feeble-minded and socially unmanageable children, proper supervision, and intelligent and sympathetic administration. But these are only the emergency measures in a child-welfare program.

If, as we must, we look further than correction and remedy, and ask how to prevent the unhappiness of which these children are the sign, we can see promise only in great measures, in the slow but sure development of standards of life for the American family based upon a universal wise public educational policy, upon an economic basis that permits a man to earn an income sufficient to support in safety and decency his wife and young children, and leaves the mother in the home to care for the family. A new sense of civic responsibility for decent housing, surroundings, and recreation will come also.

The mysterious phenomena of heredity, of mental and bodily growth which challenge our neglect of research only make more imperative our attention to the conditions of poverty, of ignorance, of unsocial behavior, of civic disregard, which are within our approximate understanding and control. To no smaller conclusions does this little report lead.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

CHILDREN DEPRIVED OF PARENTAL CARE.

FIELD AND METHOD OF STUDY.

At the request of a child-welfare organization of the State, Delaware was chosen as the field of an inquiry into the histories of children taken under care by agencies and institutions. The interest of the Children's Bureau in making the study was directed toward an analysis of the environment of the children prior to their removal from parental or other homes, and the possibilities of such preventive and constructive work with the families as might have made it possible for some of the children to have remained in their own homes.

As a basis for the inquiry a two-year period was chosen, dating from November 1, 1915, to October 31, 1917, inclusive. Children living in Delaware who were taken under care during this period and removed from their previous surroundings were selected for study. Some of these children had agency or institutional care prior to the beginning of the period chosen.

The method by which the case histories which form the basis of the study were secured involved three distinct processes:

1. Records were secured from every agency and institution known to be caring for Delaware children.
2. These records were checked with other sources for additional information, such as general relief and health agencies (notably the Associated Charities of Wilmington, the Visiting Nurse Association, and the Delaware Tuberculosis Commission), school and court records.
3. Visits were made to families and interested individuals wherever feasible.

The data available were considerable. The combined records of several sources of information amounted in many instances to complete histories. The average number of sources of information in regard to each child was four.

The histories were so compiled as to show the conditions under which the children lived prior to their removal by agencies and the reasons for removal. In detail they contained, besides the description of environmental conditions, a record of the child's parentage and family history; a record of the child's personal history—physical, mental, and social—including school and employment history; a record of agency treatment of the child, both prior and subsequent

to removal; a statement of the constructive work done with the families or households from which the children were removed, with a record of the conditions after the child had been taken away; and a summary indicating the possibility of the child's return to the family group.¹

The report accordingly deals first with the conditions surrounding the child prior to removal; second, with the agency treatment, discussing the immediate reasons for removal and the kinds of care given; and, third, with suggestions for future constructive effort.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN THE STATE.

Area and population.

Territorially, Delaware is the smallest State but one in the United States, extending over only 1,965 square miles. The State is divided into three counties, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. The population of the State, according to the United States census estimate for 1917, was 215,160. The population of the only large city, Wilmington, located in New Castle County, was at that time estimated as 95,369, or 44 per cent of the total population of the State.² The town next in size to Wilmington had an estimated population of less than 5,000, and only three towns exceeded 2,500. The rural population was 92 per cent of the population of the entire State, exclusive of Wilmington.³

Aside from manufacturing, which was carried on in or near the large city and some of the towns, farming and fruit-growing constituted the principal industries of the State. Ammunition and metal work were among the important manufactures during the period covered by the study; leather and fiber works were also numerous; while fruit and vegetable canneries were scattered along the railroads at stations convenient to farming districts.

Outside Wilmington, facilities for constructive social work were very meager. With the exception of the almshouses of Kent and Sussex Counties, all the Delaware institutions receiving children were located in New Castle County. Four institutions were situated within the limits of Wilmington and all the child-caring agencies had their headquarters in that city.

Institutions and agencies caring for children.

The work of the child-caring agencies and institutions of the State was made the subject of a study published by the Russell Sage

¹ See schedule form, Appendix, p. 95.

² See Estimates of population of the United States, 1910-1917. Bulletin 138, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1918, pp. 11, 15.

³ The populations for the three towns (Dover, Newcastle, and Milford) were estimated according to the method used by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, which is outlined on p. 5 of Bulletin 138, cited in note 2.

Foundation in 1918.⁴ This survey included a general historical statement of the work for children which had been undertaken in Delaware, an account of the present organizations, emphasizing especially their administrative functions, and constructive recommendations for their future development. Since the scope and methods of the agencies and institutions have been covered in this recent report, only a short outline regarding them is necessary here.

Nine institutions in the State were devoted entirely to the care of children: Two industrial schools, two undenominational homes for dependent children, one hospital and home combined, and four church orphanages. Four other institutions—namely, the almshouses of the three counties and the Florence Crittenton Home—included children among their charges.

The two industrial schools were semipublic institutions intended primarily for the care and training of children legally committed to them because of delinquency, though both institutions also received children committed because of dependency. The boys' school⁵ provided for white and colored children between 10 and 17 years of age, inclusive; the girls' school received only white girls between 7 and 18 years of age, inclusive. The institution for boys retained legal jurisdiction over its charges until they were 18 years of age; the institution for girls, until 21 years.

One of the undenominational homes for dependent children was for white and the other for colored children. The home for white children received both boys and girls of 3 years and upward. The maximum age for the boys under care was 11 years; for the girls there was no fixed age limit. Besides orphan and destitute children, children were received whose friends or relatives were able to pay a small sum toward their maintenance in the institution. This home also placed children in family homes, retaining supervision over them. At the home for colored children, boys and girls from 2 to 12 years of age were received. Girls were kept until 18 years; boys until 21.

The home and hospital combined provided for white children only and cared for needy children under 3 years of age.⁶

Two of the church orphanages received white children—one caring for boys and one for girls. The other two church institutions were for colored boys.

In addition to the nine institutions listed above, the almshouses of the three counties of the State admitted and cared for children of any age and condition. The special work of the Florence Crittenton

⁴ Richardson, C. Spencer: *Dependent, Delinquent, and Defective Children of Delaware*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, March, 1918.

⁵ In 1919 this school (Ferris Industrial School) became a State institution. (Laws 1919, ch. 149.)

⁶ This institution now provides for colored children.

Home in Wilmington was to care for white girls and women illegitimately pregnant for the first time.

A number of Delaware children were cared for by institutions outside the State. Recourse to outside aid was almost unavoidable in the case of colored children, since the State made very limited provision for them. There was no institution in the State for the care of delinquent colored girls. Three orphanages received colored boys, but only one cared for colored girls. No institution corresponding to the Florence Crittenton Home existed for colored girls and women. During the period of the study eight institutions outside the State had received Delaware children.

The child-caring agencies of Delaware other than institutions comprised three State-wide organizations and two whose work was limited to Wilmington. One of the societies doing State-wide work for children handled nonsupport and cruelty cases, and placed children in institutions and private homes. Another organization was devoted entirely to the work of placing and supervising children in private families. The third had for its purpose the coordinating of the work of the other agencies. The two Wilmington agencies above referred to were the juvenile court and its allied organization, the juvenile court and probation association. The children coming under the care of the juvenile court were boys 17 years and under and girls 18 years and under brought before the court because of delinquency or dependency. In addition to the cases brought before the juvenile court formally, many cases—such as truancy—were handled informally or without a hearing before the judge. Practically all the truancy work in the city was done by the probation officers. The court had authority to place children in private homes as well as to commit them to institutions. The auxiliary organization worked for improved legislation, assisted financially, and furnished volunteer workers.

CHILDREN INCLUDED IN THE STUDY.

At the outset of the study it was obvious that no clean-cut selection of children could be made on the basis of dependency in its ordinary meaning of material destitution. While all children taken under care were dependent in the sense of being wards of the agencies and institutions in whose care they were found, some had become wards for one reason, some for another. Almost every agency in the State was dealing with all the usually differentiated classes of delinquent, dependent, neglected, and defective children, and all four classes were found in every institution. It was determined, therefore, that the emphasis of the inquiry should be placed upon the fact that the agencies had seen fit to remove these children from their previous surroundings, and the main object of the study should be to ascertain the causes which had necessitated removal.

In all, records were secured for 513 children taken under care by agencies and institutions during the period of the study. These children had been removed by the agencies from various types of environment, as shown by the following list:

Parental homes	389	Institutions.....	14
Homes of relatives.....	64	Homeless	6
Foster homes	32		
At service	3	Total.....	513
Rooming or boarding houses.....	5		

At the time of their removal 485 children were living in private homes with their own parents or with other guardians. These children constitute the basis of the discussion on home conditions.

CLASSIFICATION OF CASES.

The 513 children were received by the various agencies and institutions either informally or as the result of court action which removed them from their previous guardians. Court cases included those that had involved hearings before the juvenile court or the municipal court of Wilmington, the county courts, local magistrates, or justices of the peace.

The only court in the State devoted entirely to the interests of children was the juvenile court of Wilmington. This court was established by law in 1911, and the classes of children within its jurisdic-

tion were defined as dependent, neglected, and delinquent.* This classification is used in the present report as the basis of the classification of all the children included in the study.

As a matter of fact, though the law provided for the handling of "neglected" children, it was customary in the juvenile court to adjudge a child either delinquent or dependent or both. Cases of neglect were usually heard in other courts or before magistrates, the parents being prosecuted. For the purpose of this report, all cases involving legal action were classed together, and grouped as dependent, neglected, or delinquent. The cases involving no legal action were arbitrarily divided into similar groups, as the history of the case indicated.

DISTRIBUTION, BY RACE, SEX, AND CLASS.

Table I shows the distribution of these children by race and sex. Of the group, 403, or 79 per cent, were white and 110, or 21 per cent, were colored. Comparing these figures with the proportion of Negro children among the population under 20 years of age according to

* 1915, sec. 3829 *Delinquent child, dependent child, neglected child or children, parent or parents, defined; Disposition of child or evidence in case, not elsewhere admissible against child; Exception.* The words "delinquent child" shall include any male child 17 years of age or under and any female child 18 years of age or under, who violates any law of this State, or who labors when he belongs to any class excluded from laboring in any gainful occupation by the child-labor law of this State, or who is incorrigible; or who knowingly associates with thieves, vicious, or immoral persons; or who, without just cause or without the consent of its parents or custodians, absents itself from its home or place of abode, or who is growing up in idleness or crime; or who, knowingly, visits or enters a house of ill-repute; or who knowingly patronizes or visits any policy shop or place where any gaming device is or shall be operated; or who patronizes or visits any saloon or dram shop where intoxicating liquors are sold; or who patronizes or visits any pool room or bucket shop; or who wanders about the streets in the nighttime without being on lawful business or occupation; or who habitually wanders about any railroad yards; or who smokes or uses any cigarettes of any kind whatsoever; or who habitually uses vile, obscene, vulgar, profane, or indecent language or is guilty of immoral or disorderly conduct in any public place or highway or about any schoolhouse; or who is persistently truant from school.

Any child committing any of the acts hereinabove mentioned shall be deemed a juvenile delinquent person, and shall be proceeded against as such in the manner hereinafter provided. A deposition of any child under sections 12 to 26, inclusive, of this chapter, or any evidence given in such case shall not, in any civil, criminal, or other cause or proceeding whatever in any court, be lawful or proper evidence against such child for any purpose whatever, except in subsequent cases against the same child under said sections. The words "child" or "children" may mean one or more children, or the words "parent" or "parents" may mean one or both parents, when consistent with the intent of said sections.

For the purpose of said sections the words "dependent child" or "neglected child" shall mean any male child 17 years of age or under, or any female child 18 years of age or under, that is found begging, receiving, or gathering alms (whether actually begging or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale anything), or being in any street, road, or public place for the purpose of begging, gathering, or receiving alms, or that is found wandering and not having any home or any settled place of abode or proper guardianship or visible means of subsistence, or that is found destitute, or whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity on the part of its parents, guardian, or other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such child.

the census of 1910—16.9 per cent—the number of colored children included in the study was relatively large.

Boys predominated in both the white and colored groups, though among the colored the sexes were somewhat more evenly divided. There were three-fourths as many white girls as white boys; among the colored there were four-fifths as many girls as boys.

TABLE I.—*Children taken under care, by race and sex, according to class.*

Class of case.	Total children.	White.			Negro.		
		Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	513	403	229	174	110	60	50
Cases involving court action.....	292	218	126	92	74	50	24
Dependent.....	50	41	20	21	9	8	1
Neglected.....	32	21	5	16	11	3	8
Delinquent.....	210	156	101	55	54	39	15
Cases handled informally.....	221	185	103	82	36	10	26
Dependent.....	197	176	100	76	21	8	13
Neglected.....	11	9	3	6	2	1	1
Delinquent.....	13	.....	.....	.....	13	1	12

This table also shows the distribution by classes. Among cases involving court action, delinquents naturally predominated; the majority of the children coming to the agencies without court action were dependent. The majority of the so-called dependent children who had been brought under care through legal action had been handled by the juvenile court, which had power to act on these cases, committing them to institutions or placing them in private homes. The neglect cases involving legal action were those in which parents were prosecuted. It must be remembered that only those cases were included in the study in which the child was removed from his home or other environment. Many cases of neglect were settled without breaking up the home, the parents being required to pay nonsupport orders through the court and to improve conditions.

The delinquent children handled informally were without exception colored children removed from their homes by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. One of these was a small boy who had been reported to the society as beyond the control of the relatives with whom he lived. He stole and ran away from home. The society first placed him in a private family, but his delinquencies continued, and his admission was secured to the boys' industrial school. All the other delinquent children handled informally were girls, who were removed to a private disciplinary institution outside the State. If Delaware had had provision for colored girls at the girls' industrial school, several of these cases would have been legally committed there.

The neglected children who had not been before a court were likewise removed by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

Children. Two of them were removed from guardians who were unwilling to continue care of them; two were taken from a mother who was mentally incompetent; one was an abandoned child removed from the county hospital to an orphanage; one was a baby in need of care while the mother recovered from a drunken debauch. Two others were neglected by an immoral mother; their father, a respectable man, was willing to ask agency assistance but did not care to have the mother prosecuted. Three others were taken from a mother who had several times been reported as neglecting her children, and had once been before a judge on that charge.

AGE.

The study included children under 18 years of age. This age limit was chosen after a comparison of the age limits established by the various children's agencies and an analysis of the material which they offered. It was then applied arbitrarily in the selection of cases from those institutions which cared for both adults and children.

Table II shows the ages of the children according to class. The largest numbers appear in the 13 and 14 year groups, the delinquents contributing the largest part. The table shows only one child under 8 years of age classed as delinquent. This was the 7-year-old son of a colored cook, who was away from home all day; there being no one to care for the child, he ran wild in the streets and was brought before the juvenile court for persistent truancy. The majority of the dependent children were under 6 years of age.

TABLE II.—Ages of children when taken under care.

Age of child.	Total.			Children taken under care.								
				Dependent.			Neglected.			Delinquent.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	513	403	110	247	217	30	43	30	13	223	156	67
Less than 1 year	34	32	2	34	32	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 year.....	23	20	3	21	19	2	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....
2 years.....	15	13	2	14	13	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
3 years.....	22	21	1	19	19	.....	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....
4 years.....	23	19	4	19	16	3	4	3	1	.....	.....	.....
5 years.....	20	18	2	18	17	1	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....
6 years.....	24	22	2	20	19	1	4	3	1	.....	.....	.....
7 years.....	29	25	4	19	18	1	9	7	2	1	.....	1
8 years.....	25	20	5	13	10	3	5	5	.....	7	5	2
9 years.....	19	12	7	8	7	1	4	2	2	7	3	4
10 years.....	37	30	7	15	12	3	3	2	1	19	16	3
11 years.....	29	22	7	9	6	3	.....	.....	.....	20	16	4
12 years.....	41	29	12	7	6	1	3	2	1	31	21	10
13 years.....	47	35	12	10	8	2	1	1	.....	36	26	10
14 years.....	44	32	12	9	5	4	1	1	.....	34	26	8
15 years.....	35	20	15	5	4	1	.....	.....	.....	30	16	14
16 years.....	29	19	10	4	4	.....	1	.....	1	24	15	9
17 years.....	17	14	3	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	14	12	2

NATIVITY.

Of 488 children for whom nativity was reported, 469, or 96 per cent, were born in the United States. In the general population of Delaware, according to the United States Census of 1910, the percentage of native born was 91. The native-born white children included in the study represented 75 per cent of the group; the native-born Negro, 21 per cent. The corresponding percentages for the general population were 76 and 15. Only 19 of the children included in the study were reported as foreign born.

PARENTAGE.

Nativity of parents.

Facts in regard to the parents were not fully reported. Both parents of 276 children (212 white and 64 colored), or 54 per cent of the entire group, were known to be native born. On the other hand, 96 children, all white, or 19 per cent of the total, were known to have both parents foreign born. Of the remaining children, 32, including 2 colored children, had at least one foreign-born parent. Hence, one-fourth were known to be of foreign or mixed parentage, while more than one-half were known to be of native parentage. (See Table III.) Among the foreign nationalities reported were Italian, Russian, German, Irish, Austrian, English, Canadian, Swedish, Greek, and Rumanian. The Italians were the most numerous. Fifty children were reported as having Italian fathers and 47 as having both parents born in Italy; 13 children had Russian fathers; 11, German; 8, Irish; 7, Austrian; 6, English; none of the other nationalities was reported more than 3 times.

TABLE III.—*Race and nativity of parents.*

Nativity of fathers.	Children having mothers of specified nativity.									
	Total.	Native.			Foreign.			Not reported.		
		Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	513	312	234	78	111	111	.....	90	58	32
Native.....	293	276	212	64	11	11	.....	6	5	1
Foreign.....	113	10	8	2	96	96	.....	7	7	.....
Not reported.....	107	26	14	12	4	4	.....	77	46	31

Children born out of wedlock.

Birth out of wedlock was definitely reported for 61, or 12 per cent, of all the children. Of these, 32 were white and 29 were colored. This represented 8 per cent of the total number of white children and 26 per cent of the total number of Negro children. More than two-

thirds of the children of illegitimate birth were classed as dependent or neglected, 25 of them being under 7 years of age. (See Table IV.)

The total group constituted 9 per cent of all delinquent children and 14 per cent of all dependent and neglected children included in the study.

Four of the children included in the study were foundlings.

TABLE IV.—*Children born out of wedlock taken under care, by race and class of case.*

Class of case.	Children born out of wedlock, taken under care during specified age periods.								
	Total.	White.				Negro.			
		Total.	Under 7 years.	7-13 years.	14 years. of age and over.	Total.	Under 7 years.	7-13 years.	14 years. of age and over.
Total.....	61	32	17	11	4	29	8	11	10
Dependent and neglected....	42	24	17	6	1	18	8	7	3
Delinquent.....	19	8	.....	5	3	11	.....	4	7

Length of residence of parents in the United States.

The length of the parents' residence in the United States was computed only for those living at the time of the child's removal to agency care. In only five instances was the father reported as having been in this country less than five years; and in only nine instances was the mother so reported. Inasmuch as, with but 19 exceptions, all the children were native born and had lived all their lives in this country, it may safely be stated that the newly arrived immigrant did not measurably increase the amount of child dependency or delinquency in Delaware.

The actual number of instances where the parents could not speak English was not secured, but that such cases existed and contributed to the conditions which led to taking the children under care is illustrated by the following histories:

The parents of a 12-year-old boy had been 14 years in the United States but were unable to speak English. The boy, however, American born and surrounded by English-speaking people in the poorer section of Wilmington, had absorbed the worst that the city could give him. He was examined and found in good condition mentally and physically, but from the time he was 10 years old he was guilty of repeated delinquencies, chiefly petty larcenies. His parents could not understand him or control him and finally requested the juvenile court to place him in an institution. (Case No. 301.)

A boy 10 years of age was committed to the boys' industrial school on a charge of incorrigibility. His mother, who could not speak a word of English, found it impossible to control him. He would run away from school at recess;

he would disappear from his home early in the morning before the other members of the family were about, and would come home late at night, crawling in through a window or through the cellar. His behavior suggested defective mentality, but when he was placed under observation he was declared normal. Analysis of his record seemed to indicate that the difficulty lay in bad environmental influences and in a lack of sympathy between the boy and his parents. (Case No. 501.)

An Italian ammunition worker had three young boys whom he placed in a church institution when their mother deserted them. Five years later he had them returned to him, and for one year he struggled to care for them properly. He was described as intelligent, showing no marks of dissipation, a remarkable physical specimen, looking not more than 50 years of age, though really 71. He could not speak English; his boys did not understand Italian. There were no relatives in this country who might have made a home for them. Greatly handicapped by the lack of a common language, the father at length complained that he could not work and also care for his boys and applied for their admission to the boys' industrial school. The charges on which the boys were committed were larceny and incorrigibility; but, according to the father's own statement, they were not "bad boys." They merely needed some one to look after them. (Cases Nos. 460, 461, 462.)

Families included in study.

Of the total of 513 children, 188, or 37 per cent, had brothers or sisters or half brothers or half sisters included in the study. The number of families represented was 398. (See Table V.) One family group of 6 children was included; 7 families of 4 each were included; 24 families of 3 each; 41 families of 2 each. The remaining 325 children, or 63 per cent of all, were the only members of their family groups represented in the study.

TABLE V.—*Families having specified number of children included in study, by race.*

Race.	Families having specified number of children included in study.						
	Total.	One.	Two.	Three.	Four.	Five.	Six.
Total.....	398	325	41	24	7	.....	1
White.....	303	239	37	20	6	.....	1
Negro.....	95	86	4	4	1	.....	.....

The size of the child's own family was not adequately reported in agency records. While some organizations had been very particular to secure data on this point, other agencies had made no note whatever in regard to it. For the discussion of this subject, therefore, Table VI was limited to 305 children whose histories were supplemented by family visits, and for whom presumably full information on this point had been obtained.

Forty-three per cent of this group, including 132 of the 305 children—114 white and 18 colored—came from families in which there were 5 or more children; over one-third, or 35 per cent, came from families in which there were 3 or 4 children. Among the white cases large families were much more prevalent than among the colored. Possibly one reason for this was the greater irregularity in the relationship of colored parents to each other, only 20 per cent of the colored children coming from family groups where the parents were married and living together.

To what extent size of family contributed toward dependency can not be judged by so small a group of cases. That a rapidly increasing family of young children constitutes a serious problem, especially when the family income is low, was illustrated by several of the cases studied.

TABLE VI.—*Number of children in child's own family.*

Number of children in family group (including child of study).	Children taken under care whose families were visited.									
	Total.	Class of case.								
		Dependent.			Neglected.			Delinquent.		
		Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	305	154	135	19	30	26	13	112	80	32
One child.....	31	20	15	5	.....	.....	.....	11	4	7
Two children.....	36	21	16	5	5	4	1	10	5	5
Three children.....	56	29	23	6	12	1	11	15	11	4
Four children.....	50	29	28	1	8	8	.....	13	12	1
Five children.....	35	15	14	1	4	4	.....	16	11	5
Six children.....	26	8	8	.....	5	5	.....	13	11	2
Seven children.....	20	7	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	8	5
Eight children.....	28	13	13	.....	3	3	.....	12	10	2
Nine or more children.....	23	12	11	1	2	1	1	9	8	1

ORPHANAGE.

One significant feature of this study of children taken under care by agencies and institutions was the small number of children both of whose parents were dead. (See Table VII.) Information was lacking for a number of children, but only 15, or 3 per cent of all, were known to be full orphans; for 157, or 31 per cent, it was known that one parent was living and one was dead.

For 259 children it was known that both parents were living. With due allowance for possible other cases, not less than 50 per cent nor more than 66 per cent had both parents living. As a matter of fact, in the majority of instances where conditions regarding one or both parents were not reported, the lack of information was due to the absence of the parent from the family group.

TABLE VII.—*Orphanage.*

Class of case.	Total children.	Children whose parents were—					
		Both dead.	One dead.	Both living.	One dead; one not reported as to whether living or dead.	One living; one not reported as to whether living or dead.	Both not reported as to whether living or dead.
Total.....	513	16	157	250	7	63	12
Dependent and neglected.....	290	9	82	143	4	45	7
Delinquent.....	223	6	75	116	3	18	5

The numerous instances in which the full facts were not reported render impossible a satisfactory comparison of the proportions of orphans or half orphans in the dependent and neglected group with those found in the delinquent group. The fact that fully one-half of the children of this study had both parents living suggests the need for an increase of constructive work with families.

COMMUNITY CONDITIONS SURROUNDING CHILDREN REMOVED FROM FAMILY HOMES.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION.

Of the 485 children who at the time of their removal by agencies were living in private homes with their own parents or with other guardians, 367, or 76 per cent, were located in Wilmington. (See Table VIII.) Outside Wilmington, 59 children, or 12 per cent of all, were in New Castle County; 29, or 6 per cent, were in Kent County; 23, or 5 per cent, were in Sussex County. For 4 children the exact place of residence was not reported. Three children were temporarily living in another State but were included in the study because their legal residence was Delaware.

These 485 children represented 389 household groups, of which 303 were white families and 86 were colored.

TABLE VIII.—*Residence of child when taken under care.*

Class of case.	Children having specified residence when taken under care.						
	Total.	Wilmington.	New Castle County, outside Wilmington.	Kent County.	Sussex County.	Location not reported.	Other State.
Total.....	485	367	59	29	23	4	3
Dependent.....	232	187	22	8	10	4	1
Neglected.....	41	19	11	7	4	.....	.....
Delinquent.....	212	161	26	14	9	.....	2

NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS.

Besides the 367 children whose residence was Wilmington at the time of their removal, only 2 children came from large cities; these were 2 of the 3 children living temporarily in another State. Of the remaining children, 45 were from towns in the State having a population of 500 or over; 17 were from communities of 50 to 499 inhabitants; 49 came from the scattered population; for 5 the population of the place of residence was not reported. A comparison of these figures with those for the population of the State in corresponding groups emphasizes the fact that the one large congested center contributed far more than a proportionate number of children, while the scattered population contributed much less.

The conditions in the neighborhood in which the children lived were graded roughly as good, fair, or poor, according to reports given in the written records or observation of agents at the time of visits to the families. The terms applied to many general aspects of the neighborhood, such as housing, sanitation, and moral influences. The conditions surrounding nearly three-fifths of the children taken under agency care in the large population center were found to be poor; and in other communities having a population of 500 and over the conditions in about two-fifths of the instances were reported as poor. The gradings were more evenly distributed for the children removed from districts having populations of 50 to 499, and indicated only a small number of instances in which actively bad neighborhood conditions surrounded children coming from scattered populations.

The dividing line between neighborhood influences and home influences was somewhat hard to draw, especially for rural districts where social influences outside the home appeared almost nonexistent. Some rural neighborhoods were classified as poor because, while there was little that was bad about them, constructive influences were lacking. For example, two small boys lived in a dilapidated cabin on a desolate strip of seashore. In this case the extreme isolation counteracted all the healthful natural elements.

DWELLINGS—NUMBER OF ROOMS AND SANITARY CONDITIONS.

The typical dwelling occupied by wage earners in Wilmington was the block house, two or three stories in height, averaging three rooms to a floor. Houses occupied by the colored and the foreign born were usually small, two stories in height, and sometimes with but two rooms to a floor. Those houses were originally planned as dwellings for one family, but when neighborhoods deteriorated many of them were subdivided.

Dwellings in other communities of the State were of great variety, ranging from houses built in rows in the central or business sections of the district to detached frame houses with small plats of ground.

The typical rural house, occupied by the farm tenant or laborer, was a frame house without cellar or basement, of two stories, having four rooms in the main structure and an ell containing one inclosed room and a porch or summer kitchen.

Overcrowded conditions existed in some of the homes studied. In 24 instances household groups, varying in number from two to six persons, were found living in one room; of these 12 were white and 12 were colored. In 24 instances families lived in two rooms; one of these was a white family comprised of seven persons. Three white families of seven members each were found occupying only

three rooms each. In two instances one white and one colored family of nine were domiciled in four rooms. Twelve white families of 10 or more individuals had only six rooms each.

One boy of 14 belonged to a family numbering seven individuals who shared a tiny five-room house in the poorest part of Wilmington with another family of four. He was brought to the attention of the juvenile court because of his persistent truancy. Three weeks later he, with one of the other children living in the same house, was implicated in a charge of larceny. Probation was insufficient to counteract the influences of his home and neighborhood; and after a year he was again charged with larceny of a more serious nature and was committed to the industrial school for boys. (Case No. 437.)

An inquiry into the sanitary conditions of the homes from which the children were removed produced unsatisfactory results, due to the large number of cases for which conditions were not reported. Moreover, the grades of good, fair, and poor, into which the cases were divided, were very roughly defined. Out of a group of 363 cases in regard to which reports were secured, 134, or more than one-third, were classed as poor. The number classed as good was also about one-third (127 cases). Among white children, the largest number of cases appeared among the good, while, with the colored children, poor conditions exceeded both the good and the fair together.

Congested and insanitary conditions, especially in the foreign quarter of Wilmington, were among the contributing causes of removal in the cases of several children. In certain instances the moral standards had been so lowered that the children became delinquent.

In the home of three Italian children there were, in addition to the mother, eight lodgers. The father had died of pleuro-pneumonia and, at the time the children were removed, arrangements had been made for the admission of the mother to a sanatorium for tuberculous patients. The home was located in a damp, dirty dwelling consisting of six rooms. Two of the rooms were rented to two of the lodgers. The remaining four rooms were occupied by the mother, the three children, and the other six lodgers. (Cases Nos. 6, 7, and 8.)

CHILDREN REMOVED FROM THEIR PARENTAL HOMES.

A total of 389 children, 313 white and 76 colored, were removed from their parental homes; that is, from the guardianship of at least one parent.

FAMILY GROUP.

In 124 instances both parents were living in the home and were formally married to each other. For the remaining 265 children the personnel of the family group was irregular. (See Table IX.)

TABLE IX.—Personnel of family group.

Personnel of family group.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	265	207	58
Mother only in home.....	136	106	30
Father only in home.....	85	76	9
Mother and stepfather in home.....	21	11	10
Father and stepmother in home.....	16	11	5
Parents living together, not married.....	2	.....	2
Mother in home, civil condition unknown, whereabouts of father unknown.....	4	2	2
Father in home, civil condition unknown, whereabouts of mother unknown.....	1	1	.....

Among the 221 children removed from homes where only one parent was present, there were 86 instances in which one parent was dead and 3 in which the parents were divorced. In 87 instances the parents had separated without formal divorce. These included 20 instances in which the mother had deserted the family, leaving the child with the father; 6 in which the mother had deserted her husband but had taken the child with her; 38 in which the father had deserted the family, leaving the child with the mother, 2 being children whose parents had not been married to each other but had lived together for a considerable period until about three months before the children were removed; in 4 instances the parents had never been married to each other, but the mother, at the time of the study, was separated from another consort; the remaining 19 instances appeared to be cases of a separation by mutual agreement of the parents, including 7 cases in which the child stayed with the father and 12 in which the mother had the custody of the child. There were 23 instances in which the parents were legally married but one parent was temporarily absent from the home—because of sickness, incarceration in prison, or (in 2 instances) for military

duty; 13 in which the parent was unmarried; and 8 in which the parent was alone, but his or her civil condition was not reported.

Sixteen children were from homes in which the child's father and a stepmother were living together, one of the unions being a common-law marriage. In 21 instances the child's mother and a stepfather were living together, 8 of these being cases where there had been no marriage. In two cases the parents were living together but were not married. In five other instances the exact civil status was not known.

Analyzing the above situations from a slightly different angle, 111 of the 389 children removed from their parental homes were known to have lost one parent by death. There were also among this group 39 children—20 white and 19 colored—who had been born out of wedlock.

ECONOMIC HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD.

For 246—63 per cent—of the children removed from their parental homes the economic head of their family group was the father of the family; in 19 instances this was a stepfather. In 130 instances the children were removed from homes of which the mother was the economic head. Of the remaining children, 6 came from homes where a brother was the main support of the family; 6 came from homes where other individuals had assumed the responsibility; and for 1 child the conditions were not reported. (See Table X.)

TABLE X.—*Economic head of parental home.*

Race.	Children removed from households having specified economic head.					
	Total.	Father.	Mother.	Brother.	Other.	Not reported.
Total.....	389	246	130	6	6	1
White.....	313	203	99	5	5	1
Negro.....	76	43	31	1	1	.....

It will be noted that one-third of the children were from homes in which the mother was the economic head of the family. The question naturally arises whether in some of these families the application of widows' or mothers' pensions would not have been justified and have prevented the removal of the child from his home.

An analysis of the civil status of the mothers of the children showed that in 37 instances the mother had been left a widow through the death of the child's father; in 81 instances the parents were living apart, including 11 children born out of wedlock whose mothers were still unmarried at the time of the study, 56 in which the parents had voluntarily separated presumably because of friction, and 14 in which

the fathers were temporarily absent, because of delinquency, sickness, or military service; in the remaining 12 cases the civil status of the mother was either irregular or unknown.

The inference from the above analysis is that, while for at least 81 of these children the father seemed to be the first source to which anyone attempting family rehabilitation would naturally turn, there were 37 children, or 10 per cent of all the children removed from parental homes, for whom a mother's pension might have eliminated the necessity for removal.

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY GROUP.

Since a large majority of the children included in the study were removed from homes located in a city district, it was natural that manufacturing and mechanical industries predominated among the types of work in which the heads of households and family groups were engaged. In all types of industry the semiskilled occupations exceeded the other grades of work. Table XI shows grades of work reported:

TABLE XI.—*Occupation of economic head of parental home.*

Occupation of economic head of parental home.	Economic heads of households.	Children involved.
Total.....	307	389
Proprietors, officials, managers.....	15	17
Clerks and kindred workers.....	5	6
Skilled workers.....	43	53
Semiskilled workers.....	79	97
Laborers.....	46	63
Servants.....	48	62
Semiofficial public employee.....	1	3
Professional persons.....	1	2
Grade not reported.....	50	59
No gainful occupation.....	19	27

These figures, it must be remembered, apply to the economic head of the household, whether the father or mother. In 49 instances of the 163, where two parents were present in the home, both the father and the mother were gainfully employed. In the case of 27 children the head of the family group had no gainful occupation.

EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHER.

Of a group of 303 children removed from parental homes in which a mother or a stepmother was present, 152, or 50 per cent, had mothers who were known to be gainfully employed; 60 children had mothers who were not gainfully employed; for 91 the information was not available.

In all, the mothers of 105 children were known to be working away from home. Outside the various forms of domestic service

which were reported, the principal occupations were in the manufacturing industries, notably in connection with the leather works in Wilmington. The mothers of 47 children were reported as being employed at home, among these were lodging and boarding house keepers, women who took in sewing or washing, and several women who kept small "stores" in the front room of the family dwelling. One mother derived her income from maintaining a disorderly house. In a few instances the mother had been able to keep her child with her and make a home for it within the household of her employer. Although the mothers of these children were more easily accessible in case of need than were the mothers employed away from home, there was little evidence that their attention to their children was at all adequate. Of the mother of two children it was reported that she did not have time to "care for her children, as she must tend store."

Despite the number for which conditions were not reported, Table XII indicates that at the utmost less than two-fifths of the children had the full advantage of a mother's or stepmother's care.

TABLE XII.—*Employment of mother.*

Employment of mother.	House-holds.	Children involved.
Total.....	307	389
Mother ¹ not gainfully employed.....	48	60
Mother gainfully employed at home.....	40	47
Mother gainfully employed away from home.....	84	103
No mother in household group.....	60	86
Mother's occupation not reported.....	75	91

¹ The term "mother," as here used, means mother or stepmother.

The numerous charges of misconduct against a 10-year-old colored boy were traceable to absolute lack of supervision at home. Within a year he had been three times before the juvenile court—for throwing stones, for attacking another boy with a knife, and for causing a false alarm of fire. He was guilty also of persistent truancy. His home—a small, shabby, brick house in a very poor, narrow alley—faced the high, unbroken wall of a factory. His father was an unskilled laborer. His mother worked out at service, and he, with three other children, the oldest of whom was 11 years of age, were left alone all day. (Case No. 86.)

The removal of two little white girls and their baby brother was due to the fact that their mother had to go to work. Two years before the girls' father had been killed in a mine. His employers made a flat settlement of a "few hundred dollars," which the mother's brother quickly squandered. For a short time the mother lived under the protection of a man to whom she was not married, and by him gave birth to a baby boy. Before the child was 6 months old, however, the alliance terminated abruptly, and the mother was obliged to seek employment. Local agencies placed the children in institutions. (Cases Nos. 144, 145, and 146.)

ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILY.

Table XIII shows a rough distribution of the cases by the economic standards of the homes from which the children were removed. The classes "adequate," "inadequate," and "low" were gradings based upon evidence in the records or upon the personal judgment of the agents handling the cases. The border line between a decent living and an income insufficient to maintain a decent standard lay between "adequate" and "inadequate."

TABLE XIII.—*Economic status of parental home.*

Class of case.	Children removed from parental home of specified economic status.				
	Total.	Ade-quate.	Inade-quate.	Low.	Not re-ported.
Total.....	389	155	115	52	67
White.....	313	136	96	36	45
Dependent.....	158	54	55	20	29
Neglected.....	27	5	10	9	3
Delinquent.....	128	77	31	7	13
Negro.....	76	19	19	16	22
Dependent.....	17	5	2	5	5
Neglected.....	12	.....	6	6	.....
Delinquent.....	47	14	11	5	17

Only one child, a delinquent white boy, came from a home with income allowing for more than ordinary comforts and luxuries. Those children being classed as from homes with "low" income came from families receiving outside aid or in desperate need of help.

Unfortunately, the figures in this table include too many "not reported" to afford a satisfactory basis for comparison. Of the 322 cases whose surroundings were definitely reported, 155 children were reported as coming from homes with adequate income, 115 from homes with inadequate income, and 52 from homes with low income. Thus it appears that 48 per cent of those for whom conditions were reported were graded as coming from homes where the income was adequate. Proportionately, the larger number of these came from the white group.

Distributing by class of case the 155 children from homes where the income was reported as adequate, 59, or 38 per cent, were of the so-called "dependent" class—showing that other reasons than inadequacy of income were operative in bringing the children under agency care as dependents.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS AND THEIR OTHER CHILDREN.

For 284, or 73 per cent, of the children removed from their parental homes, unfavorable characteristics were reported of one or more members of the family group. Among the remaining group of 105

children there were a number, especially among the colored children, for whom information on this point was incomplete.

Three headings were used for grouping the unfavorable characteristics—physical, mental, and social. In order to simplify the study of the various conditions, every characteristic was listed by itself regardless of the instances in which it was combined with other characteristics. Table XIV shows the number of times the specific condition was reported of a child's parent or parents.

TABLE XIV.—*Characteristics of parents.*

Characteristics of parents.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Physical condition poor:			
Tuberculosis.....	34	30	4
Venereal disease.....	10	10	.....
Epileptic seizures.....	2	2	.....
Crippled.....	4	4	.....
Defective vision.....	3	3	.....
Defective hearing.....	2	2	.....
Other poor physical condition.....	38	34	4
Mentality not normal:			
Obviously defective.....	13	8	5
Insane.....	14	13	1
Social characteristics poor:			
Correctional institution record.....	45	41	4
Immorality.....	89	68	21
Illegitimate parentage.....	23	8	15
Deserting.....	79	73	6
Alcoholism.....	103	88	15
Other delinquency.....	25	18	7
Almshouse record.....	4	2	2
Other institution record.....	10	8	2
Other dependency.....	28	24	4
Other poor social characteristics.....	57	50	7

Physical condition of parents.

The physical condition of the child's parents was very inadequately reported. Tuberculosis stood out as the most common illness of those for whom some unfavorable physical condition was reported. In 34 instances, one parent at least was known to be tuberculous. That with four exceptions cases of tuberculosis were among white persons suggests that tuberculosis was more carefully noted among the white than among the colored inhabitants. Delaware is at present making an effort to give more thorough attention to the tuberculous colored of its population.

Two children were reported as having epileptic parents; 10 children had parents reported as having venereal disease; in 4 instances the parents were reported as being crippled; in 3 instances as having defective vision; in 2 as having defective hearing; in 38 as being otherwise in poor physical condition. In this last group were included cases of general weakness, cancer, kidney trouble, and suspected tuberculosis; also instances of acute or temporary disability which had necessitated the removal of the children. One father who was classed as in poor physical condition had been sent to a

hospital because of pneumonia; his illness, together with his wife's tuberculous condition, had precipitated the breaking up of the family. In another instance the child's father had recently returned from a hospital after an attack of typhoid fever. His protracted convalescence proved too great a financial burden for the family, and his wife was obliged to place their child in an institution temporarily, while she sought employment.

Information regarding the physical condition of parents was very inadequate, since records apparently were made only of glaring instances. While agencies frequently arranged for the physical examination of the child to be removed, they made no systematic inquiry regarding the health of the individuals with whom the child had been associated. Frequently, in the nature of the case, such an inquiry would have been impossible.

Mentality of parents.

Data on the subject of the mentality of the parents were very meager and in no instance was there a record of a scientific diagnosis. Twenty-seven children had parents who were reported as not normal mentally. These children represented 18 family groups, 14 white and 4 colored. Fourteen had parents who showed a history of insanity; these represented 9 families, 8 white and 1 colored. The remaining 13 children had parents who were reported as obviously defective, representing, however, only 9 individual parents, 6 white and 3 colored. Throughout this report the terms "imbecile," "feeble-minded," and "border line," are used only for cases diagnosed by experts. Cases of obviously low-grade mentality, but not diagnosed, were so designated.

Among the children having a parent obviously defective in mentality were two colored children, a boy and a girl, aged 9 and 12 years, respectively, who were removed from their home because of the cruelty of their mother's consort. Both children had been born out of wedlock. A third child of illegitimate birth, whose father was the above-mentioned man, was allowed to remain with the mother. The agent removing the children reported that they were removed because of cruelty and neglect. The baby was allowed to remain with the mother, who was not arrested because of her mental condition. A family visit reaffirmed the fact that the mother was of low-grade mentality. She had been married once, but had lived with two other men and had wandered from place to place. (Cases Nos. 514 and 516.)

The negative treatment of the foregoing case, which allowed the mother to go at large because she appeared mentally weak, will doubtless not be tolerated much longer by a State which has become awakened to the need for care of its feeble-minded.

One of the instances of insanity was that of an Italian mother. Shortly after coming to the United States, and at a time when she was pregnant, she saw an electric car run over and kill two of her children. Her baby, born prematurely

soon afterwards, died at the age of 2 months. The shock of those three deaths affected her mental condition. She had still living at this time one little girl, and during the next six years three other children were born to her. Gradually her mind became a blank. She would take no notice of what was going on about her and would make no response when addressed. One by one her three youngest children were removed from the home and placed in institutions, and at length she herself was sent to the State hospital for the insane. (Cases Nos. 197 and 198.)

Social characteristics of parents.

Alcoholism was the most frequently reported of any of the unfavorable social characteristics—in 74 instances of a total of 103 occurring in combination with other unfavorable social traits. In more than one-fourth of the parental homes from which children were removed alcoholism was a deteriorating factor. Alcoholism and immorality were reported together of one or both guardians of 22 children. One 14-year-old colored girl was found living in one room with her mother and her mother's consort. Both the man and the woman were confirmed drunkards and snuff users and were teaching the girl to drink, smoke, and "rub snuff." The home of a white baby boy was broken up through the action of two older half sisters. These girls, not yet 16 years old, secured the prosecution of their alcoholic father on the ground of his abusing them in a depraved and immoral fashion.

Immorality stood next to alcoholism in frequency of occurrence. More than one-fifth of the children removed from their parental homes were from households where one or both parents were reported as immoral. The facts in many of these cases were too sordid for publication. One girl, both of whose parents had been found guilty of extramarital relations, was removed from her home because her mother was commercializing the girl's personal attractions. Another white child of 11 years was removed from her home because of the mother's moral laxity. This woman had had six children born out of wedlock by as many different men. If anything, the figures for immorality were obtained through too conservative a rating. It will be noted that where the birth of one child out of wedlock was the only sexual offense reported, it was designated as illegitimate parentage and not as immorality.

The term "deserting" is used throughout this report as applying only to the active agent in a case of desertion. The deserting parent was usually absent from the household. Hence, while there were but 10 children living at the time of their removal with parents who had previously deserted their mates, there were found 79 children living with a parent who had been deserted. Among the children removed from deserting parents was a baby whose mother had left her three other children and their father and had gone to a boarding house.

She found very soon that she could not care for her baby and keep up the work which was necessary for their support. Two other children of a deserting parent were the sons of an immoral woman who had left her legal husband to live with another man. Both the mother and her consort were addicted to drink. The man was reported as cruel to her and to the children. They had their living quarters in cheap rooming houses, moving frequently. At the time that the agencies removed the children the man and the woman, the two boys, and a new-born baby were occupying one room.

"Other delinquency" reported of the parents included instances of cruelty, brutality, neglect, and larceny. Among the children exposed to such conditions were three small colored girls whose mother was dead and whose father left them alone all day in filth and rags to pick up such food as they might find by sneaking into the gardens or sheds of neighbors. The homes of three Italian children were broken up as a result of the murderous attacks which the fathers made upon the mothers. The mother of one of these Italian children, however, was giving her husband great provocation by her immoral conduct. One 8-year-old white boy, whose father had deserted and whose mother was living immorally with another man, was left by his mother to the precarious interest of a colored family who, after a number of days, turned him over to the agency. In all, 14 cases of neglect or nonsupport were included in this group, 3 of them being neglect by the mother.

The social characteristics of the parents were designated as "poor" when the statements made were derogatory but not specific. Not infrequently there was an implication that the moral standards were low. Such expressions as the following were sometimes used: "Mother not a proper person," "mother not strong morally," "father ran with other women." Other descriptions included parents who were lazy, irresponsible, nervous, erratic, profane, or more vaguely "poor" as to character or condition. In 5 instances the parent was spoken of as a "poor manager"; in 5 instances the parent had been teaching the children to steal. In 12 instances neglect or mistreatment of the children was reported. Three children lived in homes where the father was a gambler.

Homes where a step-parent was present, though not a large proportion of the whole, furnished some interesting illustrations of unfavorable social conditions.

One boy's mother died when he was 2 years old. His father, left with a large family, put the three youngest children into an institution and, for the others, secured a housekeeper. Later he married her and brought the other children home. The stepmother was never able to get along with the children, and gradually the older ones left home. The youngest boy was not easy to

control, resenting any correction, and frequently running away to his older sisters. He played truant and was on the streets at all hours, sometimes staying out all night; he smoked cigarettes and stole. The irregular life which he lived was demoralizing, and at 9 years of age he came under the care of the juvenile court. At the age of 14 he was brought before the juvenile-court judge for incorrigibility and the larceny of a bicycle. After trying him on probation, the court placed him with a private family; but within a month the court decided that it was necessary to send him to the industrial school. (Case No. 176.)

The underlying cause of the delinquencies of a 15-year-old white boy, which eventually brought about his commitment to the industrial school, was the constant irritation in his home. The youngest of a large family, he was the only child left at home when his father married again. The stepmother was reported as untruthful and a poor manager. For about three months before he was taken under the care of the juvenile court, the boy had stayed away from home because of a family quarrel and had slept in an unfinished building, getting his meals at cheap lunch counters and begging when his money gave out. Finally he left town with another boy and was picked up in the tenderloin district of Philadelphia by a detective, who returned him to the custody of the juvenile court. (Case No. 454.)

More frequently than otherwise poor characteristics occurred in combination. Many of the complex situations which actually existed defy tabulation or even enumeration. They can best be suggested by a few illustrative cases:

White children.—One 13-year-old boy came from a thoroughly degenerate family, with bad heredity and physical and mental defect apparent in varying forms among all the members. The father, disfigured not only through accidents which had occurred at his work but by congenital deformities, was described as frightful in appearance. Although at one time he had earned good wages, he became more and more intemperate and was arrested at different times for wife beating, for nonsupport, and for larceny. The mother, born of the incestuous relationship of her father with his own daughter, had been brought up in an institution. She was degenerate both physically and mentally, undersized, deaf, sly, irresponsible, shiftless, and utterly depraved. The children, of whom there were four, were undersized and retarded. The family lived in an old two-story brick house in a city block. The dwelling consisted of five small rooms, damp, dirty, and neglected. The location was poor, being near railroads and dumping grounds; the streets were unpaved and contaminated by open sewage. The family itself, however, constituted one of the most degrading influences of the neighborhood. The income of the family was very meager and irregular and, such as it was, was improvidently squandered. Conditions in this home were first reported to agencies by relatives. Prior to the period of the study the oldest girl had been removed to an institution because her mother had rented her out for immoral purposes. The girl had contracted syphilis. The boy included in this study was removed and placed with relatives, and before the close of the period agencies were seriously considering the removal of the two youngest children, for it had become known that the mother was permitting them to steal. (Case No. 28.)

At the request of their father, two young girls and their older half sister were moved from their home in a remote rural district. Their mother had deserted. At the time of the study the family lived in a one-room shack situated in a secluded location in beautiful country beside a stream and wood-

land. The shack was crowded with furniture and clothes. Two beds 3 feet apart occupied most of the floor space. A swinging cradle stood between them. The floor was carpetless and dirty. The man in this family, own father of the two younger girls, was a widower who had become attached to the children's mother; he said that he really wished to marry her but had been unable to persuade her. He endeavored to provide for the family by trapping and fishing, and by farming a small plat of ground which surrounded the cabin. According to his own statement he was able to support the family; but the fact that he paid no rent for his house and ground only emphasized the general impression that the family income was very low. It is reported that at times he drank. The mother relied upon money derived from her own and from the oldest girl's immorality. This woman had led a thoroughly promiscuous career. In addition to the three girls included in the study, she had "five or six" children, all born out of wedlock; it is not known what became of them. Periodically she went off with a new affinity, and the man, left alone, found that the care of the three girls was too much for him. (Cases Nos. 137, 140, and 229.)

The parents of three children—a girl 14 years old, a boy of 11, and their little 3-year-old sister—proved themselves to be utterly unsuitable guardians for their children. The father was a carpenter and could earn good wages, but he worked very irregularly because of his intemperance. At the time of the breaking up of the family he had been sentenced to the workhouse for carnal abuse of the oldest girl. The mother also was alcoholic. As one agency record put it, "both parents drank and carried on." The home was described as squalid; the dwelling, an unpainted, two-story frame house, was located in an unfavorable neighborhood, near railroad tracks and saloons, exposed to odors from open sewage and backyard privies. The children were almost uncared for. "How could they be up to average?" said the school-teacher of the two older children, "they were starved all the time." While they had never been in any serious trouble, it was said that they were always quarreling, always "picking on" other children, and on one occasion they had been warned by public officials because the boy had hit a little girl, and his sisters had been offending the neighbors by "swearing and using vile language." At the time of their father's sentence each of the children was placed in an institution. There is every evidence that the disposition made of them was of a makeshift variety, the agency handling them having inadequate facilities for suitable treatment. The oldest girl was committed to the industrial school on the ground of incorrigibility. The boy was sent to the boys' industrial school on the same charge, although the agency had on its record the statement that he was not a "very bad boy." The younger girl, 3 years old, was placed in one of the homes for dependent children. (Cases Nos. 183, 184, 185.)

A little girl of 4 years was admitted "as a boarder" to one of the homes for dependent children on the application of her mother, who had secured a position at service where it was impossible to have the child with her. The baby had been born out of wedlock. Of the father the mother stated that he drank and gambled. He wished to marry her, but she felt that the union could only bring her "more children and a lot of trouble," and she would not consent. She continued to live with her parents and her married sister; but the family comprised altogether nine persons living in a small rented house consisting of five rooms; conditions were so crowded that the mother felt it advisable to accept an offer of work with living, even though it involved separation from her child. (Case No. 317.)

Colored children.—Three small colored girls were taken from their mother on the ground of neglect and were placed in an institution. The father of the oldest child was a white boy who had visited the family in which the mother, a

colored woman, was a servant. In order to secure a home and protection, the mother married a colored man, by whom she gave birth to the two other children of the study. The family lived in a two-room house located in an alley in a very poor neighborhood. The man soon proved to be a disreputable character, a drunkard, not contributing to the family, and brutal to the mother. The mother was obliged to work out at domestic service, leaving the children in the care of a woman who lived in a near-by cellar. A man who lodged with the family carnally abused the oldest girl, only 6 years of age, and was sentenced to three years hard labor at the workhouse. Shortly before the removal of the children from their home the father was sentenced to the workhouse for neglect and nonsupport. (Cases Nos. 250, 251, 252.)

Two boys, aged 9 and 14 years, respectively, were removed from their home by an agency on the ground of delinquency and were committed to the boys' industrial school. An older brother was already an inmate of that institution. The family seems to have been at some disadvantage because of the fact that they were the only colored people in the community. They had lived in one house for 16 years, the father working out as a farm laborer and the mother helping white families as a servant. The white people complained that the home conditions were bad and that the parents taught the children to steal. The colored family complained that they were not fairly treated. A mental specialist who had chanced to observe the mother stated that he regarded her as an imbecile. It was also reported that she drank. As an infant she had been abandoned by her parents and had been brought up in an institution. Her home, when visited, was found in a dirty condition. Apart from the obvious inefficiency of the woman, the fact that both parents were away at work meant a lack of parental control over the children. The charges against the two boys of the study were "larceny and assault and battery." They had had a fight with a small boy and had gone off with his bicycle and express wagon. (Cases Nos. 463, 465.)

A 16-year-old girl was removed from the home of her mother and placed in a disciplinary institution outside the State because of her immoral relations with a white man. The family from which she came had few, if any, uplifting elements. The parents had separated. The girl's father, so the mother stated, drank and fought, and she wanted nothing more to do with him. At the time of the study the mother, this 16-year-old girl, and two elder brothers lived in one small room, for which they paid 75 cents a week. One of the brothers was a laborer about the freight wharves and the other did occasional odd jobs at a liquor store. The mother had worked out as laundress, but had had to apply to a charitable society for relief. (Case No. 470.)

Characteristics of child's own brothers and sisters.

In analyzing the histories of the child's own fraternity the half brothers and sisters were included so far as information had been secured about them.

Records of the physical and mental conditions of the fraternity were inadequate. In 84 instances physical defect was reported, 7 of them being cases where the children had tuberculosis; 61 were listed as being in "poor" physical condition. Records of the mental condition of the brothers and sisters were found for 6 instances of diagnosed mental defect and 13 instances of undiagnosed but very obvious low mentality. Here again the records were extremely inadequate.

Social histories, however, were more complete. Frequently two or more children of the same family were included in the investigation, 135 of the children having brothers and sisters with institutional records. "Correctional institutions" for this group referred to juvenile reformatories. "Other delinquency" referred to instances where children had juvenile court records. The eight cases which showed a fraternity with almshouse record happened to be instances of destitute families, where parents as well as children were sent to the institution. "Other dependency" usually implied placed-out children.

The unfavorable characteristics of the fraternity, enumerated without regard to the combinations in which the characteristics occurred, are shown in Table XV.

TABLE XV.—*Characteristics of fraternity.*

Characteristics of fraternity.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Physical condition poor:			
Tuberculosis.....	7	5	2
Venereal disease.....	2	2	.....
Crippled.....	9	9	.....
Defective vision.....	5	5	.....
Other poor physical condition.....	61	53	8
Mentality not normal:			
Imbecile.....	1	.....	1
Feeble-minded.....	3	3	.....
Border line.....	2	2	.....
Obviously defective.....	13	12	1
Social characteristics poor:			
Correctional institution record.....	26	23	3
Immorality.....	15	15	.....
Deserting.....	1	1	.....
Alcoholism.....	1	1	.....
Other delinquency.....	70	25	5
Almshouse record.....	8	4	4
Other institution record.....	135	121	14
Other dependency.....	16	15	1
Other poor social characteristics.....	10	7	3

Incomplete information regarding the households from which agencies felt it necessary to remove children would appear to reflect on the thoroughness with which agencies had made their investigations or had kept their records. Preventive and constructive social work with families for the purpose of holding the group together is, to be sure, comparatively new. To infer from the facts herein reported that agencies were not doing constructive work with families would be unfair, inasmuch as no attempt has been made in this report to account for those cases where children were cared for in their homes through assistance by agencies. Nevertheless, it does seem perfectly just to say that if conditions were serious enough to appear to the agency to warrant the removal of the child, such conditions should have been minutely and definitely recorded.

OTHER CHILDREN TAKEN UNDER CARE.

Besides the 389 children who were removed from the care of their parents during the period of the study, 124 children were taken under care by agencies and institutions under other circumstances. Of these, 96 were living in private homes under guardianship; 3 were living at service; 5 were living independently in rooming or boarding houses; 14 were transferred from institutions; and 6 were homeless children.

CHILDREN REMOVED FROM FAMILY HOMES OTHER THAN PARENTAL.

Types of homes.

Of the 96 children who, previous to the time they were taken under care by agencies, had been living in private homes under guardianship other than that of their own parents, 64 came from homes where the guardians were related to them either by blood or by marriage. The remaining 32 children were from homes in which the guardian stood to them in a purely foster relationship. In only 12 instances was the residence of the child in this home due to an arrangement made by an agency.

The length of time that these 96 children had lived in the homes from which they were removed varied from a very short interval to one which had extended over almost the entire life of the child. One little girl 8 years of age had been under the protection of a family but 10 days when they petitioned an agency to take her under care. The child's parents had been a long time separated and both bore poor reputations. The little girl had been living with her uncle, who told her one day that he was tired of her. Of her own accord she left her uncle and went to another family and asked to be taken in. This family befriended her for a few days; they then reported the child to an agency as "homeless," asking for her removal. The agency placed her in an institution.

One little white girl had been in a foster home since she was 17 months old; but after the death of her foster mother, it became necessary to place her in an institution. The child's mother was a young unmarried girl whom, with her baby, the foster parents had taken from a home for destitute girls; the baby's father was the mother's uncle, with whom she had at one time made her home. The mother was too frail for housework, and to make possible her return to her own parents, who refused to receive a grandchild born out of wedlock, the persons who had taken her into their home adopted the child.

The foster mother was fond of the child, but was in such poor mental and physical condition that she was unable to care for a child properly; she became insane, and was run over by a train and fatally injured. The foster father, a man not more than 30 years of age, then came to Wilmington, bringing the little girl with him, and found a room in a boarding house, the landlady of which was reported to be immoral. For a while the man attempted to keep the child with him, but the landlady was not able to control her and finally insisted upon her removal. Two months later the foster father married the landlady's daughter and took the child from the institution into their home. (Case No. 409.)

Of the group of 96 children removed from other than parental homes, 55 were from so-called normal homes—that is, homes over which a man and his wife presided. Among the children removed from their parental homes only 152 out of 389 were from so-called normal homes.

The 41 remaining instances included 7 in which the only guardian present in the household group was a man; in 2 cases he was a widower; in 2, he was separated from his wife; in 3, he was a single man, being in every instance the older brother of the child of the study. In 21 instances the only guardian in the home was a woman, in 10 instances being a widow, and in 11 separated from her husband. For the other 13 cases the conditions were not reported.

Economic and other conditions.

Generally speaking, the economic conditions of the households from which this group of 96 children were removed were better than the conditions existing in the parental homes from which children were removed. A relatively larger number were from homes where the economic head of the household was the man of the family.

Likewise, a larger percentage were from households where the incomes were graded as adequate. In the group of children removed from their parental homes 48 per cent of those for whom conditions were reported were graded as coming from families with incomes considered as adequate for a decent standard of living. In the group of children removed from other homes, 57, or 71 per cent, of those for whom conditions were reported were so graded.

The general conditions in these homes were, on the whole, better than the conditions found in the parental homes from which children were removed.

Conditions that necessitated the removal of this group of children can best be illustrated by cases:

One colored boy, whose parents were both dead, was given over to agency care when his foster mother went to a hospital to be operated upon for cancer. He had been born out of wedlock of a woman who lived and worked on a farm. When he was about 1 year old his mother went to the city, securing work by the day and boarding with a colored woman—who was willing to care for the baby while she was away. This arrangement proved satisfactory for a few

months; then the mother was taken ill with "bronchial asthma," was carried to the county hospital, and died. The boarding-house keeper continued to care for the child until she herself was obliged to go to a hospital. He was then placed in an orphanage. (Case No. 391.)

The half brother of an orphaned colored boy had assumed the care of him. This half brother, though well regarded in other respects, had punished the boy severely for wrongdoing and had been arrested and fined for mistreatment of the child. (Case No. 477.)

A 9-year-old white girl lived with her maternal grandmother. Her father had deserted his family, and her mother, indifferent to the interests of her children, had left the little girl with the grandparents, while she herself "lived around with relatives." The grandmother tried to help the girl, but complained of being "sickly" and unequal to the task. (Case No. 258.)

The conditions in the foster home of an 11-year-old white boy were discovered by a child-placing agency which had occasion to inspect the home with a view to using it for placing children under their charge. The man of the household was described as a religious fanatic, shiftless, without ability to discipline or manage, but possessing a sentimental interest in friendless children. The wife was crippled, and her condition handicapped her in the management of her household; but she had previously been a school-teacher and was superior to the man in intelligence. At the time of the study this couple were sheltering seven children. Although one child was known to be stealing, they were not attempting to correct him. The child of the study had been born out of wedlock and had been placed at 2 years of age in this home by his mother when the boy's father deserted her. His career had been under observation for a considerable period by the agency before it could secure legal control of him and remove him to a more suitable home. (Case No. 513.)

One white girl 16 years of age was removed by court action from the care of her stepmother. Of the child's father it was reported that he was utterly worthless and spent most of his time in the workhouse. The records declared him to be a "liar, a thief, a drunkard, and cruel to his wives." The stepmother, from whose charge it seemed advisable to remove the child, was regarded as a "questionable" character, suspected of immorality. She was acting as housekeeper for a man whom she hoped to marry as soon as she could secure a divorce from her husband. At the time the girl was taken under agency care she had run away from other relatives, who, she claimed, mistreated her, and had thrown herself upon the mercy of the stepmother. When the case was reported to the juvenile court and an investigation made, the stepmother's home was declared unfit, and the girl was adjudged a dependent child and removed to another family. (Case No. 209.)

On the appeal of her mother, a girl of 16 years was removed to the industrial school from the home of a boy cousin, who had enticed her away from her rural home because he wished her near him in the city. The conditions in the girl's own home were described as fairly good, though the distance of the farm from any village resulted in a lack of opportunity for good educational training and for recreation. The girl was one of 17 children, having at least 7 older brothers and sisters. At the time of the study only three children, all younger than herself, were left at home with the girl's parents. The family income was adequate. The father had at one time been addicted to alcohol, but had given up this habit about four years before the time of the girl's running away. In spite of the fact that the girl's mother resented her leaving and tried to induce her to return home, the uncle and aunt permitted her to remain with their son. (Case No. 399.)

CHILDREN LIVING AT SERVICE OR INDEPENDENTLY.

Even so small a group as three can serve to suggest an important problem in child welfare, namely, the safeguarding of young girls living away from home at domestic service. All three of the children included in this study, who were removed from the households of employers, illustrate the dangers that may befall young girls who are away from their natural guardians. They were two white girls and one colored.

One of the white girls was 14 years of age. She was one of a family of six children and had been placed by her mother in a private family consisting of a man and his invalid wife. Within two months the mother became suspicious that the girl was having improper relations with her employer, reported the case to a child-caring agency, and, through its interest, secured the commitment of the girl to the industrial school. (Case No. 159.)

The other white girl was of Italian parentage and had been under foster care since she was 6 years of age. Her own parents, during her babyhood, kept a boarding house in New York City; but the father drank to excess, the parents quarreled, and they decided to separate. They divided the children and their belongings; the mother went with one of the Italian boarders, and the father, with two children, came to Delaware. The little girl of the study was only 6 years old when she had to help keep house for her father. It was while she was out of doors washing clothes at a little stream that a kind-hearted American woman watched her and began to take an interest in her. When the father deserted the children soon afterward this woman took the little girl to live with her. The other child was placed in an institution. Although the foster mother seems to have taken a genuine interest in the girl, the home conditions were not all favorable. When she was 13 years old the foster father died and the family had a financial struggle. The child's teacher considered the home conditions bad, and reported that the child was "bright," but was irregular in her attendance. The girl was described as "very fine looking," large, and overdeveloped for her age. When about 17 years old the girl left her foster home and began work as a domestic servant. At first she brought her wages home to her foster mother, but very shortly she showed dishonest tendencies and also began staying out late at night with men. She was charged with stealing both money and clothing from her employer, and also admitted that she had been having improper relations with men. She was committed to the industrial school for girls. (Case No. 398.)

The third case was that of a 16-year-old colored girl, who at 13 years of age began work as a child's nurse, and from that time had many different positions in domestic service. At the time of her commitment to an institution she was taken from a disorderly house where she was serving drinks to men and women. (Case No. 100.)

Five children were living independently in rooming or boarding houses at the time when they were taken bodily under care by agencies. They included a white girl 17 years old, two colored boys 15 and 16 years of age, respectively, and two colored girls, aged, respectively, 14 and 16 years. Three of these children had no

parental home. The other two had left their homes and were found by agencies in houses of a questionable character.

The one white child of this group was a girl from Sussex County. Enticed to Wilmington by promise of work, she had left her foster home in the country and had taken a position as a servant in a boarding house. When a young child she had suffered from one or two attacks which had been diagnosed by a local doctor as epilepsy. Moreover, her high-strung and nervous temperament, combined with natural indolence and weak will, proved to be unequal to the temptations of her new environment. She left her first place within a few days, considering it "too hard." She then answered an advertisement and took a position with a private family. From this house she was discharged summarily because she failed to return at the appointed time from a pleasure trip. Her third place of employment was a boarding house, where she yielded to the immoral advances of men boarders and soon after went to live with one of the men. In the meantime she had stolen articles of clothing from her employers, and, on charges of larceny and incorrigibility she was committed to the girls' industrial school. (Case No. 139.)

Both of the colored boys of this group had become self-supporting but lacked the moral or mental caliber to resist the inclination to steal. One was a foundling who had lived all his life, except a few months, in institutions. The other was the child of an insane woman; he was subsequently diagnosed as feeble-minded. The first of the two boys, though but 15 years old, was strong and large. The woman from whom he rented a room which he shared with three other colored boys, said she thought of them all as "men" and paid no attention to them. The charge on which this boy was apprehended was the theft of six handkerchiefs, and by action of the juvenile court he was committed to the care of a child-placing agency to be placed with a private family on a farm. The second boy, besides being feeble-minded, was the victim of bad home conditions. After his mother became mentally unbalanced an unscrupulous colored woman bargained with her for legal control of the boy, agreeing to pay the mother \$3.50 a week. The home of this self-appointed guardian consisted of one room, which she shared with two men and the boy. Her record for a period of three years showed 14 court charges for such delinquencies as disorderly conduct, larceny, selling intoxicating liquors without a license, keeping a house of assignation, and breach of peace. On several of these charges she was committed for short terms to the workhouse, and the boy was obliged to shift for himself. During this time he was placed on probation, having been brought before the juvenile court for stealing a watch. Since it seemed inadvisable for him to remain at the boarding house where he had taken lodging, the decision of the court at the next hearing of his case was to commit him to the industrial school. (Cases Nos. 14, 422.)

Both the colored girls were held in cases involving immoral conduct and were committed by the court to an agency which placed them in an institution outside the State. Both had parents living but had left their homes, one of the girls having run away from her home in an adjoining State. One girl was caught in a raid of a disorderly house, the other was held in a case against a man who had had immoral relations with her. (Cases Nos. 46, 212.)

The problems involved in the cases of these five children were far more complicated than for those in any of the preceding groups, and suggest that constructive treatment should have been undertaken a long time previous to the period of the study.

CHILDREN TRANSFERRED FROM INSTITUTIONS.

Fourteen children had been transferred from one institution to another. Six were children who had reached the age limit of the institution which had been caring for them. Six had been under hospital care. Two, who had previously been in institutions for dependent children, were committed to the industrial schools because of delinquencies.

Of the six who had reached the age limit of the institution in which they were being cared for, three were full orphans and the other three were neglected children whose parents were considered unsuitable guardians. These six were all white boys.

Of the children who had previously been under physical care two were infants born in hospitals and transferred as soon as possible to an institution for babies; in both instances the mother's occupation interfered with her keeping the child. Another baby had been born of an Italian woman dying of tuberculosis at a sanitarium. The mother did not survive the birth of the child, and as soon as possible this baby was transferred to an institution which cared for infants. Two other children, one a white boy aged 4 and the other a colored girl aged 13, had been under treatment at the county hospital. Both had had to be removed prior to the period of the study from homes which were very unfavorable, but the physical condition of the children was such that the only available place for them was the almshouse, where they could have the advantage of care at the county hospital located under the same roof. At the time of the study they had sufficiently improved to be placed in other institutions. The sixth of this group was an especially pathetic case of a little boy whose mother was dead and whose father, a laborer for a coal company, had contracted tuberculosis. Father and child together had been admitted to a hospital, the father with pneumonia and the little boy with a sore ear. When it became evident that the father must go to a sanitarium the child was sent to an orphanage.

The two remaining children, one a boy, the other a girl, were both transferred to the industrial schools from institutions caring for young dependent children. The boy had run away from the "home" of which he had previously been an inmate. The girl had been the victim of an unfortunate placement on the part of the institution to which she was first admitted. When she was 14 years of age, it was discovered that she had been carnally abused by her foster brother, and she was recalled to the institution. Here she remained for only a few days while the necessary arrangements were being made for her commitment to the industrial school.

HOMELESS CHILDREN.

The group of six homeless children included three foundlings, who were picked up on doorsteps and taken at once under the care of a home for infants. No clue was ever secured as to their parentage. They were all white children and were thought to be not over 2 weeks old when found.

Two of the other homeless children were older boys, one white and one colored, who had been picked up as tramps and taken to the almshouse. Of these also it was impossible to secure a previous history.

The sixth child was a runaway boy who had been following a traveling circus. Ordinarily a runaway boy who came into the care of the agencies was returned directly to the community from which he came. The case of this 15-year-old colored boy, however, was not ordinary. He was found hiding in a freight car, carrying concealed weapons. From the general gossip of the workmen associated with him about the freight cars, it was gathered that he was under suspicion as having been implicated in a murder. The local authorities thought that it was not safe to have such a boy at large. Moreover, he could not be trusted to return to the community where his father was supposed to be living. He was, accordingly, committed to the boys' industrial school.

PERSONAL HISTORIES OF THE CHILDREN.

An analysis of conditions which brought the children under the protection of agencies or institutions should include not only a discussion of the external conditions surrounding the children at the time they were taken by agencies but also a consideration of the children's own personalities.

Certain details regarding the children who were selected as subjects for this study, such as sex, color, legitimacy, and nativity, have already been discussed. In addition to these points, data were obtained in regard to the physical and mental condition of the children, and also in regard to their personal conduct, school attendance, and employment histories.

PHYSICAL CONDITION.

Only three of the Delaware agencies included in the study required a physical examination of children prior to placing them in family homes or admitting them to institutions. The facts regarding the physical condition of the children were, therefore, thoroughly adequate for some and entirely lacking for others. Taking into consideration the history of each child for the entire two-year period of the study, some unfavorable physical characteristic was recorded for 85 children; the other 428 were in good physical condition, so far as known. The conditions are given in Table XVI without regard to the few instances in which they occurred in combination, showing the number of children affected by a given condition.

TABLE XVI.—*Physical condition of children.*

Physical condition.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Physical condition good, so far as known	428	332	96
Tuberculosis.....	2	1	1
Venereal disease.....	5	5	.....
Epileptic seizures.....	3	2	1
Crippled.....	4	3	1
Defective vision.....	11	10	1
Defective hearing.....	6	6	.....
Defective speech.....	2	1	1
Other poor physical condition.....	61	52	9

Under the heading "other poor physical condition" were included children who were reported as "poorly developed," "undernourished," or generally run down because of neglect.

MENTALITY.

Of 107 children diagnosed for mentality, only 31 were examined and tested prior to the time the agency removed them from their surroundings. Of the remaining 406 children, 21 were reported as obviously defective. Table XVII shows the mentality as reported for all cases.

TABLE XVII.—*Mentality of children.*

Mentality.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	513	403	110
Diagnosed:			
Normal.....	70	51	19
Below normal.....	3	3	.....
Retarded.....	2	2	.....
Border line.....	7	5	2
Feeble-minded.....	4	2	2
Imbecile.....	21	10	11
Undiagnosed:			
Normal so far as known.....	384	312	72
Obviously defective.....	21	17	4
Insane ¹	1	1	.....

¹ Diagnosed subsequent to period of study.

With the exception of cases diagnosed by surgeons of the United States Public Health Service during the course of investigations of the prevalence of mental defect, there were during the period of this study no mental examinations made in Delaware outside New Castle County. Attention was being given to certain classes of children, especially in Wilmington, and notable work had been done for several months by the juvenile court in having mental tests applied to children coming before the court, but this work had been discontinued.⁷ Also, during the month of August, 1916, a special examination was made of the inmates of the Ferris Industrial School for Boys by specialists from the University of Pennsylvania.

Even the more progressive agencies, however, found it impossible to secure suitable care for feeble-minded children.

A colored boy in his sixteenth year was brought to Wilmington from a Southern State by his older brother, who hoped to get employment for the boy and to take care of him. The lad promptly exhibited his incompetency. After working for one week at an unskilled occupation, he gave it up and was reported to the juvenile court for vagrancy. He was examined and diagnosed a middle-grade imbecile. Lacking other possible solutions of his problem, the juvenile court two months later adjudged him a dependent child and committed him to the boys' industrial school, the older brother being required to pay something toward his maintenance. (Case No. 74.)

Another feeble-minded child committed to the industrial school because no institution for mental defectives was available was a 13-year-old white boy.

⁷ A psychological clinic is now (1921) held in connection with the Wilmington Juvenile Court. This clinic also gives free examinations to children for social agencies of the city.

who had been a constant source of irritation to his family and to his teachers. He was one of 10 children, 3 of whom had died in infancy. One sister, two years younger than the boy, had been examined mentally and graded as "between dullard and suspected psychopathic." Another sister was reported as "very slow" and of a "nervous temperament." The father was said to have had dropsy for 15 years before he died. Four of the older children worked; the members of the family were thrifty, with sufficient income for needs and for some comforts. They owned their home, which was badly located on the edge of the city—near dumps, swamps, and open sewage. The neighborhood was notorious as a rendezvous for mischievous boys. The mother of this family was a very strict disciplinarian, frequently administering the rod to her children; she manifestly failed to understand the needs of the boy of the study. He was physically strong and active, with fairly good features; but by temperament he was brutal, dirty, and troublesome. He delighted in killing birds and illtreating animals, especially when he had an opportunity to "show off" before other children. His school-teacher reported that he was a demoralizing influence and seemed to grow increasingly irresponsible in his conduct. At recess he attacked smaller boys, one day injuring a child by hitting him with a sharp rock. This boy—incomprehensible to his family, a bad influence in his neighborhood, a misfit in school—was brought to the attention of the probation officers for malicious mischief, for disorderly conduct, for truancy, for wandering the streets at night, and for larceny before it was decided that he must be removed from his home and placed where he would not have his freedom. (Case No. 415.)

One 8-year-old white boy, who was subsequently found to be feeble-minded, was brought into the juvenile court on the charge of "assault with intent to commit murder." The history of the child's family indicates the handicaps with which he was confronted.

The boy's father had been born in Germany, had attended school there, and had served a year in the army. He contracted a severe stomach trouble from exposure, was operated on, and secured a permanent release from the army. He came to America in 1889 and boarded with a woman whose daughter he later married. He was considered an undesirable character, was accused of creating disturbances in his neighborhood, and of hoarding stolen property in his dwelling. Relatives of the family accused him of being intemperate and of violent disposition, and were of the opinion that he was not mentally normal. An agency which was for a long time interested in the family investigated his employment and found that he was a good worker, capable of earning high wages, but constantly changing jobs because of his own dissatisfaction and restlessness. One company refused to have anything more to do with him, because they found that he was drinking and stirring up the other men; they classed him as an agitator. At one time he was held for threatening to kill a man; at another he was a victim of shooting. Shortly after his child was taken under care he was committed to the workhouse.

The boy's mother was born in Switzerland of German parents. Although she had lived in the United States 33 years, she spoke and understood little English. She was deaf and was described as "stolid and dull"; she had had but two years of schooling, which ended when she was 9 years old. After she was married her peculiarities grew more marked. From the time her first child was born it was said that she was "somewhat out of her head." Relatives blamed the father for the woman's mental condition and said that it was due to his cruelty that six of the children had died.

The one surviving child of this couple, the little boy who is the subject of this study, was described as in "rags and tatters," shockheaded, and dirty.

From a fresh-air camp where he was taken during the summer by a charitable society, came the report that the child was lazy and babyish, a bully, and that his behavior with the girls was not of the best. Until he was taken in hand by an agency he had not gone to school; at 8 years of age he entered the lowest grade and did not succeed very well, though for the few weeks remaining in this term his attendance was regular. It was at the beginning of the next school term that he got into the difficulty which resulted in his removal from his home. His father had told him and his boy companion, a child 9 years old, not to let anyone come into the yard and to shoot anyone who tried to steal tomatoes from the garden. A man came in and began to pick the tomatoes; the boys told him not to do it, but he replied by throwing tomatoes at them. The youngsters then rushed into the house and upstairs, one getting a revolver and the other a shotgun. The gun went off and fell out of the second-story window, the boy who was holding it falling out with it. The other boy then made a grab for his friend's heels and fell out after him. The result of all this confusion was that both boys were taken into custody and shortly afterwards were placed in an institution for dependent children. There, the little boy of the study showed marked improvement in behavior, but he was kept under observation and was found to be feeble-minded and in need of special institutional care. (Case No. 518.)

Another feeble-minded child who constituted an especially difficult problem was a colored boy, born out of wedlock of an obviously defective woman who had been the prey of numerous men. The boy's home was one in which immorality was taken as a matter of course. The mother also had been born out of wedlock. The maternal uncles and aunts of the boy were "all very dull," as were also some of their children. A brother of the child of the study had been diagnosed feeble-minded. The child included in the study had attended school for 10 years and had learned nothing. Physically, he was healthy and strong with a ravenous appetite. By temperament he was very destructive and cruel to children, beating them and cutting them. On one occasion he was arrested for throwing stones. He finally became so abusive at home that the maternal grandmother feared he would do her violence, and at length, by taking oath that he was three years younger than he really was, she brought his age down to 16 years, which made possible his commitment to the boys' industrial school. (Case No. 267.)

Among the children classed as obviously defective was a 13-year-old Italian boy, who had been four years in the United States, and had become such a problem to his neighborhood that he was eventually removed by one of the child-caring agencies and placed on a farm. Subsequent reports of him were at first unfavorable, but after a second placement he seemed to improve. From the time he arrived in this country he had shown peculiarities which made him a trial to the teachers of the public schools. They could not trust him to play with the other children at recess, and also found him troublesome and sullen in the schoolroom. Sometimes he was silly; at other times he was vicious and even dangerous. He had on one occasion stayed away from home all night, and he was altogether beyond the control of his parents. This boy, because of his obviously low mentality, was among those reported to the United States Children's Bureau at the time of its inquiry into the prevalence of feeble-mindedness in New Castle County. Two years later, however, when the child's name appeared among those who had been removed from their own homes, his record showed that he had had no sort of mental examination or treatment. Fortunately, he was placed with a guardian who dealt with him sympathetically and intelligently. (Case No. 11.)

The history of one 17-year-old girl culminated with her admission to the State hospital for the insane. The precipitating cause of her mental difficulty seems to have been a year spent in the home of her own father, a miserly man, who refused to buy clothes for her, took away the little money which she had earned, and sometimes kept her shut out of the house while he was away late at night. The girl's mother had died when she was but 2 years old, and her life until she was 12 had been spent largely in institutions; but after she was 12 years of age she lived with different private families, earning something for her housework. For a year before she went to live with her father she stayed with a relative, who reported that at that time the girl appeared perfectly normal. Her father, however, after she had come to live with him, made complaint to the juvenile court that she was immoral, vagrant, and thievish. The court committed her to the girls' industrial school, where she had been only a short time when her mind showed marked aberration. The relative who had been successful in her guardianship of the girl was called upon to take her again, but was entirely unable to control her. Whether more careful social treatment could have averted the ultimate breakdown is problematical, for a teacher recorded of her: "No concentration; can not remember from day to day." (Case No. 318.)

PERSONAL CONDUCT.

The extent of delinquency among the children prior to their removal by agencies is brought out in Table XVIII. Only 250—less than half—could be classed as good, so far as known, and among these were included all the 161 children under 7 years of age, except a 5-year-old white girl reported as ungovernable and a colored girl of the same age who had been guilty of pilfering. A fairer estimate, therefore, would be based on the 352 children 7 years of age or over, of whom 261, or 74 per cent, had some record of delinquency.

Court records of delinquency embraced three types of offenses: Those against the person, those against property, those against public order. Offenses against the person included assault and battery, violating the age of consent law, assault with intent to commit murder. Offenses against property included larceny, breaking and entering, malicious mischief, breaking windows, driving off automobile without consent of owner, forgery, arson. Offenses against public order included all other charges, such as incorrigibility, causing false alarm of fire, running away, truancy, and others.

TABLE XVIII.—*Conduct of children prior to removal.*

Conduct of children prior to removal.	Children of specified ages.						
	Total.	Under 7 years.			7 years or over.		
		Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	513	161	145	16	352	258	94
Good, so far as known.....	250	159	144	15	91	80	11
Court record for delinquency.....	216	.....	.....	.....	216	158	58
Informal records of delinquency.....	47	2	1	1	45	20	25

All cases of delinquency in which there were hearings before the juvenile court, the Municipal Court of Wilmington, the county courts, or formal hearings before local magistrates or justices of the peace were included under "offenses involving legal action." As stated previously, the jurisdiction of the juvenile court extended over the city of Wilmington only. Cases of delinquent children in other parts of the State were heard by the courts of general sessions or by local magistrates.

Table XIX shows the number of times the various types of delinquencies were reported, without regard to the combinations in which they occurred.

TABLE XIX.—*Delinquencies of children.*

Type of delinquency.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Formal records of offenses involving (legal action)—			
Against the person.....	14	8	6
Against property.....	108	83	25
Against public order.....	155	118	37
Charge not clearly specified.....	1	.....	1
Informal records, child reported—			
Alcoholic.....	2	1	1
Immoral.....	14	7	7
Dishonest.....	28	14	14
Uncontrollable.....	25	15	10
Truant.....	34	25	9
Runaway.....	24	11	13
Otherwise delinquent.....	8	6	2

"Incorrigibility," a charge used extensively by the juvenile court, produced the large showing of offenses against public order. "Larceny" was the most frequent charge in cases of offense against property. No complete picture of the social histories of the children can be made by any enumeration of delinquencies. The combinations in which the delinquencies were reported and the intermixture of bad environmental influences with inferior personalities can only be suggested by specific instances.

The second son of a poor Polish family was often kept at home from school to care for the younger children, of whom there were six, while his mother went out to work. Through the irregular habits which he undoubtedly acquired in this way, he became more and more of a problem. The neighborhood in which he lived was the rendezvous of rough gangs of boys. His older brother was taken before the juvenile court twice for larceny and on another occasion for breaking and entering. The parents seemed unable to comprehend the efforts of the probation officers in behalf of their boys, for they refused to cooperate and tried to shield the boys in their wrongdoing. During a year and a half of probation the boy of the study was reported at various times as trespassing, as stealing copper wire, as not attending school; then, on the charge of larceny, he was committed to the industrial school. He soon escaped, however, and was never located. (Case No. 376.)

A 10-year-old white boy, who came to the attention of the juvenile court twice for larceny and once for malicious mischief within 15 months, was removed from his home and placed in a neighboring State with a relative, who returned

excellent reports of his behavior. The home from which he was removed included a father who had been ill for several months, a mother who was nervous and excitable, a brother who had a record of several minor delinquencies, and two other brothers—an environment which manifestly had reacted unfavorably on the boy. (Case No. 483.)

A 15-year-old colored boy, who was brought before the juvenile court for assault and battery and again for larceny, and was placed on probation on both occasions, appeared to have a mania for running away. During the time covered by this history he was reported as frequently staying out late at night, sometimes sleeping away from home. The father complained that the boy stole, was disobedient, and had a habit of disappearing from home, doing so on one occasion when the father was to bring the boy to court. The boy was eventually committed to the industrial school, where he promptly lived up to his previous record and escaped. (Case No. 213.)

The home of the small son of Italian parents was located in a poor neighborhood. The boy first came before the juvenile court when 7 years old for throwing stones at passenger trains. He was so young that his offense was not regarded very seriously, and he was dismissed without probation. Two years later he was again before the court for breaking and entering. This time he was put on probation. During the next two years he returned to the court three times on different charges and finally was committed to the boys' industrial school. (Case No. 414.)

At 15 years of age, a colored boy was placed with a private family in a rural district. His own home was in an alley in the poorest part of the city. His father was in constant trouble, having had to appear before the municipal judge six times within three years. His mother went out working by the day. Both parents drank. Although the home conditions were poor, the boy seemed mischievous rather than malicious. He was brought twice to the attention of the probation officers, first for annoying other children and handling them violently. The specific reason given for his removal was a charge of carrying concealed weapons; he had run away with his father's revolver. (Case No. 238.)

SCHOOL HISTORY.

Table XX indicates the school history of the children. Only four of those under 7 years of age, or below the age for compulsory school attendance, were in school at the time of their removal. In the group of those 14 years of age and over, or above compulsory school age, 37, or 30 per cent, were still attending school. In all, 199 were reported as in school at the time they were taken under care by agencies, and in addition, 69 other children were known to have attended school. The records of 79 children were unknown. The remaining 166 children, of whom 157 were under 7 years of age, had never attended.

Teachers commented almost unanimously upon the fact that the attendance records of the children included in the study had been among the poorest in their classes. In order to classify the cases by regularity of attendance, the standard chosen arbitrarily as the dividing line between regularity and irregularity was 83 per cent of the school term; that is, a child reported as absent for one-sixth or

more of the total number of school days for the year was classed as irregular. This seemed a sufficiently conservative grading. The regularity of attendance of the 199 children still in school at the time of removal was as follows: Sixty-one children, 53 white and 8 colored, were attending regularly; 93 children, 68 white and 25 colored, were attending irregularly; the attendance for 36 white and 9 colored was not reported. The amount of irregular attendance in the group for whom conditions were reported was serious.

TABLE XX.—*School histories of children prior to removal.*

Age when taken under agency care.	Total.	Children in school at time of removal.				Children not in school at time of removal.				Children not reported as to school attendance at time of removal.
		Total.	Attending regularly.	Attending irregularly.	Regularity not reported.	Total.	Attended previously.	Never attended.	Previous attendance not reported.	
Total.....	513	199	61	93	45	250	69	166	15	64
White.....	403	157	53	68	36	209	54	145	10	37
Under 7 years...	145	4	1	1	2	141	.....	141	.....	.....
7-13 years.....	173	128	43	60	25	14	7	4	3	31
14 years and over	85	25	9	7	9	54	47	.....	7	6
Negro.....	110	42	8	25	9	41	15	21	5	27
Under 7 years...	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	16	.....	.....
7-13 years.....	54	30	5	19	6	8	2	5	1	16
14 years and over	40	12	3	6	3	17	13	.....	4	11

Regularity at school might have helped one 13-year-old girl who was committed to the girls' industrial school for immorality. During the last term before her commitment her teachers complained that she was kept at home "for the slightest reason." She was the oldest girl in a household of six children. Her mother worked and was away from home much of the time, expecting the girl to keep the house during her absence. Left to her own devices all day, she got into bad company and finally ran away with another girl, four years older than herself. They met two men, accompanied them to another town, and were arrested by the police at the railroad station. The younger girl was returned to the juvenile court in her own city, and was committed to the girls' industrial school. (Case No. 504.)

Irregularity of school attendance was in the majority of instances accompanied by other poor social history. Sometimes the child had been guilty of delinquencies which had brought him before the juvenile court.

An 11-year-old white boy, who had begun school at 7 years, had had a poor record for every term. During the nine months before he was removed from his home and committed to the industrial school, in addition to being warned by the probation officer because of truancy, he was before the juvenile court for stealing a bicycle, stealing a rifle, taking milk from doorsteps, and stealing an automobile watch. The conditions in this boy's home were very bad. The

family occupied four rooms over a stable in an alley beside a brewery. The father was very irregular at his work, and the family income was so inadequate that the household was under the observation of a charitable agency. (Case No. 253.)

Sometimes maladjustments in the homes of foreign-born parents seemed to account for the children's delinquencies and irregular attendance at school.

One 13-year-old boy of Italian parents who could speak almost no English was four times before the juvenile court during one year—for truancy, for disorderly conduct, for larceny, and again for persistent truancy. It was finally decided to try this boy in a new environment, and he was taken under the care of the court and placed on a farm. (Case No. 344.)

Lack of parental supervision was in some instances the primary cause for the child's irregularity at school.

One 11-year-old white boy, whose attendance record was exceedingly poor, though he lived in the city where schools were easily accessible, came from a home which the father had deserted. The mother, in order to keep her five children with her, went into a metal factory to work, intrusting the house-keeping to the oldest child, a 12-year-old girl who had of necessity to stay home from school to care for the younger children. The boy of the study went practically undisciplined. Eventually his mother was constrained to report him to the juvenile court, and on the charge of having stolen money from his mother and having refused to go to school he was committed to the boys' industrial school. (Case No. 270.)

Sometimes irregularity of attendance seemed to be tied up with the child's mental defect.

A 10-year-old colored boy whose father was dead was a constant source of trouble to his mother, who had to go out to work by the day. Both his mother and his teacher punished him because he would not go to school, but punishment "made no impression on him." He was brought to the attention of the probation officers because of his absence from school and was at first dealt with informally; but while under observation, he stole a pocketbook, for which delinquency he was taken before the juvenile court judge and was committed to the industrial school. After his admission to the institution he was given a mental examination and was diagnosed as a middle-grade imbecile. (Case No. 257.)

An inquiry regarding school progress showed that the few scattering individuals who reached the higher grades took more than the regular amount of time to accomplish it. Only five children were reported as having reached high school grades. These were all from the "delinquent" groups. Among the dependent and neglected children, the highest grade attained was the eighth. Only two children were reported as having progressed so far.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY.

Of the 125 children who were 14 years of age or over, 78 were known to have been gainfully employed at some time prior to their being taken under care by agencies; 30 had not been gainfully em-

ployed; and for 17 the facts were not reported. (See Table XXI.) A special analysis of the 30 children who had never been gainfully employed showed that 22 were still attending school, 6 were in foster homes assisting their guardians without remuneration, 1 was physically unfit for work, and 1 girl, living in her parental home, was giving part time to the care of a friend's baby.

In addition to the 78 children 14 years of age and over who had employment histories, 22 children under 14 years of age had had some gainful employment prior to the time they were taken under care by agencies. The group includes 5 children employed on farms, 3 of them being little berry pickers under 8 years of age; 3 errand boys; 6 boys helping in mercantile or manufacturing establishments; 7 children engaged in various forms of domestic service; and 1 child of whom it was vaguely reported that he had been earning money. To what extent these children were violating the child-labor laws is difficult to say. Delaware laws did not regulate employment in agriculture or domestic service. The 4 boys who had worked for mercantile establishments, also 1 boy who did errands for a grocery store, and 1 girl who at 13 years was a waitress in a public eating house appear to have been working illegally.

TABLE XXI.—*Employment histories of children prior to removal.*

Age of child at time of removal.	Total children.	Children gainfully employed.	Children not gainfully employed.	Children not reported as to employment.
Total.....	513	100	393	20
White.....	403	68	328	7
Under 14 years.....	318	13	304	1
14 years and over.....	85	55	24	6
Negro.....	110	32	65	13
Under 14 years.....	70	9	59	2
14 years and over.....	40	23	6	11

Allowing for possible conditions among the 20 children whose work history was not reported, there were fewer absolute idlers than might be expected in a study of dependent children. Figures do not tell the actual facts, however, as to unfavorable circumstances attending the employment of the children. Records were too broken to permit of any tabulation of the regularity of employment, the length of time employed, or the character of the work. Among 78 children who were reported as at work at the time of their being taken under care, 30 were engaged in occupations connected with manufacturing and mechanical industries. The next largest group comprised 21 children employed in domestic service, 2 of whom were boys, both

colored. The only colored girls for whom employment was reported were 8 who were in this group.

The actual histories of some of the children reveal the greatest irregularity of employment, a haphazard choice of occupations, and frequent changes.

A 16-year-old Italian lad, who had never fitted into the school régime, seemed to be unsuccessful, also, in his employment record. The positions which he is reported as having held were driving an ice wagon from 4 a. m. to 3 p. m. and working in a factory at night. While just beyond the age when his working hours could be regulated, the jobs which he found for himself were obviously unsuitable. From the time he was 13 until he was committed to the boys' industrial school, at 16 years and 9 months, he had been before the juvenile court on seven different charges, including larceny, assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and trespassing. Although his parents were reported as taking a "good attitude" toward the boy, his home was in one of the most wretched parts of the city, and the dwelling was described as dirty and insanitary. (Case No. 173.)

A boy who left school at 14 came to the attention of the juvenile court about a year later on a charge of larceny in which several other boys were involved. The juvenile court became interested in the boy's work record and saw to it that he was always employed. Innately lazy, he was satisfactory at no occupation. Within three months he was reported as having had 10 different positions. He was then sent out on a farm, ran away the following day, was caught, and was eventually committed to the boys' industrial school. Eight months later he escaped.

What was wrong? A physical examination showed that his nose and throat were in bad condition; his tonsils were enlarged and diseased; and his left nasal passage was obstructed. His mentality was classed as "low-grade normal." Possibly an examination and treatment when he was a much younger child would have removed the irritating conditions which seem to have resulted in his becoming a social problem. Probably vocational or technical training would have stimulated in him some interest in a settled trade. (Case No. 237.)

Another case of unsatisfactory employment, very similar to the last, was that of a boy who went to work the summer before he was 14 years old. In three months he had tried six different positions—all involving unskilled work, such as cutting grass, assisting in a bakery, and working in a coal yard. His inability to hold a job coupled with his vagrant habits led to his speedy commitment to the industrial school. His mother stated that he was always nervous and "contrary" and absent-minded. Mentally, he was diagnosed as normal. Physically, he was reported in good condition except for adenoids. (Case No. 288.)

AGENCY TREATMENT.

REASONS FOR REMOVAL.

The discussion of conditions surrounding the children of this study at the time they were taken under care by agencies, also the consideration of the histories of the children, have revealed social abnormalities in household groups and defects in personal character, many of which were undoubtedly fundamental causes of the children's dependency. In analyzing case histories for reasons why agencies removed the children from their previous environment it was found, however, that the immediate reason for the agency's action frequently obscured the fundamental causes of the difficulty. Nevertheless, the immediate reasons for agency care are of interest in some instances as showing the imperfect functioning of family groups and in others as pointing to the failure of agencies to alleviate the home difficulties.

The specific statements given as reasons for removing children from their environment were so varied that analysis was difficult; but in Table XXII they have been grouped under fairly comprehensive headings. In 229 cases the child himself was charged as being delinquent, defective, or homeless. In 114 instances delinquencies were charged against one or both parents or heads of household groups. In 33 cases the agency took the child under care because one or both parents or guardians were dead. The parents or guardians of 120 children were reported as being unable to continue care. For 16 children the home was declared generally unfit. For 1 no definite reason was reported.

TABLE XXII.—Reasons for removal, by types of environment.

Reasons for removal.	Children removed from specified environment.														
	Total.			Parental home.			Relatives' home.			Foster home.			Other environment.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	513	403	110	389	313	76	64	48	16	32	23	9	28	19	9
Child delinquent.....	221	155	66	175	128	47	20	14	6	13	9	7	10	4	6
Child defective, mentally.....	3	2	1	1	1	.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Child homeless.....	5	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	4	1
One or both parents dead.....	32	32	.....	24	24	.....	3	3	.....	1	1	.....	4	4	.....
One or both parents delinquent.....	102	89	13	90	77	13	6	6	.....	3	3	.....	3	3	.....
One or both parents unable to care for child.....	98	82	16	91	76	15	1	1	.....	2	2	.....	4	3	1
One of foster parents dead.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
One or both foster parents delinquent.....	12	11	1	.....	.....	.....	10	9	1	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
One or both foster parents unable to care for child.....	22	12	10	.....	.....	.....	17	9	8	5	3	2	.....	.....	.....
Home unfit.....	16	15	1	7	7	.....	5	5	.....	2	2	.....	2	1	1
Not reported.....	1	.....	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The child's delinquency.

In the case of 221 children the immediate reason for removing the child from his environment was given as the child's delinquency. The several elements contributing toward the delinquency were obscured. For example, a 14-year-old boy committed to the boys' industrial school for delinquency, came from a family which had for many years been subjects of outdoor poor relief. The father drank, "could not keep a job," and eventually deserted. The mother was a confirmed beggar. At one time she attempted to poison herself. Two sisters and a brother had had periods of institutional care. Two children, including the boy of the study, had organic physical defects, stigmata of their degenerate heredity. Although several local agencies attempted correctional treatment, the family never rose above the lowest social level and seemed several times on the verge of disintegrating. Such an environment was undoubtedly favorable to delinquency.

The delinquency of a child could in some instances be traced to the deliberate instigation of the mother, as in the case of an 11-year-old son of foreign-born parents, who, on a second charge of larceny, was committed to the boys' industrial school. His exact offense was that he had taken from the railroad a quantity of coal valued at 50 cents. In the course of investigating his home surroundings, the probation officers discovered that his mother was teaching the boy to steal, and they felt that it was imperative to remove him from his environment. While the reason for this child's removal was delinquency, the reason for the delinquency was his environment.

Often the charge of delinquency concealed the fact that the child was defective physically or mentally.

Such was the case of a 13-year-old white boy who was adjudged delinquent on a charge of malicious mischief and was placed on a farm. His history read: At 6 years of age, "very weak, has a bad cough"; at 7 years, "frail in body"; at 9 years, "poorly nourished, stunted mentally"; at 11 years, "does not seem to possess normal mentality"; at 13 years, "not normal, unsatisfactory conduct, taken before the juvenile court and placed with a farmer." Three times he ran away from families with whom he had been placed. He was then committed to the industrial school. (Case No. 232.)

Another white boy, almost 10 years of age, examined just before his juvenile court hearing, was diagnosed as a middle-grade imbecile and was recommended for institutional treatment. As no institution for feeble-minded children was available, the decision at the hearing was commitment to the industrial school, an institution intended primarily for delinquents. The reason for removing him from his home was given as delinquency, the charge being malicious mischief on railroad property. (Case No. 147.)

Delinquency of parent or guardian.

Children removed from their surroundings because of delinquencies of parents or guardians numbered 114. The cases were distributed as follows:

Both parents delinquent.....	25	Both foster parents delinquent....	7
Father delinquent	32	Foster father delinquent	1
Mother delinquent	45	Foster mother delinquent.....	4

The delinquencies included in this group were, specifically, instances of neglect, desertion, separation, immorality, cruelty, alcoholism, absence from home in penal servitude, and deliberate unwillingness to care for the children.

One of the saddest histories secured was that of a little girl whose parents were syphilitic. Her father, who as a boy had been placed by an agency in the lower part of Delaware, had married a young woman from the neighborhood of his foster home. They had 10 children; 7 were stillborn, 1 lived a few hours, a girl and a boy survived. The mother had contracted syphilis from the father and later died in a sanatorium for tuberculous patients. The father drank, gambled, and neglected his children shamefully. A maternal aunt took the children to her home; but the girl had syphilis and required so much care that the aunt neglected her and gladly relinquished her to authorities, who placed her in the county almshouse. After about six months other relatives took the child from the almshouse and finally gave her to a neighbor, in whose home she remained until she died. (Case No. 152.)

Three of a family of five white children were removed from the home of their maternal aunt, where they had been deserted by an immoral mother. At the time of their father's death the mother persuaded her sister to start a boarding house. The two women ran the house together and kept all the children for about six months, when the house was raided because of the mother's behavior. The mother then took all the children and went to other relatives, who shortly found the group too great a burden and refused to keep them. The mother next returned to the sister, with whom she had previously tried to live. Once more they undertook to run a boarding house. During this time the mother gave birth to a child out of wedlock. The mother's behavior was again such that the aunt remonstrated, and the mother again departed. Shortly after birth the baby had been relinquished to a woman of the neighborhood, but the aunt sheltered the other children for more than a year after the mother's departure. Eventually she appealed to an agency for help, and three of the children were placed in foster homes. (Cases Nos. 274, 275, 276.)

Three white children aged 7, 8, and 10 years, were taken from their parental home when their parents were sent to the workhouse, for neglect. The parents had rented two rooms in an upper story of a dwelling in a poor city neighborhood; but they had lived there only one week when the landlady reported that both the man and his wife had been intoxicated and had driven the children out of the house. The parents were prosecuted in the city court and were sentenced to the workhouse, while the children were given into the care of an agency to be placed in an institution. The parents were ordered to pay maintenance for the children. (Cases Nos. 348, 349, 350.)

Death of parent or guardian.

The 33 instances in which the fact that one or both parents or other guardians were dead constituted the reason for agency treatment were distributed as follows:

Both parents dead.....	4	Mother dead.....	19
Father dead.....	9	Foster mother dead.....	1

The difficulties met with by widowers in their efforts to keep their homes together and care for a family of young children are illustrated by a number of cases.

Three little girls and their small brother were admitted to an institution after their mother had committed suicide by taking poison. She was 38 years of age at the time of her death and in 13 years had given birth to eight children, three of whom had died in infancy. The oldest child was a cripple, but was capable of partial self-support. The father's wages were reported as \$2.15 per day. The school reported that the home conditions had been good, however, showing that the mother must have worked hard to keep up the home. After her death two of the father's sisters attempted to help him keep house, but soon found that they could not continue. The father was unable to afford a good housekeeper and finally solved his problem by placing the four younger children in an institution, keeping only the crippled boy at home. (Cases Nos. 95, 96, 97, 98.)

One little white boy was only 2½ months old when the mother died of pulmonary tuberculosis. Within 22 months she had given birth to three children and had been entirely unequal to the care of them. At the time of her death the maternal grandmother undertook the care of the babies; but the father was not satisfied with this arrangement and secured the admission of the youngest to an institution. The child was suffering from malnutrition when admitted and died four months later. (Cases No. 527.)

Inability of parents or guardians to care for the children.

The 120 cases of inability on the part of the parents or guardians to care for the children included the following groups:

Parents unable.....	8	Foster parents unable.....	10
Father unable.....	7	Foster father unable.....	2
Mother unable.....	83	Foster mother unable.....	10

The situations existing in the above cases involved sickness, poverty, inefficiency due to mental defect or ignorance, and absence from home during the day. The large number of instances in which the mother's inability was the precipitating cause of removal, included 30 where the mother was sick and 35 where the mother had to be away at work.

A 3-year-old boy came under agency care because of the mental incapacity of the mother and neglect by the father. He was the third child of a woman who was not only in bad physical condition but was also obviously defective. In spite of the unfavorable conditions surrounding this child from his birth he was described as a plump, healthy-looking youngster. At 1 year of age he had taken a prize at a baby show. The boy's mother, though reported as a hard-working woman, was too defective to give her children proper care, and

she left her lodgings in such a filthy condition that she was reported to the board of health. It was stated that she lost both her first children through gross neglect. The father said that he had more than once been called from his work by his wife because she thought that the babies were dead, and he had rushed home to find them in complete stupor from an overdose of narcotics. Besides being below normal in intelligence, she was afflicted with kidney trouble and was so lacking in physical control that she was obnoxious wherever she lived. It was also reported that the father assumed almost no responsibility toward his family and that the mother had to work constantly to support herself and the children. The family never had more than one room and was constantly moving. When the little boy was about 3 years old his father took him from the mother and placed him with the paternal grandmother, an elderly woman described as "frail, nervous, absent-minded, and incapable of caring for the boy." A charitable society which had for some time been watching the family soon arranged for the child's admission to an institution. (Case No. 319.)

The paternal grandparents of four children undertook to care for them when their father was committed to the workhouse for nonsupport. Their mother had been obliged to go to work and was not free to look after them. Although the grandparents had a fairly comfortable home, were of good reputation, and had sufficient income to provide for the children, the children had had so little training that the grandparents were utterly unequal to the task of controlling them, and after attempting for three months to manage them, became discouraged. The children's mother then requested their admission to an institution, agreeing to pay for their maintenance, and three of the children were taken, the oldest, a boy of 14 years, remaining with the grandparents. The youngest of the children, a little girl aged 5, was regarded by the grandparents and other relatives as ungovernable. She has the distinction of being one of the youngest children in the study who had a record of delinquent conduct. An 8-year-old boy, who succeeded in making a good impression on the friendly visitor—for it was stated in the agency record that he was "nice looking and polite"—was almost equally hard for his grandmother to control. A 10-year-old girl was said to be "sexually precocious." The 14-year-old boy, who was retained when the other children were placed in the institution, had a juvenile-court charge against him of "assault and battery."

That the children were delinquent is not surprising when their family history is known. All through their lives their home life had been in a turmoil because of the intermittent relationship of the parents. The father was a heavy drinker and cruel to his wife; he had been before a court 10 times for breach of peace, wife beating, nonsupport, drunkenness, and threatening bodily harm. A sister of the mother, however, testified that the man was not wholly to blame for the trouble. He had been enraged by the fact that the mother had entertained men during his absence. On one occasion he attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat. He was at length committed to the workhouse for six months. While he was serving his sentence the mother secured a divorce from him; but upon his release she changed her mind and decided to try him again. Three months later the father was again committed to the workhouse on the same charge—nonsupport—and during this period the divorce was confirmed. (Cases Nos. 70, 71, 72.)

Reasons for removal, by type of home.

Interest also attaches to a distribution of the reasons for removing the children according to the various types of home or other environ-

ment from which they were taken. Of 389 children removed from their parental homes, 175, or 45 per cent, were removed because of the delinquency of the child himself; 90 because of the delinquency of one or both parents; 91 because of the inability of one or both parents to continue care of the child; 24 because of the death of one or both of the parents; 7 because the home was unfit; 1 because the child himself was mentally defective; and in 1 case the reason was not reported.

Of 96 children removed from other than parental homes, 36 were removed because of their delinquency; 9 because of the delinquency of their parents; 12 because of the delinquency of the foster parents; 22 because the foster parents were unable to care for them; and 3 because their own parents were unable to provide; 7 because the home was unfit; and 2 because the children were mentally defective.

Of 28 other children taken under care, 14 were taken from institutions, the continued agency care meaning simply a transfer to another institution. Two of these children had been delinquent; the others had originally come from unfavorable conditions which were still operative in keeping the child away from the family group. Six children were homeless, 3 of them being foundlings. Three children had been living at service with employers and 5 independently in boarding houses; of these, 7 were removed because they were delinquent and 1 because the home was unfit.

INSTITUTIONAL CARE.

Despite the fact that home-finding agencies of other States have placed out large numbers of dependent children in Delaware, the results of this study showed that institutional care was used by Delaware agencies to a much greater extent than placing in family homes. Of all the children included in the study, 425, or 83 per cent, were, upon removal from their surroundings, placed in institutions, and only 88 were placed in private families. (See Table XXIII.) Subsequently, during the period of the investigation, 19 institutional children were placed out; but counterbalancing this number, 16 children, first placed out, were later admitted to institutions.

The types of institutions to which the children were sent were the two industrial schools, the homes for dependent children, the almshouses, and a fourth group comprised of other disciplinary institutions—with one exception outside the State. A majority of the children in this last group were delinquent colored girls for whom no institution existed in Delaware.*

* The Industrial School for Colored Girls has been incorporated recently to provide a home for and to train morally and industrially about 15 girls under 18 years of age.

TABLE XXIII.—*First disposition of children after removal by agencies.*

Class of case.	Total children.	Children placed under institutional care.								
		Total.			Industrial schools.			Homes for dependent children.		
		Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	513	425	228	197	136	82	54	225	129	96
White.....	403	333	182	151	103	49	54	204	118	80
Legal commitment:										
Dependent.....	41	17	10	7	4	.....	4	13	10	3
Neglected.....	21	20	4	16	1	.....	1	14	4	10
Delinquent.....	156	121	70	51	98	49	49	10	10	.....
Informal commitment:										
Dependent.....	176	166	95	71	.....	.....	.....	159	91	68
Neglected.....	9	9	3	6	.....	.....	.....	8	3	5
Delinquent.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Negro.....	110	92	46	46	33	33	.....	21	11	10
Legal commitment:										
Dependent.....	9	5	5	.....	5	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Neglected.....	11	11	3	8	.....	.....	.....	10	3	7
Delinquent.....	54	41	29	12	28	28	.....	1	1	.....
Informal commitment:										
Dependent.....	21	21	8	13	.....	.....	.....	8	6	2
Neglected.....	2	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2	1	1
Delinquent.....	13	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Class of case.	Children placed under institutional care.						Children placed out.		
	Almshouses.			Other institutions.					
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	22	6	16	42	11	31	88	61	27
White.....	13	4	9	13	11	2	70	47	23
Legal commitment:									
Dependent.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	10	14
Neglected.....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....
Delinquent.....	.....	.....	.....	13	11	2	35	31	4
Informal commitment:									
Dependent.....	7	4	3	.....	.....	.....	10	5	5
Neglected.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delinquent.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Negro.....	9	2	7	29	.....	29	18	14	4
Legal commitment:									
Dependent.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	3	1
Neglected.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Delinquent.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	12	13	10	.....
Informal commitment:									
Dependent.....	9	2	7	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Neglected.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delinquent.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	12	1	1	.....

Industrial schools.

Table XXIII shows 136, or 27 per cent of all, as taken under the custody of the industrial schools. Sixteen children first taken under care by other agencies were subsequently committed, making a total of 152 children received at these institutions during the two-year period under consideration. All the colored children committed

were, perforce, boys, since the girls' industrial school received only white children.

Delaware permitted commitment to the industrial schools of children adjudged dependent or neglected.⁸ During the period studied 15 children—12 adjudged dependent and 3 adjudged neglected—had been committed. Five of these, however, had first been disposed of in other ways. One of them was a 9-year-old boy, who had to be removed from a colored orphanage five months after he had been placed there because of neglect. Delinquencies which might have given ground for commitment were not reported; but doubtless he had become a problem to the orphanage, for soon after his admission to the industrial school he was diagnosed as a middle-grade imbecile. Another colored boy, also a neglected child, had a history somewhat similar to the foregoing. He had run away from the private institution in which he had first been placed, and when caught was committed to the industrial school. He was but 10 years old at the time of his commitment. As it happened, all the white children of the dependent and neglected groups committed to an industrial school were girls. Two were girls from foster homes, whose guardians were either unable or unwilling to keep them longer. Two were sisters, 12 and 14 years of age, who were removed from association with an immoral mother.

The ages at which children were committed to the industrial school bring up a point of almost equal interest with the question of committing children on the grounds of dependency. The Delaware law stated that the boys' industrial school should receive "males not over 16 years nor under 9 years of age";⁹ the industrial school for girls received any girl under 18 years; no minimum age was mentioned.¹⁰ Three boys had been committed at 8 years; 6 boys and 1 girl at 9 years; 12 boys and 1 girl at 10 years. (See Table XXIV.) Of these, 4 were committed on the ground of dependency and 2 because of neglect. The largest numbers were committed at 13 and 14 years. Both the girls' and boys' institutions had two buildings in which to accommodate the children. At the girls' industrial school, where only white children were cared for, it was possible to segregate the younger girls from the older to some extent. At the boys' institution, where one building was devoted to white boys and the other to colored, this separation by ages or by degree of delinquency was practically impossible.

⁸ R. C. 1915. Sec. 2196 gives regulation for Ferris Industrial School for Boys. Sec. 2203 gives regulation for Delaware Industrial School for Girls.

⁹ R. C. 1915, sec. 2196.

¹⁰ R. C. 1915, sec. 2203.

TABLE XXIV.—*Ages of children when committed to industrial schools.*

Industrialschools.	Children committed to industrial schools at specified ages.										
	Total.	8 years.	9 years.	10 years.	11 years.	12 years.	13 years.	14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.
Total.....	152	3	7	13	16	16	25	25	21	15	11
Boys' industrialschool.	93	3	6	12	13	10	16	10	16	7	.....
Girls' industrialschool.	59	.....	1	1	3	6	9	15	5	8	11

Sometimes the seriousness of the delinquency seemed hardly commensurate with the penalty imposed.

One 10-year-old girl was committed to the industrial school on the charge of incorrigibility. The complainant was the child's father, who stated that the girl was unmanageable, careless, disobedient, took things to eat without permission, and kept 1 cent of change from money which had been given her to do an errand. Other delinquencies equally trivial were reported. The officer who visited the case felt that there was strong evidence that the charges were made with a desire to get rid of the child. Whereas the father and the stepmother reported her as vicious and ungovernable, neighbors testified that she was well behaved and industrious, but was neglected and mistreated by her family. The decision of the court resulted in the child's removal to the industrial school, an action which was deliberately suggested by an appeal of the father. Thus the family was released from responsibility. No maintenance was paid by them for the child at the institution. (Case No. 372.)

In one instance, a 9-year-old colored boy was committed on the ground of persistent truancy, with no record of other delinquency. Commitment to the industrial schools is the punishment established by law for truancy for both boys and girls. Any justice of the peace has power to commit for this cause.¹¹ Be it said to the credit of Delaware, however, that this extreme form of discipline for absence from school was not ordinarily resorted to, unless the truancy were coupled with other delinquent acts.

Other instances of commitment for seemingly trivial delinquencies were:

A 14-year-old white girl, whose immoral mother had deserted, was committed by a justice of the peace, on the ground of incorrigibility without more specific statement of the child's delinquency. Her record at the industrial school read—"mild, neat, careful, obedient, attractive." The real necessity for the child's removal seems to have been occasioned by the absence of a mother to look after her. (Case No. 51.)

An 8-year-old colored boy was committed at once on the ground of incorrigibility when his father complained that the child "had a good deal of time on his hands and got into bad company." No other record stood against him. The report for his first year in school had been excellent in ability and industry, very good in conduct. (Case No. 423.)

¹¹ R. C. 1915, sec. 2815.

A 15-year-old colored boy was committed as incorrigible through the complaint of his teacher to a justice of the peace. She reported that he had been a "good boy" in school but was running the streets and was not adequately cared for at home. (Case No. 477.)

These children and others, some of whose histories have been given to illustrate other points, seemed to deserve a milder sentence. Their cases are mentioned not in the way of criticism of the agency treatment but rather as an argument for more facilities for handling special groups of children. Given the circumstances in which these particular children were found, the agents handling the cases may have had little choice except to remove them. They certainly lacked facilities for adequately supervising the home or working out a plan of reconstruction. Having removed the child, however, they might have made more use of the placing-out system. As for finding suitable institutions, they were again at a loss. A number of histories showed that children were committed to the industrial schools, not because they needed reformatory care, but because the agencies who had charge of them could find no other place.

The industrial schools of Delaware, as of many other States, have been the depositories for all sorts of problematical children—the dependent, the neglected, the defective, and the mildly delinquent, as well as the more seriously delinquent. The Delaware statutes permit the commitment of children to these institutions on the ground of dependency, but the fact that the industrial schools were the only institutions in the State providing disciplinary or reformatory care for juvenile delinquents stigmatized all who were received. Moreover, the influence of these various classes of children on one another can only be bad.

Homes for dependent children.

The homes for dependent children used by Delaware agencies have already been described in this report. Children placed in institutions of this type numbered 225, or 44 per cent of the entire group. Forty-eight of them had been placed through court action, including 13 adjudged dependent by the juvenile court, 24 whose parents had been prosecuted for neglect, and 11 adjudged delinquent.

For everyone of the 13 children who had been adjudged dependent, the home environment was decidedly unfavorable; none had a normal home. Four were children born out of wedlock who were taken from neglecting and immoral mothers; a brother of one of these four was also included in this group. Two brothers, 7 and 10 years old, were taken from their father, their mother having deserted the family four years previously. One little girl of 8 was removed from the home of her mother and stepfather, because the mother was supposed to be living illicitly with the stepfather. The legality of their union was subsequently proved, however, and when they moved

to a better neighborhood in an endeavor to improve conditions for the child the little girl was released to them. Three of the children adjudged dependent were removed from the homes of relatives who had declared themselves unwilling to continue care of the children; two of these were brothers whose mother was dead and whose father was in the workhouse; the third was also motherless, his father, an Italian, having deserted and returned to Europe. One was a 10-year-old boy taken from the care of a lodger who had been left temporarily in charge of the boy's home when his mother was committed to the workhouse for keeping a house of assignation. One was a boy who had reached the age limit of the institution, where he had been an inmate for three years, having been placed there by a court because his mother was immoral and drunken and was neglecting him.

The prevailing method of handling the so-called neglected children seems to have been to place them in homes for dependent children; 34 out of a total of 43 had been cared for in this way, 24 by court action. A number of the children in this group had parents who had served time in a correctional institution or had been sentenced at the time the children were removed.

Two children were removed from a one-room shanty in a rural neighborhood because of the father's neglect and immorality. The children's mother was living with another man several miles away. Persons who had long known the father stated that he was "a floater," "a bad lot," and spent "much of his time in jail." They reported that at one time, when he was serving a prison sentence for murder, he married a woman also in prison for murder; she was not the mother of the children included in the study. Relatives of the children were not sure whether the father had ever been married to the children's mother. They knew that the father had been very irregular in his work and was extremely poor. Having no one to care for his children, he had brought to his home a woman who was supposed to be his housekeeper. This situation was reported to an agency, which decided that the children would be better off under institutional care. (Cases Nos. 24, 25.)

The 11 children adjudged delinquent were all boys, most of them so young that the court was reluctant to send them to the institutions regularly caring for delinquent juveniles. Most of them were removed from their homes, not so much with the thought that institutional care would furnish them with corrective treatment, as because their own homes did not provide suitable environment. Two of them were brothers, aged 8 and 10 years, whose father had died and whose mother had gone into a factory to work. Their home was on the outskirts of a town, in a row of houses owned by the mill where their mother worked. During her absence, one day, they wandered into a garage and took some money from purses found in a coat pocket. Because of their lack of supervision at home, the court thought best to place them in institutions. Two others were boys who pointed

firearms at a man who had trespassed in their back yard. The story of how they were brought into court, charged with "assault with intent to commit murder," is told in another connection.¹² Two others were boys whose mothers were dead. The fathers in both cases worked all day and had no one to care for their children.

By far the largest number of those placed in homes for dependent children had been received by the institutions through an informal arrangement made either by some social agency or by the personal request of the child's family or friends. The group of so-called "dependent" children received in this informal way numbered 167 and included more than two-thirds of those whose families had contributed to the maintenance of the child in the institution. Within this special group were most of the instances in which the sickness of the mother or her absence at work had been the reason given for removing the child from his home. More than one-half of these children, 92 out of 167, received only temporary care and were released during the period of the study, 83 of them having been in the institutions less than one year.

Temporary care was arranged by a charitable organization for three children whose mother went to a hospital for confinement. The parents were very poor, but the mother kept the one bare room, which constituted the family abode, in a neat and clean condition. The father had been out of work, but had finally secured a position as night watchman at \$3.25 per day, and seemed to be trying to do his part. During the two weeks that the children stayed at the institution he paid the full fee required for them. The use of an institution in such an emergency seemed to be a wise one. (Cases Nos. 351, 352, 353.)

With one exception, the children taken under care because of the death of one or both guardians were placed in institutions for dependent children.

One 4-year-old white boy was the child of an Italian who had been left a widower with four children when their mother died during childbirth. The godmother of one of the little girls took her and the father's sister assumed the care of another little girl, leaving the father with two boys. One of these, a 7-year-old boy, the father found it possible to keep with him. For the younger, the child included in this study, he decided to ask outside help and personally made the arrangements for the child's admission to a "home," agreeing to pay the regular fee for maintenance. (Case No. 467.)

Other types of children found in institutions for dependent children were foundlings, children given institutional care because their mothers had become insane, children taken from other than their own homes in cases where the guardians felt unable to continue care of them, and many of those children who had been removed because of the delinquencies of parents or guardians or because the home was found unfit.

¹² See pp. 47-48.

Almshouses.

Delaware is among the States which still countenance the admission of children to almshouses. Records of children taken under care at the three county almshouses of Delaware during the two-year period of the study were gathered as follows:

New Castle County Almshouse.....	" 17
Kent County Almshouse.....	2
Sussex County Almshouse.....	4

The county hospital in New Castle County is located in the same building as the almshouse. The cases recorded there were analyzed and no cases received for hospital treatment only were included in the study. Cases which combined dependency with need for hospital care were included, as, for example, the following instance:

A drunken father who had been living with an immoral woman was arrested and sent to the workhouse for neglect of his four children. The children's own mother had died nearly two years previous as the result of a miscarriage. Immediately upon the father's commitment his home was broken up. The children, ranging in age from 3 to 11 years, were placed in institutions. Because the youngest was suffering with a sore ear, the children's institution to which her sisters and brother were admitted could not take her and she was sent to the hospital ward of the county almshouse. Not until six months later did the events which had taken place in this family come to the attention of relatives. A maternal aunt, upon hearing that the family had been broken up, came to Delaware from her home in a neighboring State and pleaded to be allowed to take the children. Without investigating the merits of her petition, the agencies concerned refused to grant her request. She continued to urge her claim and after six months succeeded in securing custody of the child who was at the almshouse. (Case No. 39.)

The lack of any suitable institution for the care of the feeble-minded has, up to the present, resulted in the admission of defective children to the almshouse.

A 10-year-old girl from a rural home was admitted because she had become a problem to the community in which she lived. Her father had deserted; her mother and maternal grandmother maintained a miserable one-room shack by doing "day's work" when such was obtainable. The child was reported as "too defective for her grandmother to control" and also as "too defective to go to school." On the ground that she needed institutional care, the neighbors persuaded her mother to release her, and believing that the girl was to be placed where she would receive special treatment, the mother allowed her to be removed. The girl remained at the almshouse for about six months; then, on the mother's petition, she was discharged with the understanding that the mother, who was about to move to another State, would place her as soon as possible in a more suitable institution. The child's subsequent history is unknown. (Case No. 431.)

During the period of the study 16 babies—9 white and 7 colored—were born at the county almshouses of Delaware, 11 in New Castle, 1 in Kent, and 4 in Sussex. Of these, 12 children—6 white and 6 col-

¹⁷ Includes one child who was previously committed to institution other than almshouse.

ored—were born out of wedlock. These children have not been included in the tables of the study for the obvious reason that they were not deprived of parental care at the time when they came under the jurisdiction of the institution. They represent on the whole, however, a group of the most abjectly dependent children in the State, and for that reason deserve at least a passing mention in this report. At the New Castle County Almshouse, where the county hospital is a separate feature of the institution, the birth records were kept in a book by themselves and did not appear among the list of admissions to the almshouse. At the Kent County and Sussex County Almshouses infants born in those institutions were entered in the chronological list of admission among those who become public charges.

In some instances the mother had undergone her confinement in the almshouse because it seemed to be the only available place where she could secure the needed care. The custom in the New Castle County Almshouse was to charge a small fee (\$10) for confinement services if the woman could afford to pay it. If not, she was expected to remain at the almshouse for six months after the birth of the child and assist with the work of the institution. In six cases the mother was released about two weeks after the birth of the child, presumably having met the financial requirements.

Two white mothers and one colored were working out at service previously to their going to the almshouse for confinement. Both the white women had become pregnant out of wedlock. Of one, little was known except that she was employed as a house servant immediately prior to her admission to the almshouse. The birth record of the baby gave the occupation of the father as "a mill hand." The mother remained at the almshouse six months, but nothing is known of her subsequent history or that of the child. The other white woman had been housekeeper for a man who had alternately abused her and neglected her. She had been diagnosed as an imbecile by a mental specialist. In the same almshouse in which she gave birth to her baby, she herself had been born of a woman who was reported as mentally weak. All her brothers and sisters, 10 of whom were on record, were regarded as below normal in intelligence. This inefficient woman, incapable of planning for herself, unable to read or write, had been thrown on her own resources when she was 12 years old. Because of her even temper and usual good health, she made an acceptable helper in farmers' households, but frequently changed her place of employment. A neighbor stated that she had kept house for both white and colored men. The child of the study was at least her second, though no previous child was living. When this baby was 1 month old the mother left the almshouse, keeping the child with her, and again went into service.

The colored baby was born of a domestic servant who had previously been an inmate of the State hospital for the insane. This woman had been married and had had two children by her husband. Soon after the second child was born she suffered from a psychosis, during which she attempted to kill her baby. Her third child was born out of wedlock. At the time of his birth she again had puerperal insanity, and when he was but 2 months old she became violent and was transferred from the almshouse to the State hospital. The only report that could be secured in regard to the baby was that it had been "given away."

Three colored babies had not only been born but had been conceived at the almshouse. One of these babies had a white mother, an imbecile woman who had been for 17 years in the almshouse, during which time she was said to have had seven children born out of wedlock. Four of these children were located. Two of them were colored. One was positively feeble-minded. Each had a different father.

Another was the child of a woman aged 21 and a man aged 51, both almshouse inmates, and both diagnosed as imbeciles. The mental age of the mother was 4.2; of the father, 7.2. This baby at 9 months of age was declared to be developing normally. At the age of 16 months he was indentured from the almshouse to the care of a private family.

The third of the colored babies, who had been not only born but conceived while the mother was an almshouse inmate, was also the child of an imbecile woman. This woman was but 18 years old when her baby was born; the child's father was unknown, though the gossip of the institution had it that he was one of the white employees. The mother's intelligence was not equal to that of a 5-year-old child, and she was also crippled. She was in urgent need of proper institutional care and protection.

Low or abnormal mentality characterized several of the mothers of the almshouse babies. It was noteworthy that every mother who had become pregnant while in the institution was not normal mentally. Among the others accustomed to work at domestic service there was one imbecile white woman and one insane colored woman.

Among the other histories there was that of one colored mother of whom it was reported that she would answer questions but showed no initiative. This woman had feet and legs so undeveloped that she had never been able to stand. Her baby had been born out of wedlock, the child's father being a colored sailor.

Of another woman it was said that she was "restless and disagreeable." She had been twice married. Her first child was defective physically and mentally. At the time of her third pregnancy she deserted her husband and, taking her two boys, went to live with relatives. When it came time for her confinement all three were

received at the almshouse. The brighter of the two boys was subsequently indentured; the other boy was placed several times but was always unsatisfactory because of his condition. The baby was discharged with the mother when 11 days old.

There remain two of the almshouse babies. Of these one was born of a white mother who had come from a considerable distance to the almshouse for her confinement. Nothing further is known of this case except that both parents were classed as "laborers," and the child was registered as illegitimate. The other white mother had taken her 1-year-old baby with her when she went for confinement. Hers seems to have been a case of poverty due to nonsupport. Her husband drank and spent his money on other women. Their first child was being cared for in the home of the maternal grandfather; but the grandfather refused to do anything more for the family so long as the mother continued to "stick to the worthless husband." This mother, when visited, was hoping to find a foster home for the 1-year-old baby.

PLACING OUT.

One State-wide agency in Delaware was devoted entirely to the work of placing children in private homes, and two other child-caring agencies also placed children. Placing out from institutions was practised only to a limited extent. Both the industrial schools placed out their charges on parole, under their own strict supervision. The system of indenture was still kept up in Sussex County, two children having been "bound out" during the time of the study. One other institution made a special feature of placing, and employed a supervisor to select and visit homes where children were placed.¹⁴

Of the 513 children, 88 children were placed in private homes at the time of their removal from their previous surroundings and 19 children who had first been admitted to institutions were later placed out. If the conservative figures gathered for this report puzzle some who have studied carefully the annual reports of the agencies included, it should be stated that the explanation lies in the limitations of the study. For example, institutions which used the placing system frequently retained the child at the institution for a considerable period. The disposition of children retained in the institution for two years or more would not be noted in this report. Likewise the child-caring agencies sometimes supervised children in their own homes for two or more years before removing them. Such cases would not come within the scope of this study. Again, it was customary for agencies and institutions to report on the number of placements, not on the number of individual children placed. Reports of this character may give an accurate idea of the amount of

¹⁴ For further details, see *Dependent, Delinquent, and Defective Children of Delaware*, by C. Spencer Richardson. Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, March, 1918.

work done by the organizations, but they do not give the exact number of children cared for.

The large number of children committed through court action, and especially of delinquent children, who were placed out, was due to the activity of the juvenile court of Wilmington, the largest single agency in Delaware. By the act establishing it, the court was given authority to find private homes for children coming under its jurisdiction. In many instances the juvenile court asked the cooperation of a child-placing agency in carrying on this work.

Proportionately fewer girls were placed than boys. More children were placed at 13 years than at any other age. With only nine exceptions, all the children under 7 years were placed in institutions.

NUMBER OF AGENCIES DEALING WITH INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN.

In 272 instances, or in more than half the cases included in the study, the children had been handled, during the two-year period, by more than one agency; 21 had been handled by three or more agencies. (See Table XXV.)

There are two distinct possibilities underlying this state of things. On the one hand, the overlapping of case work may show a duplication of labor; on the other hand, it may signify a close and advantageous cooperation. Without analysis of the specific instances, it is impossible to criticize the condition. Certain agencies dovetailed their work efficiently, as in the case of two institutions which by mutual agreement care continuously for children, transferring them at a given age from one institution to the other. In other instances, unfortunately, agencies were guilty of attempting to usurp the work others were better equipped to do, with the result that in the end both agencies had devoted time and money to the case. When a child was brought to the attention of one agency and referred immediately to the proper office, such action was not classed in this report as agency treatment.

TABLE XXV.—Number of agencies receiving each child during two-year period.

Race and sex.	Total children.	Number of agencies receiving each child during two-year period.		
		One.	Two.	Three or more.
Total.....	513	241	251	21
White	403	211	174	18
Boys.....	229	121	102	6
Girls.....	174	90	72	12
Negro.....	110	30	77	3
Boys.....	60	18	39	3
Girls.....	50	12	38	.....

When the inquiry regarding the amount of agency treatment was extended over the life history of the children, the amount of duplication or overlapping was still more marked. Whereas, for the period of the investigation, 272 cases were found to have been handled by more than one agency, for the more extended period covering the life history of the children, 303 of the 513 children, or 59 per cent. were reported as having been under the care of more than one agency. Moreover, the number which were reported as having been handled by three or more agencies was 39, as against 21 so dealt with in the two-year period. The checkered experiences of some of the children who had been handled by several agencies are suggested by the following histories:

A colored boy, sent at 3 years of age from a foundling hospital in New York to an institution in Delaware, was transferred at 13 years of age—the age limit of this institution to still another orphanage. At 15 he was released and allowed to seek employment in Wilmington. He was large and strong, appearing older than his actual years, had borne a good character while at the institution, and was apparently ready to undertake an independent and self-supporting life. In less than one year he had come under the care of the juvenile court because he had stolen six handkerchiefs. The court dealt with him wisely in placing him on a farm. After his placement no unfavorable report came of him. (Case No. 14.)

One girl was committed at 17 years of age to the girls' industrial school for absenting herself from home. From the time she was 4 years old until she was 14 she had lived in various orphanages. Her parents both drank heavily and had served terms at the workhouse for neglecting their children. At 16 years the girl went to work in a hotel, and later she went to live with her own parents. Conditions had apparently not improved at home, for the girl soon began to stay away and finally came to the attention of the police. When brought before the juvenile court she was summarily committed to the industrial school. (Case No. 282.)

The institutional history of one boy began when he was 1 year old and continued un'interruptedly, except for a change of institutions, until he was 9. The original ground for admitting him was the fact that his parents had separated, and his mother found it impossible to work and to care for him. Two of his brothers also were placed in institutions. At 9 years of age he was returned to his mother because she had remarried. His history while at home showed numerous delinquencies, including running away, disorderly conduct, and incorrigibility. After three years of almost continuous conflict with school-teachers, neighbors, and probation officers he was committed to the boys' industrial school. There, for the first time, he came under the observation of a mental specialist and was diagnosed a middle-grade imbecile. (Case No. 13.)

Inadequate cooperation between agencies was evidenced by the fact that fairly complete histories of some families were found with one agency, while another agency, also interested in the case, was apparently unaware that the data had been gathered. Lack of cooperation was well illustrated by the case of an epileptic and feeble-minded girl, twice examined and diagnosed. The examinations were both made in another State at considerable expense and inconvenience to

the societies arranging for them. Both agencies, moreover, belonged to the Confidential Exchange of Wilmington and might, by utilizing their resources, have economized time and money. The constantly increasing use of the confidential exchange will gradually eliminate such occurrences.

MAINTENANCE CONTRIBUTED BY FAMILIES.

Classed by the sources from which they derived their support, the agencies and institutions caring for the dependent children of Delaware were of three types—public (i. e., supported entirely by public funds), semipublic, and private.

As a rule the public institutions received no maintenance toward the support of the child from the child's own family or relatives. The results of an inquiry into the amounts contributed by families are exhibited in Table XXVI. Where a family paid the maximum amount charged by the institution it was credited with the full rate, though the charge was seldom equal to the actual cost of maintenance. The fees expected from families who could pay ranged from \$5 to \$15 a month. Some institutions charged a weekly rate, usually \$1.50 or \$2. Families who paid less than the maximum amount were classed as contributing part. The third group were those who contributed nothing. In this last group were included 70 per cent of all cases.

TABLE XXVI.—Amount of support contributed by children's families to agencies and institutions caring for children.

Types of agencies and institutions.	Total.	Children whose families contributed specified amounts of support.							
		White children.				Negro children.			
		Total.	Full.	Part.	None.	Total.	Full.	Part.	None.
Total.....	513	403	130	10	263	110	1	14	95
Public.....	69	50	3	1	46	19	.....	.....	19
Semipublic.....	196	162	36	3	123	34	.....	2	32
Private.....	248	191	91	6	94	57	1	12	44

NUMBER OF CHILDREN DISCHARGED DURING THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD.

Before the close of the two-year period on which this investigation was based, 138 children out of the total of 513 taken under care had been discharged, as indicated in the following list:

Released to parents.....	105	Discharged (no guardian).....	9
Released to other guardians.....	14	Died while under care.....	10

More than three-fourths of those discharged were returned to their own parents, 9 were thrown upon their own resources, 10 had died while under care. A special analysis of this group of 138 children showed that 65, or almost half, were under care less than two months.

LIMITATIONS IN THE WORK OF AGENCIES.

Absence of provision for defective children.

At the beginning of this report it was stated that the agencies of Delaware lacked special facilities for handling mentally defective children. During the two-year period of the study only three children were removed from their homes with the definite statement of the child's defect as the immediate reason for removal. (See Table XXII.) One of these children had been diagnosed feeble-minded. As a matter of fact, there were included in the investigation 37 children who had been diagnosed as subnormal, varying from the border-line cases to imbeciles. (See p. 46.) In addition to the diagnosed cases there were 21 children reported as of obviously low mentality, and 1 child reported as insane.

The reasons given for removing the 37 children known to be subnormal are listed below :

	Cases.		Cases.
Child delinquent -----	29	Parents working [away from	
Child defective -----	1	home] -----	1
Mother delinquent -----	1	Parents neglecting -----	1
Mother defective -----	1	Home unfit -----	2
Mother unable to support -----	1		

Among the delinquencies charged against the 29 mentally defective children were 11 court cases of larceny; 6 court charges of incorrigibility; 3 cases of malicious mischief, including 1 combined with larceny; 2, absenting self from home; 1, disorderly conduct; 1, throwing stones; 1, assault with intent to commit murder; 1, breaking terms of probation; 3 (not court cases), delinquencies unspecified.

For the 21 children who were not diagnosed, but who were popularly regarded as lacking in average intelligence the reported reasons for removing were :

	Cases.		Cases.
Child delinquent -----	10	Mother unable to care -----	3
Child defective -----	2	Parents separated -----	1
Father delinquent -----	1	Parents unable to care -----	1
Death of father -----	1	Home unfit -----	1
Mother delinquent -----	1		

The delinquencies reported of the 10 children were larceny, incorrigibility, ungovernable temper, immorality, and vagrancy.

Excluding the 1 child reported as insane, for whom appropriate care was eventually secured in the State hospital for the insane, the

dispositions made of these 58 children by agencies were as follows: 31 were committed to the industrial schools; 7 were placed in orphanages, of whom 1 was later transferred to an industrial school; 5 were placed in almshouses; 5, in other institutions; 10 were placed in private families, but 3 of them were subsequently committed to industrial schools, and 1 was sent to an orphanage. (See Table XXVII.) These cases represent 11 per cent of the entire group included in the study. At the time covered by the investigation the only provision made by the State of Delaware for the feeble-minded was an appropriation for the care of 14 individuals in institutions outside the State. During the time of the investigation no opportunity for admitting a new case to this group occurred. Improper or unsuitable care for these 58 children was, therefore, inevitable.

TABLE XXVII.—*Types of dispositions of subnormal children.*

Mentality.	Total.	Subnormal children.					
		Placed in institutions.				Placed out.	Placed out and in institutions.
		Industrial schools.	Homes for dependent children.	Alms-houses.	Other institutions.		
Total.....	58	31	7	5	5	6	4
White.....	39	19	6	4	1	6	3
Below normal.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	1	1 ¹
Borderline.....	5	2	1	.....	.....	2	.....
Retarded.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Feeble-minded.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Imbecile.....	10	8	.....	.....	1	1	.....
Obviously low mentality.....	17	7	2	4	.....	2	2 ²
Negro.....	19	12	1	1	4	.....	1
Border line.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 ¹
Feeble-minded.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Imbecile.....	11	10	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Obviously low mentality.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....

¹ Subsequently placed in an orphanage.

² Subsequently placed with a family.

³ Subsequently placed in an industrial school.

A 17-year-old white girl, who was brought before the juvenile court on a charge of incorrigibility, was examined while under probation and was diagnosed a high-grade imbecile. She had been irregular at her work, admitted immoral relations with a man older than herself, and was annoying an aunt with whom she lived by associating with a young fellow notorious for his general stupidity. The girl's mother had died when she was 6 years old. An older sister also had a record of immoral living. Although institutional care was urgently recommended, none was available, and the girl was placed with a private family in the hope that new environment might stimulate her to more wholesome activity. She was forbidden to associate with the young man, and for a while she seemed to conduct herself respectably. Nine months

later she was reported as engaged to marry a soldier, and within a few months she married him, in spite of the fact that she was under the immediate surveillance of Delaware agencies. (Case No. 506.)

A boy, charged with repeated petty larcenies, was examined under the auspices of the juvenile court and was diagnosed a high-grade imbecile. Care and training in an institution for the feeble-minded were recommended by the diagnostician. The difficulty of carrying out this recommendation was such that the boy was placed in a private correctional institution in another State, where the results were evidently unsatisfactory, since after 10 months he was returned to his home, free to repeat his previous delinquencies. (Case No. 387.)

Another case was that of an epileptic low-grade imbecile girl, the oldest of five children of foreign-born parents. Sufficient interest had been taken in her mental condition to have an examination and diagnosis by specialists. Although these specialists recommended institutional care, no opportunity to place the child in a suitable institution could be found. Later, she came under care of the juvenile court, and on the ground of delinquency was placed in the girls' industrial school, only to prove an impossible inmate for that institution and to be passed on to the county almshouse. (Case No. 210.)

The problem of caring for the mentally defective has, however, received considerable attention in Delaware since 1915, with the result that in 1917 the legislature passed an act providing for a State commission for the feeble-minded, with powers to arrange for the establishment of a State institution, which is now being constructed.

Action by local magistrates.

Throughout the report, cases in which legal process was involved in the arrangements for the child's removal, have been classed as "cases involving court action." The group included children who had been before the juvenile court, courts of general sessions, local magistrates, and justices of the peace. That the quality of the treatment varied greatly under this diverse handling is obvious. One of the crying needs of Delaware was uniform legal protection for children throughout the State, with an adequate corps of probation officers for investigation and supervision.¹⁶

An illustration of ill-advised action on the part of local magistrates who lacked machinery for adequate investigation is found in the story of a man who, after the death of his wife from tuberculosis, went with his children to live with relatives on a farm. The older children were required to assist on the farm and with the housework, but the arrangement had continued only about two months when trouble began. The oldest boy, intrusted with a certain amount of business responsibility, failed of his trust and appropriated \$100. The father was slow in making restitution, and in the meantime all

¹⁶ In 1919 a reconstruction commission was created in Delaware to devise and put into operation plans for child-welfare and community organization throughout the State, and this commission has appointed a committee to draft a children's code.

the children suffered from the resentment which their relatives felt toward them. The boy was taken to court and was committed to the workhouse. Whether or not his age was unknown to the authorities who committed him was not clear from the records. As a matter of fact, he was only 15, and in a month he was transferred to the boys' industrial school. His sisters, growing restless under the discord, refused to remain at the farm. Their father made this incident an excuse to have them committed to the girls' industrial school, though they had no other record of delinquency and were highly regarded by their teachers.

On the oath of a foster mother that a 9-year-old boy was vicious and ungovernable, the child was committed by a justice of the peace to the industrial school. One month later the foster father had appealed from the order of commitment, and the boy was released on the ground that he had been committed without sufficient evidence. Investigation brought to light the fact that the commitment had been the result of a slight family quarrel over the management of the boy. The child was described as a fine-looking little fellow, bright, active, and mischievous. He was small for his age and could easily have been controlled by intelligent guardians. If the case had first been presented to a juvenile court, he would never have been committed to an institution for delinquents.

Absence of constructive work with families.

The amount of work done by agencies in preparing homes for the return of children was very slight. The agencies comprising the group under consideration in this study were, to be sure, those whose special function was to care for children. The emphasis in their treatment was laid upon care of the child as an individual and not as a member of a family group. Constructive work with families had either not been considered an essential part of the agency program or had been crowded to the wall under pressure of more immediate tasks.

One exception to this statement existed in the juvenile court of Wilmington, which made a part of its activity the improving, so far as possible, of the children's own environment, removing them only as a last resort. During the period of the investigation 182 children received under the care of the court were removed from their homes and were, therefore, included in this study, whereas during the same time a total of 740 individual children had come before the court. Subsequent to the child's removal, however, there was rarely any attempt made to fit the home for the child's return.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, also, through its prosecutions of delinquent fathers, in nonsupport cases, often prevented the breaking up of families. In the cases where

children were removed, however, there were no facilities for following up home conditions or working with families toward the possible return of children.

Inquiry into the conditions in the homes of children removed from their parental or foster homes brought out the fact that for 219 cases—45 per cent—the general conditions at the time of removal remained the same up to the date of the child's discharge from agency care or until the end of the period studied. In 80 other cases—16 per cent—a change of residence had taken place, other conditions remaining practically as before. In 21 instances the family had been entirely broken up. In 9 cases the family group had been restored; in 10 others the parents had remarried, creating an opportunity for the child's return. The conditions in other cases were of great variety, but in almost none had any decided improvement taken place.

Condition of household subsequent to child's removal from his parental or foster home:

Total-----	485	Absent parent returned-----	9
Same as prior to removal-----	219	Parent married again-----	10
Change of residence-----	80	Other changes-----	67
Home entirely broken up-----	21	Not reported-----	79

On the whole, the agencies were tenacious of their claim over the children. One institution, where both free and paying cases were received, declined to accept maintenance from parents, even though offered freely, when for some reason the institution desired to have absolute right to the child. Not only was there little evidence of constructive work among families, but there was often evidence that families lacked redress or opportunity to defend themselves when agencies took action to remove children. Occasionally in the period of the investigation parents went to the expense of proving their right to their child, and won their case.

Two boys—one 13 and one 14 years of age—full of mischief and somewhat troublesome to their school-teacher, were reported to a member of the local school board, who summoned an official and had them both committed to the industrial school. The two boys were from different homes and from very different surroundings. One was the foster child of a farm owner of that neighborhood; the other was the son of a domestic servant employed on another farm. The first boy had not only the protection of his foster parents but also the supervision of the child-caring agency which had placed him with them. In both cases the offenses committed by the boys seemed to their guardians as too slight to warrant the action taken against them. The foster parents immediately reported the case of their ward to the child-placing agent, who went to law and won his suit. This boy was detained at the industrial school only three weeks. The other child, whose mother was a serving woman without influence, remained at the industrial school throughout the period studied, despite the fact that he had been committed on the same charge as the other

boy, and the decision in one case would have been equally applicable to the other. The offenses committed, as reported in the lawsuit, were: (1) "Caught hold of a girl's dress;" (2) "placed a rail across a road;" (3) "dammed up a brook." (Cases Nos. 128, 464.)

At the urgent insistence of a prominent person in a small community, three children were placed in an institution on the ground that their mother had been neglecting them. Three complaints were made against the mother before the arrangements for the children's removal were completed. On the occasion of the second complaint the case was heard before a local officer, who decided to allow the mother to keep her children. On the occasion of the third complaint, no formal action was taken, but the mother agreed to release the children. The agency removing them could give no information relating to the children's father, except that he was not with the family at that time.

The mother's story was as follows: The children's father had been away only two weeks when the children were removed. He had been engaged at hauling, receiving \$1.50 per day, but had been out of work for a time, had become discouraged, and had left in the night without giving any warning of his plan. The mother denied that she was neglecting her children; she said that they had good clothes and plenty to eat. The house rent was free, and the mother took in washings to add to the family income. Her house at the time it was visited was fairly well furnished and was very clean. Shortly after the children were removed the father returned and was "upset" over what had happened. The parents lived together for a short time; then the father went away again. "He feels that without his children it is not worth while to keep a home," said the mother. He had consulted a lawyer about getting his children back, but had been unsuccessful in the attempt. In the meantime, the mother, with her baby which she had been permitted to keep, went to work as housekeeper for a farmer.

Whether or not the parents were justified in feeling that they were entitled to their children, the facts remain: That the children were removed without other investigation than the report of the prominent neighbor, whose word could presumably be trusted; that subsequent to the removal of the children the parents had not been the subjects of any constructive work on the part of the agencies interested; that the parents' own attempt to have the children returned had been fruitless; and that no effort whatever had been made looking forward to the possible return of the children. (Cases Nos. 449, 450, 451.)

In regard to children placed in foster homes, the policy throughout the State was to keep the child's own parents in ignorance of his whereabouts.

Two boys who had been deserted by their mother were placed by their father in an institution and were retained there for over a year. The father had agreed to pay \$2 a week maintenance for each of them, but he got behind in his payments and finally took them out. For a time the paternal grandparents assisted him in keeping the family together; but the grandmother finally became ill and died, and the housework became a problem. The grandfather did what he could, and an older brother of the children—a boy only 12 years old but dependable—was very helpful with the cooking and sweeping. He could not, however, control the younger boys, who at length came to the attention of officials because of truancy. They were sent to the institution where they had previously been cared for, and from there were placed in foster homes in another

part of the State. The father at this time was working steadily, receiving higher and higher wages as the war emergency work increased; he was eager to assume a definite responsibility for his children, agreeing to make up the back payments which he owed the institution. He annoyed the agency, however, by writing to the boys, and when, a few months later, the agency removed the children to other homes he was not informed of their whereabouts. At Christmas time he was especially eager to get in touch with them and wrote to the agency inclosing money for them. The letter speaks for itself: "Please be sure to arrange that it be spent for their Christmas, bearing in mind that clothes do not mean much to a boy at this season. I do not understand why I am not allowed to know where the boys are, as I have a very distinct impression that * * * said I was to be in touch with them. However, if you will arrange the forwarding of this money for me, I will be satisfied for the present." (Cases Nos. 416 and 417.)

Inadequate investigation and supervision.

Lack of an adequate staff of workers for handling cases sometimes meant insufficient investigation of the conditions in the homes of the children before removal and inadequate supervision over the children after they were placed.

Two colored children received at an orphanage were admitted at the request of their mother, who obviously wanted to be relieved of the responsibility of caring for them. She was an unmarried domestic servant, reported as immoral and undependable. The maternal grandmother of the children and their aunt were in fairly comfortable circumstances; they had a neat home, were able financially to care for the children, and permitted the mother to live with them whenever she wished. She, however, preferred to rent a room for herself where she could have freedom to do as she pleased. Upon the advice of some of her friends without the knowledge of the other members of her family, she disposed of the children. The institution which took these children knew almost nothing of their previous history. (Cases Nos. 525, 526.)

A girl of 16 years, who had been living for more than two years in a foster home, assisting her guardians with housework, became gradually more and more vicious in her habits and finally was committed to the industrial school because of immorality. The girl's father was an alcoholic, who had been killed by an electric car. There were five children, but even after the mother had remarried she claimed that she was unable to provide for their care. Two of them were taken by the maternal grandfather, and three, including the girl of the study, were given to a child-placing agency. This agency had the girl examined physically and made considerable effort to see that she was in good physical condition. Eleven entries were found of treatments provided by the agency; adenoids and tonsils were removed. There was no evidence of any mental examination, though the agency record included the statement that "girls of her own age called her simple," and the institution to which she was committed stated that she was certainly weak-minded. Her school record showed that she had been irregular in attendance, and at 14 years of age, when she stopped attending, she had reached only the fourth grade. The girl, after removal from her own home, was placed three different times by the agency. At the first place she remained only 10 days; at the second she remained one year; then she was placed with the family who had her until she was committed to the industrial school. Although at first they complained that she was impudent to them and that she gave trouble at school, the guardians accepted her as a

member of their family for nearly two years and a half. When they found it necessary to have her removed they reported that she had "been much changed during the last six months." She had become overdeveloped physically and manifested inordinate sex tendencies. At the time of her commitment evidence was presented that she had had intercourse with four men, one of whom was the son of her guardians. Although this girl had apparently had considerable supervision at first, the agency had gradually relaxed its watchfulness. The serious responsibility of placing an adolescent girl in a family where there are unmarried men is one which some agencies are unwilling to assume. (Case No. 528.)

The necessity for a careful selection of foster homes was illustrated by the case of a 9-year-old colored boy, who was placed with a white family in the lower part of Delaware. The new guardians were accepted by the agency as suitable on the strength of recommendations given by neighbors. The boy remained with them from September to June, but did not attend school during this period for the reason that the family lived 6 miles from the nearest colored school—a fact that should have been ascertained before the boy was placed. The child was removed, however, not because of his nonattendance at school, but because the foster father proved himself unfit by murderously attacking another man. The next foster parents seemed to be exemplary in every way; but this arrangement proved unsatisfactory because the boy manifested thievish tendencies. At the request of these people he was again removed, and once more he was placed with a private family. The last placement was too recent to have been well tested, but it is doubtful whether it contained elements which might be relied upon to correct the boy's delinquent traits. (Case No. 101.)

The foregoing history would seem to indicate a lack of careful investigation on the part of the agency of the proposed foster home. On the other hand, foster parents did not always inform themselves in regard to the child's previous history though it must be admitted that agencies did not make this information easily accessible.

In the home of a married couple, who had applied for a "quiet, settled girl," a child of 12 years was placed who had been shifted from one home to another because of her ungovernable temper. When a little less than 10 years of age she had been committed by a justice of the peace to an institution for delinquent women. Because of her youth, however, she was soon transferred to another more suitable institution. She was described by those in charge of her as a "strange child," a "wail of the streets who had learned much that was not good for her." She had been born out of wedlock. Her mother and her grandmother were reported as "questionable characters." Nevertheless, when she was about 12 years old she was released to her grandmother. In less than six months the grandmother became dissatisfied with the arrangement, and through the activity of two of the child-caring agencies secured a place for her in a private home. No mental examination was made of the little girl although her conduct would seem to indicate the need for one. Within five weeks three different foster homes had been found for her, but from each there came complaints of her bad behavior. "Very disobedient, unreasonable, and uncontrollable," said one guardian. "Lazy and ugly," said another; while the third guardians, the ones mentioned above, wrote "Very saucy; the girl must be taken away at once." The upshot of the situation was that she was committed to the girls' industrial school. (Case No. 520.)

CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES.

SYNOPSIS OF FINDINGS.

The findings of this study are based on an analysis of the histories of 513 children under 18 years of age, taken under care by Delaware agencies and institutions during a two-year period. The group was limited to those who were not only received by the agencies but were removed from their previous environment during that time and, therefore, does not indicate the total number of Delaware children being cared for during the period of the investigation.

The group selected according to the above limitations included 403 white and 110 Negro children, representing, respectively, 79 per cent and 21 per cent of the total. Compared with the proportion of Negroes in the general population, however, the number of Negro children was relatively large. Only 19 of the children were foreign born; but one-fourth of the total group were known to be of foreign or mixed parentage. Twelve per cent of all were known to have been born out of wedlock.

Seventy-six per cent (367) had their residence in Wilmington at the time of their removal by agencies. The study emphasizes the fact that this one large center contributed far more than a proportionate number of children, while the scattered population of the State contributed much less.

The number of family groups represented by these 513 children was 398, over one-third of the children having brothers or sisters included in the study. Many of the children were from large families, 43 per cent of them coming from families of five or more children. Of all the children taken under care not more than 3 per cent were known to be full orphans; not more than 31 per cent were known to be half-orphans. With due allowance for the cases in which the full facts were not known, not less than 50 per cent nor more than 66 per cent had both parents living.

Children removed from their parental homes—that is, from the guardianship of at least one of their own parents—numbered 389, or 76 per cent of the entire group. Children removed from other family homes—that is, from relatives or from foster guardians—numbered 96, or 19 per cent. The remaining 28 children were from various conditions; 3 had been living at service, 5 had been living independently in rooming or boarding houses, 6 had been homeless, 14 had been taken by transfer from one institution to another.

Slightly less than three-tenths (152) of the 513 children included in the study were from homes in which both parents were present and married, 28 having one step-parent; 55 children came from homes other than parental, presided over by a man and wife. For the remaining children, including 11 from homes in which two parents were present though their relationship had not been legalized, the home conditions were more or less irregular.

For 73 per cent of the children removed from their parental homes, unfavorable conditions were reported of one or more members of the family group. This statement is in every way conservative, inasmuch as among the remaining group there were a number, especially among the colored, for whom the information was incomplete. Alcoholism was the most frequently reported of any of the unfavorable social characteristics of parents, occurring usually in combination with other unfavorable social traits. In more than one-fourth of the parental homes from which children were removed, alcoholism was a deteriorating factor. More than one-fifth of the children removed from their parental homes were from households where one or both parents were reported as immoral. General conditions were on the whole better in the homes other than parental.

In the group of children removed from their parental homes, 48 per cent of those for whom conditions were reported were graded as coming from families with income adequate for a decent standard of living. In the group of children removed from other homes, 71 per cent of those for whom conditions were reported were so graded.

In 130 instances the children removed from parental homes came from household groups of which the mother was the economic head. In all, the mothers of 105 children were working away from home. Despite the number for whom conditions were not reported, at the utmost less than two-fifths of the children removed from parental homes, had the full advantage of a mother's care. Special analysis of the conditions seemed to indicate that for 10 per cent of the children a mother's pension might have eliminated the necessity for removal.

An analysis of the children's own personalities showed that 74 per cent of all the children 7 years of age and over had some record of delinquency. School-teachers commented almost unanimously upon the fact that the attendance records of the children included in the study had been among the poorest in their classes. The actual histories of some of the children who had been gainfully employed prior to their removal reveal the greatest irregularity of employment, a haphazard choice of occupations, and frequent changes.

In analyzing case histories for the reasons why agencies had removed children from their previous environment, it was found that

the immediate reason for the agency's action frequently obscured the fundamental causes of the difficulty. For example, 221 children were removed because of their delinquencies. Sometimes the delinquency could be traced to the deliberate instigation of the parents; sometimes the charge of delinquency concealed the fact that the child was defective physically or mentally. In 114 instances delinquencies were charged against one or both parents or guardians. In 33 cases the death of one or both guardians was the reason given by the agency for taking the child under care. The parents or guardians of 120 children were reported as being unable to continue care. For 16 children, the home was declared unfit.

Despite the fact that home-finding agencies of other States have placed out large number of dependent children in Delaware, the results of the study showed that institutional care was used by Delaware agencies to a greater extent than placing in family homes. At the time of their removal 83 per cent were placed in institutions while only 17 per cent were placed in private families.

The types of institutions to which the children were sent were two industrial schools, homes for dependent children, almshouses, and other institutions mainly outside the State. Twenty-seven per cent of the children, including a few who had been adjudged dependent or neglected, were received at the industrial schools. The total number of children placed in homes for dependent juveniles numbered 225; of these 48 were placed by court commitment, by far the larger number, 177, being placed informally either by agencies or by the personal request of the child's family or friends.

Delaware is among the States which still countenance the admission of children to almshouses. Babies born in the almshouses, while not included in the general discussion of this report, were some of them among the most abjectly dependent children of the State. It was the custom at two of the almshouses to enter the name of the child, at its birth, among the admissions of persons who had become public charges.

Of the children placed in other institutions, the majority were delinquent colored girls for whom no institution existed in Delaware.

Agencies in Delaware lacked special facilities for handling mentally defective children. For the 58 subnormal children included in the study, improper or unsuitable care was inevitable.

Those children for whom no maintenance was paid by the family to the agency or institution which had assumed care of the child constituted 70 per cent of the entire group.

Children whose cases had involved legal process had been brought before the juvenile court, courts of general sessions, local magistrates, and justices of the peace. That the quality of treatment received

under this diverse handling varied greatly is obvious. One of the greatest needs of Delaware, as seen in this study, was uniform legal protection for children throughout the State.

The amount of work done by agencies in preparing homes for the return of children was very slight. Not only was there little evidence of constructive work among families but there was sometimes evidence that families lacked redress or opportunity to defend themselves when agencies took action to remove children.

With the exception of the county almshouses, it was the general plan of agencies placing children to retain supervision over them. The necessity for careful selection of foster homes was illustrated by the unfortunate developments in the histories of some of the children.

SPECIAL NEEDS.

The limitations in the meaning of the word "dependency" as used in this study suggest of themselves the essential features of any preventive measures. If "dependent" children are defined as those taken under care as wards of agencies or institutions, the prevention of such dependency must lie in constructive effort to improve the conditions which necessitated their removal from their previous environment. Any form of public welfare that strengthens the integrity of the family, maintains standards of decency, and creates healthful surroundings with opportunities for education and recreation, operates to the benefit of the children of the family and reduces the chance of their becoming charges upon outside individuals and organizations.

In the report cited on the dependent, delinquent, and defective children of Delaware,¹⁷ considerable space is devoted to the discussion of the future development of the child-caring activities of Delaware, including recommendations regarding the care of temporary dependents; the special needs of colored children; the regulation of the importation of children; the development of the system of mothers' pensions; the exclusion of children from almshouses; the extension of the juvenile court and probation system throughout the State, including the prosecution of adults for neglecting minors or for contributing to their delinquency; the care of the feeble-minded, with the introduction of medical and psychological examinations in the public schools and the establishment of special classes for backward children; State supervision of the charitable and correctional work of the State; and standardization of institutional methods.

¹⁷ Richardson, C. Spencer: *Dependent, Delinquent, and Defective Children of Delaware*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, March, 1918.

Extension of juvenile-court and probation work.

The desirability of a State-wide probation system is illustrated by the case of a 12-year-old white girl living in the poorest section of one of the "down-State" communities, in home surroundings which were regarded by better persons of the town as unsuitable. A citizen made complaint, with the result that the child was immediately taken before a justice of the peace and removed to the girls' industrial school. When visited, the mother showed very little grasp of the real significance of the girl's removal. "She wasn't nearly so bad as some still running around and not taken from their homes," said the mother. The visitor's comment on the situation was: "Family evidently low grade; either poor or shiftless; not qualified to give girl all the training and discipline necessary. The supervision of a probation officer or 'big sister' would seem to have been preferable to removal from home."

A 14-year-old white girl, the daughter of a widow who bore a good character, was committed to the industrial school through the action of the local justice of the peace. The agent who removed the child reported that the mother could not control her, and the industrial school was told that she was immoral. The school, however, reported "good" characteristics for her after her admission. The mother's story was that the girl had been going about with a boy of the neighborhood against the wish of his mother, who made the complaint and had sufficient influence to win her point. The girl's mother felt that the action was not warranted. Whatever the merits of this particular case, it offers one more argument for State-wide probation.

Not only would the delinquent children coming before courts and magistrates outside Wilmington have been better handled through a juvenile court with adequate facilities for investigation and supervision, but the delinquents not coming through courts, though fewer in number, would have benefited by supervision. Moreover, through the work of probation officers, parents could have been brought to a realization of their own responsibilities. The case of a 16-year-old colored girl, removed at the request of her parents because they "could not control her," is not the only instance in which a child became a full expense to an institution while the parents were entirely relieved of further effort.

Physical and mental examinations.

The need for physical and mental examination of children, not only in Wilmington, where the subject had been under consideration, but throughout the State, is made evident by such histories as the following:

The vagaries of one girl's conduct suggested a psychopathic condition; but, though her agency record covered a period of six years,

no mental examination of any sort was reported. At 9 years she was reported as "very nervous; seems tubercular"; at 10 years, "she makes no effort to learn"; at 14 years, she "is careless and indifferent, lacks concentration, depends upon others." At 15, she was reported to the police by a man who found her out of doors in an unconscious condition. She said that she had been assaulted, but not the slightest mark of violence was found upon her. About this time she developed a habit of fainting, or pretending to faint, whenever anyone antagonized her. Her family complained that she was bad tempered, strong willed, untruthful, impertinent, violent, thievish, and often stayed away from home. She had been expelled from school because she could not get along with her teachers. She had begun to make appointments with men, when her family requested her commitment to a disciplinary institution outside the State.

The young son of a well-to-do Delaware man behaved in a manner absolutely incomprehensible to his family and to his teachers. His home was comfortable and refined, but his parents could not control him. His teachers reported that they questioned his mentality. However, no mental specialist was immediately available, and the father, fearing that the boy might get into trouble in the community, took matters into his own hands and asked for the boy's commitment to the industrial school. The surroundings at the reform school were not calculated to benefit a boy who had not come into conflict with the law. As it happened, the boy was so dissatisfied that he made his escape and finally enlisted in the Army.

Another boy from a comfortable home, who needed mental examination and special treatment, was a 14-year-old white boy who, from the time he was 9 years old, showed thievish and vicious tendencies. His mother was described as nervous and rather indifferent to the boy's conduct. Evidently he was allowed to do much as he pleased, and, following his natural, depraved inclinations, he was brought before the juvenile court at different times for larceny and for sex offenses.

Another child whose history emphasized the need of mental hygiene in the public schools was a girl who had to be transferred, soon after her commitment to the industrial school, to an institution which cared for her at the birth of a child out of wedlock. From the time when she entered school, her reports showed unfavorable traits—one year, lack of industry; another year, inattention, irregular attendance, and poor conduct. At 14 years of age she went to work in a factory, where she seems to have been regular, earning, however, only \$5 a week. At 17 years of age she left home with a girl companion and two men and was shortly apprehended.

Physical and mental examinations not only are needed in schools, but also should be applied to all wards of agencies and institutions.

No institution can safeguard the welfare of its charges which does not require, before admission, a thorough test of every child's condition.

Special provision for the care of mentally defective children.

The results of mental examination of children at once force upon the public consideration of the provision of suitable care for the mentally defective, including not only the establishment of custodial institutions for the low-grade cases but a system of special training and supervision in the community, not only for those who are capable of at least partial self-support, but also those who can be safely provided for in the community. The higher-grade mental defectives—those most likely to be regarded as capable of independent careers—are apt to offer the most serious problems, and, though they may not require segregation, to need the most careful supervision and direction. The establishment of special classes for defective or handicapped children in connection with the public-school system is, assuredly, a part of the obligation which the American people assumed when they declared for general free education. The proper training of a defective child in good habits and self-control may save him from delinquency; the development of his capacity for self-help, through industrial training, may save him from becoming a financial charge upon others.

Delaware in 1917 appropriated funds for the establishment of an institution for the feeble-minded.¹⁸ Wilmington is equipping special classes for backward children in the public schools. The present interest of the public in this subject may be regarded as a hopeful sign that activity in this direction will be extended.

Restriction of work of reformatory institutions.

The case histories of certain children committed to the industrial schools for trivial reasons suggest not only the need for State-wide juvenile probation and for suitable provision for defective children but also for the exclusion of "dependent" children from reformatories, improved facilities for temporary care, and the extension of the placing-out system.

That the influence of delinquent children upon those who become public charges through no fault of their own must necessarily be harmful seems obvious. Leaders in child-welfare work are convinced that the various types of children requiring institutional care should be carefully segregated; that every institution should limit its work to the care of its own chosen group; that reformatories are sufficiently burdened with the responsibility of delinquents; that other institutions should care specifically for the disabled or defec-

¹⁸ Laws, 1917, ch. 172. It is expected that one of the buildings will be open for the admission of patients by the spring of 1921.

tive; that children who do not in themselves constitute special problems, but who must be taken under agency care because of some defect in their environment, should have the protection of carefully selected and supervised foster homes.

In regard to an extension of the placing-out system it is generally agreed that "the carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home."¹⁹ That child-caring agencies of Delaware need have little difficulty in finding foster homes for their children is evidenced by the fact that for many years the State has been used extensively as a placing ground for children from outside the State. In 1916, a survey²⁰ of the State discovered 1,087 placed-out children, 660 of whom had been brought in from other States. In 1917 Delaware put a check upon the importation of dependent children by requiring that agencies placing children from outside Delaware file a bond of \$3,000 for every child placed.

Exclusion of children from almshouses.

The need for excluding children from almshouses is so obvious that it hardly requires comment. At the present time only a few States in the Union allow children to mingle with adults in the public poor-houses. Some States absolutely forbid the admission of children to almshouses—Connecticut, for example. Other States will not permit the admission of children of certain ages; Maine forbids admission of children between 2 and 16 years of age, and Missouri between 2 and 18 years. A number of States make partial restrictions; for example, Minnesota and Michigan will not admit a child who can be received at the State public school; Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and others permit the admission of idiots.

Enforcement of school attendance.

Enforcement of school attendance throughout the State would undoubtedly act as a deterrent on delinquency. The compulsory period of attendance in Delaware, at the time of the study, was five months, with the proviso that local school boards had authority to reduce the period to three months. Many districts, especially in the more remote rural sections where farm labor was difficult to procure, established the shorter period. The enforcement of the law was in the hands of the county superintendent. In rural districts, where there was only the county superintendent to look up absentees; in the towns, where the compulsory attendance could be regulated through the aid of police; and in Wilmington, where probation officers were required to include this additional task among their over-numerous duties,

¹⁹ See Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C., 1909, pp. 192-197.

²⁰ Survey made by the U. S. Children's Bureau at the request of the governor for the information of the legislature. Report in manuscript.

there was room for improvement in the methods of reaching truant children. That irregularity of attendance was a conspicuous characteristic in the history of the children studied has already been noted. With more thorough supervision of the child's attendance, it is possible not only that delinquency could be reduced but also that impending family difficulties could be discovered in season to prevent disruption, resulting in child dependency.

Improved regulation of employment.

The unfortunate employment histories of some of the children included in this study, who shifted from one wrongly chosen occupation to another, with intervals for mischief, suggest that vocational guidance and training, with assurance of suitable and regular work, would have brought about an entirely different career and possibly obviated the necessity for the child's removal from his home.

Along the line of labor legislation, the greater protection of working parents by safety requirements, by workmen's compensation acts, and by health insurance must mean the prevention of a certain amount of child dependency. Delaware in 1917 took a forward step when the legislature enacted a workmen's compensation law and established a State industrial accident board to enforce it.

Recreation centers.

Improved neighborhood conditions and the establishment of increased recreational facilities, especially in congested city neighborhoods, would tend to reduce the amount of delinquency. Numerous instances of delinquency occurred near railroads—localities which are usually among the most neglected. Since 1911, Wilmington has had a number of playgrounds open during the two months of the summer school vacation. Outside Wilmington very little consideration had been given to the subject. Attention to the needs of colored people, both in regard to housing conditions and to neighborhood recreation had been very slight.

Public-health work.

To what extent an adequate program of public health would reduce dependency can only be conjectured. In the information gathered relative to the physical condition of parents and children, however, there was evidence of certain preventable conditions. Tuberculosis, for example, was reported as existing in the households from which 24 children were removed. Also, 48 children were reported as having tuberculous parents. Altogether, these conditions affected 54 children, or about one-tenth of the whole group. Of the 106 instances in which the child's own mother was reported dead, the causes of death were stated for 61; in 17 cases as tuberculosis, in 20, as complications at child-birth, both of which causes of death are at the

present time regarded as including a considerable percentage of preventable cases. At any rate, for at least one-seventh of the children included in the study conditions existed which are generally considered as a profitable field for preventive health work.

Standardization of agency care.

Delaware has the advantage of being sufficiently small in population and in area to make standardization through State regulation and supervision a comparatively easy matter. Within the past few years several measures of social legislation have been enacted which are comparable to the best in the country. In 1917 a number of agencies dealing with dependent, neglected, and delinquent children organized a new society the purpose of which was to do State-wide work, especially for dependent children, in cooperation with existing agencies. This agency, the Delaware Children's Bureau, has entered upon case-work with individual children and has taken the lead in constructive child-welfare work. In 1919 a State board of charities was created. The centralization and standardization of work under this board is one of the fundamental improvements which now appear to be under way and which will inevitably remove many of the conditions dealt with in this report.

APPENDIX.—SCHEDULE USED IN STUDY.

U. S. Department of Labor
Children's Bureau.

Schedule No. _____
Agent

OUTLINE FOR STUDY OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

1. Institutions or agencies

4. Present address of child

5. Original address.....

7. Type of home.....

10. Name of.....father.....

12. Name of.....mother.....

14. Nativity of father.....mother.... Case.....

16. Co'or of father.....mother.... Case.....

18. Sources of information with dates.....

19. Date of child's removal.....

21. Household group at time of child's removal:
2. Name of child

3. Class of case.....

6. Place of birth.....

8. Date of birth.....

9. Legitimate.....
Illegitimate.....

11. Address.....

13. Address.....

15. Years in U. S.: Father.... Mother.... Case..

17. Years in State (case).....in county or city.....

20. Reasons.....

Name.	Relation.	Year of birth.	Conjugal condition.	Occupation or school.	Wage.	Regular employment.	Special characteristics, mental and physical defects, delinquencies, etc.
Father.....
Mother.....
1.....
2.....
3, etc.....

22. Other sources of income. Specify
23. Estimated annual income of family for year previous to child's removal.....
24. Members of child's own family not in same household group (at time of removal):

Name.	Relation.	Year of birth.	Con-jugal con-dition.	Occupation or school.	Wage	Regular em-ploy-ment.	Special characteristics, mental and physical defects, delinquencies, etc.	Where-abouts.
.....
.....
.....

(25-30 to be filled out only when parent or parents appear in above list.)

25. Father's race and nativity.....

27. Father's present address.....

28. Mother's race and nativity.....

30. Mother's present address.....

(31-33 to be filled out only when child was removed from parental home prior to two-year period—Nov. 1, 1915.)

31. Date of child's leaving parental home.....

32. Reasons for child's leaving parental home.....

33. Description of parental home.....
26. Years in U. S.....

29. Years in U. S.....

DESCRIPTION OF HOME FROM WHICH CHILD WAS REMOVED.

34. Character of dwelling—sanitary condition and repair; cleanliness; number of rooms; rent, etc.:
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
35. Type of neighborhood and neighborhood influences:
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
36. Character of family and home life (characteristics of father, mother, fraternity; defects, diseases, delinquencies, etc.; economic circumstances, including public and private aid):
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
37. Child's characteristics (physical and mental condition, delinquencies, etc.):
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
38. Child's school history:
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
39. Child's record of employment:
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
40. Child's environment subsequent to removal. (If placed out, describe dwelling, neighborhood, and guardians' home life, in usual order.)-----
41. Record of agency treatment of child:
Prior to removal ----- Subsequent to removal -----
42. Constructive work done with family before or after child's removal (including agencies interested in family, and summary of agency treatment)-----
43. Means by which child might have been kept with family-----
44. Present possibilities of assumption of responsibility for child by family-----



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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. B. WILSON, Secretary

U. S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW IN ILLINOIS

By

EDITH ABBOTT

AND

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE

LEGAL SERIES No. 7

Bureau Publication No. 82



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, October 1, 1920.

SIR: This report on the administration of the aid-to-mothers law in Illinois was prepared by Miss Edith Abbott and Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the Chicago School of Civics and the University of Chicago. As residents of Hull-House, both authors have had long practical experience among the poor and neglected children of Chicago. In 1912 they made for the School of Civics a study entitled "The Delinquent Child and the Home," based on material gathered in the Cook County Juvenile Court. Hence this study of the operation of the aid-to-mothers act in Illinois has the advantage of preparation by recognized authorities in the field of social research, who have also been long and intimately acquainted with the work of the Illinois Cook County Juvenile Court. The authors desire that mention be made of the valuable services of Miss Helen Russell Wright and Miss Mary Cantey Preston, who made the field investigations outside Cook County.

Although concerned with a single State, this report is of Nationwide interest because the family conditions with which it deals are typical and because it shows typical difficulties which have already been surmounted, and points out those still to be overcome in making effective the principle back of the mothers' pension act.

This principle may be stated thus: It is against sound public economy to allow poverty alone to cause the separation of a child from the care of a good mother, or to allow the mother so to exhaust her powers in earning a living for her children that she can not give them proper home care and protection.

In the 40 States which now have mothers' pension laws this principle has undoubtedly been hastened to expression by the results of neglected childhood to be seen in every juvenile court. The earliest laws—of Kansas City, Missouri, and of Illinois—were unquestionably based upon a belief that the juvenile courts revealed facts, not generally known before, as to the injury to the child caused by the inevitable neglect of working mothers and the breaking up of homes because of poverty.

The fact that in 21 States the administration of the aid-to-mothers law is placed in the juvenile courts indicates a purpose to place the power of help in the hands of the judge before whom the trouble is revealed and who must decide the child's future, within the limitations of the resources at his command. Probably a desire to avoid the discredit of the old outdoor poor relief also influenced the plan

of placing the juvenile court in charge. On the other hand, the present tendency of expert opinion is undoubtedly toward placing responsibility for actual administration of mothers' pensions in a separate body qualified to deal with the matter scientifically and not in the spirit of the old poor relief.

This report gives the Illinois law and traces legislative changes; it also points out limitations both in law and in operation. The judge of the juvenile court was directed to administer the law, but according to the terms of the first act it was impossible to pay administrative officers out of public funds, and in order to begin operations the volunteer societies in Chicago, working in connection with court cases, contributed agents who formed a working committee to serve under the judge in planning and carrying out an administrative policy.

As this report intimates, the act was loosely drawn. In Chicago, however, the judge and those interested in the problem believed that the wise development of this plan to strengthen rather than pauperize poverty-stricken mothers of young children was worth much effort, and a high degree of scientific skill and humane purpose has been shown in its administration, first by the members of the volunteer committee and now by the paid staff. In the State outside Chicago there is marked unevenness of administration, few qualified officers are available for supervision, and inequality in the amounts of the pensions is great. In brief, the investigators report conditions which lead them to the conclusion that State-wide administration of mothers' pensions is necessary in order to deal justly with those whom the law is designed to aid.

In both city and State the smallness of the pensions is noted, and the need for constant study of fair living standards and necessary budgets is emphasized. The careful budgeting of the Cook County cases is described.

This report adds emphasis to the contention that social legislation can not be static; that it must be based on carefully secured knowledge of the conditions to be remedied; that it must be drawn to establish standards and principles which can be applied to meet changing conditions, rather than to set up fixed rules which are likely to apply for brief periods only, and to require constant revision by successive legislatures; and, perhaps most important of all, that valuable administration must be not only honest and well-intentioned, but primarily scientific.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP,
Chief.

Hon. W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW IN ILLINOIS.

INTRODUCTION.

The first Illinois statute¹ providing for mothers' pensions was enacted June 5, 1911, as an amendment to section 7 of the Illinois juvenile-court law. The new statute was entitled the "funds-to-parents act" and became operative July 1 of the same year. Its purpose was to keep dependent children under 14 years of age with their own parents, when the parents were unable to provide for them, instead of providing out of public funds for their support in institutions. The administration of the law was placed with the juvenile courts, which were already caring for children declared dependent and delinquent, instead of with the county agents or supervisors of the poor, who were in charge of the public outdoor relief.

This act enabled the court to deal with its wards in a way that had been impossible up to that time. Under the juvenile-court law, which had been passed 12 years earlier,² the courts had the authority to commit children to institutions to be supported at public expense. The juvenile-court law provided for the care of two groups of children, those defined as delinquent³ and those defined as dependent or neglected.⁴ For both groups of children, three kinds of treatment were authorized: (1) The return of the child to his own home subject to the

¹ Laws of Illinois, Forty-seventh General Assembly, 1911, p. 126; "Juvenile Courts—Funds to Parents; An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act relating to children who are now or may hereafter become dependent, neglected, or delinquent, to define these terms, and to provide for the treatment, control, maintenance, adoption, and guardianship of the persons of such children.' "

² Illinois Revised Statutes, July 1, 1899, ch. 23, sec. 169ff.

³ The statute defines a delinquent child in the following terms: "Any male child who while under the age of 17 years or any female child who while under the age of 18, violates any law of this State; or is incorrigible, or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious, or immoral persons; or without just cause and without that [the] consent of its parents, guardian, or custodian absents itself from its home or place of abode, or is growing up in idleness or crime; or knowingly frequents a house of ill-repute; or knowingly frequents any policy shop or place where any gambling device is operated; or frequents any saloon or dram shop where intoxicating liquors are sold; or patronizes or visits any public pool room or bucket shop; or wanders about the streets in the nighttime without being on any lawful business or lawful occupation; or habitually wanders about any railroad yards or tracks or jumps or attempts to jump onto [any] moving train; or enters any car or engine without lawful authority; or uses vile, obscene, vulgar, profane, or indecent language in [any] public place or about any schoolhouse; or is guilty of indecent or lascivious conduct." [Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 23, sec. 169.]

⁴ The statute defines a dependent or neglected child in the following terms: "Any male child who while under the age of 17 years or any female child who while under the age of 18 years, for any reason, is destitute, homeless, or abandoned; or dependent upon the public for support; or has not proper parental care or guardianship; or habitually begs or receives alms; or is found living in any house of ill fame or with any vicious or disreputable person; or has a home which by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity, on the

visitation and supervision of a probation officer; (2) the appointing as guardian of the child a "reputable citizen" who became responsible for the custody of the child; and (3) commitment to an institution. Delinquent children were committed to State institutions supported by public funds. Dependent or neglected children were committed to certain quasi public institutions known as industrial schools for girls and manual training schools for boys, organized by private individuals or associations, in accordance with statutes enacted in 1879 and 1883. These so-called training-school statutes authorized the county to pay from the public moneys \$15 a month for each girl and \$10 a month for each boy committed by court order. No public institution is maintained for dependent children, but nearly 1,000 children each year are committed to private—chiefly sectarian—institutions subsidized by public fund.⁵

No provision was made by any of these statutes for boarding children in private homes. No authority existed for the payment of public money either to enable a parent, such as a widowed mother, to keep her children in her own home; or if the child's own home was unfit but the child capable of being dealt with under home conditions, to board the child in another home carefully selected and supervised. If, in any individual case, either of these forms of treatment approved itself to the court, that treatment was possible only to the extent to which private charitable aid might be obtained.

Thus, if a mother were left destitute because of the death or incapacity of her husband, the law offered provision for her children if she wished to place them in institutions. If she refused to part with them the State made no provision except for outdoor relief under the pauper law. In Illinois, as in many other American States, outdoor relief consists for the most part of spasmodic and inadequate doles, and a widow with a family of small children can not maintain her home with such irregular assistance. In Chicago outdoor relief is given only in kind, and no rents are paid, so that, even if regularly given, the relief consists only of baskets of groceries with occasional allowances of coal and of shoes for school children.

part of its parents, guardian, or any other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such a child; and any child who while under the age of ten (10) years is found begging, peddling, or selling any articles or singing or playing any musical instrument for gain upon the street, or giving any public entertainment or accompanies or is used in aid of any person so doing." [Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 23, sec. 169.]

⁵ During the year 1917 the constitutionality of making payments out of public funds for the support of these children in sectarian institutions was raised (See *Dunn v. Chicago Industrial School for Girls*, 280 Illinois, 613) in view of the constitutional prohibition (article 8) of payments "from any public fund whatever * * * to help support * * * any school * * * controlled by any church or sectarian denomination whatever, * * *". The court held that since the payment made, \$15 a month, was less than the alleged cost of the child's support, and less than the cost of children committed to the State training schools, it was not in aid of the institution and, therefore, did not violate the constitutional provision.

Private charitable associations existed, of course, to prevent the breaking up of such families and to mitigate, as it were, the harshness of the law. To many people it seemed anomalous that the law should refuse to pay for the support of the children so long as they remained with the mother, who was their natural guardian, when it stood ready to provide for them as soon as their natural guardian gave them over to the unnatural guardianship of an institution.

The largest private relief society in Chicago spent \$298,463 the year before the mothers' pension law was passed and cared for 12,324 families, including families of widows. Those responsible for the administration of this society believed that it was never necessary to break up families solely because of poverty and that if a family was referred to this society provision would be made for keeping parents and children together.

Whether or not before the passage of the mothers' pension law families were broken up because of poverty alone is a controverted question with which we are not now concerned. This study deals only with the administration of the pension law; and a discussion of controversial questions relating to conditions existing before the passage of the law, and, in particular, questions relating to the competency of private relief agencies, need not be undertaken here. Whether or not the advocates of mothers' pensions rested their claims on sound or unsound principles, they were successful in obtaining the legislation for which they asked. It is, therefore, important now to study the effects of the law rather than the reasons for its enactment.

The mothers' pension controversy is perhaps too recent to be dispassionately reviewed. The position has been taken that this new policy was an unwise one in view of the disorganized condition of the administration of outdoor relief in our American States. Many persons, especially the representatives of charitable organizations, have maintained that the wiser policy is to avoid extensions of outdoor relief and to leave the maintenance of the widowed mother and her children to private charitable societies. No attempt will be made here to discuss the merits of any of the arguments for or against the mothers' pension policy. The present inquiry has been carried on solely with the purpose of ascertaining the facts regarding the administration of the oldest of the pension laws. Any social policy can be best tested in practice. This investigation was undertaken in order to test the mothers' pension policy in operation—to find out how the children for whom the law has attempted to provide are actually being cared for in Illinois.⁶

⁶ A few facts should perhaps be given as to the history of the enactment of the funds-to-parents act. This Illinois law was passed without any preliminary report by an investigating commission. It was passed without any opposition, or at any rate without any

THE FUNDS-TO-PARENTS ACT OF 1911.

The Illinois statute of 1911 was the first of the so-called mothers' pension laws in the United States. Its administration was placed with the judges of the juvenile courts throughout the State because it was primarily a juvenile-court device for caring for dependent children for whom the only State funds available under the old law were funds for institutional support.

The original Illinois statute of 1911 was not called a mothers' pension law but a funds-to-parents law. It was a very loosely drawn statute and consisted of a single brief paragraph, the exact terms of which are as follows:

If the parent or parents of such dependent or neglected child are poor and unable to properly care for the said child, but are otherwise proper guardians, and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to properly care for such child, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the county board, through its county agent or otherwise, to pay such parent or parents, at such times as said order may designate, the amount so specified for the care of such dependent or neglected child until the further order of the court.

It will be noticed that this law vested very wide discretion in the court. It provided for the granting of allowances or pensions to fathers as well as to mothers, and to mothers who were not widows.

formal opposition, on the part of the private charitable agencies. The relation of the court to the passage of the law is an interesting question. It has always been the policy of the court to keep families together whenever this was possible without injury to the child. The presiding judge, at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1912, made the following statement regarding this policy: "During my term of service in the juvenile court my chief endeavor has been to keep the home intact and when this was impossible through the death of the mother, or through her conceded unfitness, I have sought to substitute another family fireside and the maternal love and care of some good woman." That is, the court stood for the principle that every child has a natural and moral right to home care, and that such care should, if possible, be in his own home.

Poverty presented itself to the court in divers forms, but how often poverty appeared alone as the occasion for separating children from their parents can not be definitely stated. The report of the chief probation officer for the year preceding the enactment of the law contained a plea for some provision that would do away with the necessity of separating children from parents simply on the ground of poverty. (Cook County Charity Service Report, 1910-11, p. 143.) However, no figures are given showing the number of children committed to institutions on the ground of poverty alone.

The funds-to-parents act, which was designed to work a radical change in the method of caring for dependent children, was passed with very little publicity. The approval of the presiding judge of the Chicago juvenile court is said to have been obtained, and he is said to have examined and indorsed the law as passed; but neither he nor the chief probation officer appeared before the legislature in its behalf.

In the juvenile court report of the succeeding year the following brief statement is the only reference to it:

"Mention was made last year as to the need for a law to prevent separation of children of dependent parents where such parents were worthy. A law known as the funds-to-parents act was passed, taking effect July 1, 1911. As no appropriation was made until October, little can be said as to the workings of the law, but we are sure that it is a step in the right direction and will mean much to the families concerned." (Cook County Charity Service Report, 1912, p. 155.)

No qualifications were prescribed for the parents except that they should be proper guardians for the children. Alien and nonresident parents, property owners, and deserted wives were all eligible at this time. For any parents who were, in the words of the statute, "poor and unable to properly care for their children," the court might enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary for the child's care. The amount of the pension was left wholly to the discretion of the judge without any maximum allowance being fixed.

Nothing was said in the act about the ages of children who might become beneficiaries; the definitions of dependent and neglected children in the earlier juvenile-court statute included boys under 17 and girls under 18 years of age. In Chicago, however, in awarding grants to families, notice was taken of the fact that children may lawfully leave school and go to work after the fourteenth birthday and that the great mass of the poor avail themselves of their children's labor after they have reached that age. The presiding judge of the juvenile court of Cook County (Chicago) therefore decided that, except in the case of especially handicapped children, such as those seriously undernourished or undeveloped, or actually crippled, grants would not be made for the support of children over 14 years of age.

This decision was in fact only one of a number of steps taken by the juvenile court of Cook County to supply for its own applicants certain definite tests of eligibility that should have been prescribed in the law. From the beginning, the Chicago court placed certain definite limitations upon its own pension policy, which made the law in practice a very much better piece of social legislation than it appeared to be on the statute book. Thus, although the law permitted the granting of funds without any limitations to almost any parent, the judge of the juvenile court of Cook County, with the advice of a citizens' committee representing the most important social agencies,¹ laid down the following definite rules providing extralegal qualifications for eligibility: (1) No funds shall be granted to any family with relatives able to support them and liable for support; (2) no funds shall be granted to a family who have not resided in the county at least one year; (3) no funds shall be granted to a deserted woman unless her husband has been absent at least two years; (4) no funds

¹ This committee was organized by the judge of the juvenile court shortly after the enactment of the law to share with him the responsibility for framing a policy for the administration of this law which gave him such wide discretionary powers. Four experienced relief workers were provided by this committee to assist the court in establishing the funds-to-parents department. They first investigated applicants for pensions with the probation officers. Later the officers did the investigating and the social workers furnished by the committee directed and supervised the work. This extralegal committee continued until April, 1913, when the department organization had reached a point which made outside help no longer necessary.

shall be granted to families (a) unless the mother is physically, mentally, and morally fit to care for children, (b) unless the children are with the mother, (c) unless funds are necessary to save the children from neglect; (5) no funds shall be granted to women with property; (6) funds shall be discontinued for children when they reach the age of 14 years, unless they are chronically ill and unable to work.

Funds were granted to women with incapacitated husbands, and there appears to have been at least one case of a grant to a woman with a husband in the house of correction. A maximum allowance per child was also fixed by the court as a part of its pension policy. Until November, 1912, the maximum granted was \$10 a month; after November, 1912, it became \$15 for girls and \$10 for boys—the sums which the county was authorized to pay for the maintenance of a girl or a boy in an institution. The maximum pension granted for any one family was fixed in general at \$40, but certain exceptions were allowed.

THE AID-TO-MOTHERS ACT OF 1913.

The statute of 1911 giving to the 102 judges of the 102 juvenile courts of Illinois the power to grant pensions of any size to any needy parent who was a proper guardian, was obviously a hasty piece of legislation; and in 1913, at the next session of the legislature, the law was radically altered. For the brief paragraph that had formed an amendment to section 7 of the juvenile-court law and had vested in the juvenile-court judges such excessive powers, an elaborate statute was substituted, which was quite separate from the juvenile-court law but which left the administration of the funds-to-parents act in the hands of the juvenile-court judges. It limited the authority of the courts very definitely, however. In the first place the new law was called an aid-to-mothers law; fathers could no longer receive grants. Deserted and divorced wives, alien women, and women property owners were rendered ineligible. The only married women provided for were women whose husbands had been permanently incapacitated for work by reason of physical or mental infirmity. Residence in the county for three years as well as citizenship was required. That is, the law practically restricted the pension grants to destitute widowed mothers who had children under 14 years of age and who could prove citizenship and a residence in the county for a period of three years.

An important addition to the law at this time was the provision that the court might condition the allowance given to a family in which there was an incapacitated wage earner on the removal of the husband and father from home in case he "is permanently incapac-

tated for work by reason of physical or mental infirmity and his presence in the family is a menace to the physical and moral welfare of the mother or children." A special tax of not more than three-tenths of a mill on the dollar to be known as the mothers' pension fund was provided for in the law of 1913. The new statute also fixed the maximum allowance, or pension, at \$15 a month for one child and \$10 for each additional child, with the further provision that the total pension grant could not exceed \$50 a month to any family.⁸ Moreover, the conditions under which pensions might be granted were carefully prescribed under the new statute as follows:

Such relief shall be granted by the court only upon the following conditions:

(1) The child or children for whose benefit the relief is granted must be living with the mother of such child or children; (2) the court must find that it is for the welfare of such child or children to remain at home with the mother; (3) the relief shall be granted only when in the absence of such relief the mother would be required to work regularly away from her home and children and when by means of such relief she will be able to remain at home with her children, except that she may be absent for work a definite number of days each week to be specified in the court's order, when such work can be done by her without the sacrifice of health or the neglect of home and children; (4) such mother must, in the judgment of the court, be a proper person, physically, mentally, and morally fit, to bring up her children; (5) the relief granted shall, in the judgment of the court, be necessary to save the child or children from neglect; (6) a mother shall not receive such relief who is the owner of real property or personal property other than household goods; (7) a mother shall not receive such relief who is not a citizen of this country and who has not resided in the county where the application is made at least three years next before making such application; (8) a mother shall not receive such relief if her child or children have relatives of sufficient ability to support them.

The new provisions for eligibility made necessary the withdrawal of a large number of pension grants in counties where the provisions of the law were really enforced. In Chicago there were on the pension list for June, 1913, 532 families with 1,753 children. For the month of July, 1913, only 332 families with 1,075 children remained on the pension list, and the expenditure for pensions fell from \$13,418.45 in June, 1913, to \$8,231.72 in July, 1913. Between July 1 and November 30, 1913, 263 families, in which there were 895 children,

⁸ Laws of Illinois, 1913, p. 127. In providing the \$15 and \$10 grants, the new statute followed the practice of the Chicago court. The presiding judge in Chicago had always felt limited by the provisions of the industrial school and manual training school acts as to the amount he could grant; that is, he felt that he could not allow more to a child at home than the amount which the statute allowed for support in an institution. There seems to have been formulated in the Chicago court in December, 1913, a rule that the total income of a family could not exceed \$50 plus one-fourth of the earnings of the children of working age; that is, a working child was counted in the budget only for food, and it was decided that he should turn in three-fourths of his wages to the family income, and that the other one-fourth should be his own. In determining income it was ruled that only three-fourths of the wages of a working child in the family should be counted as part of the family income. The total income therefore might be \$50 in addition to one-fourth of the earnings of children of working age.

had their pensions stayed; and although some of these pensioners would have been dropped even if the law had not been changed, the court records show that the names of 696 children, or 79 per cent of the whole number dropped during this period, were taken from the roll because their mothers became ineligible under the new law. The largest number (567) were dropped because they were the children of unnaturalized aliens, 103 because their mothers were deserted women, 16 because they had not been residents in the county for the required period of three years, 7 were the children of divorced parents, and 3 had a father in the house of correction. A point of interest that should not be overlooked is the promptness with which these families were removed from the pension lists. That this change would mean suffering and hardship to these families was inevitable. Those that had been under the care of the private relief agencies before they were granted pensions by the court were, of course, referred back to those societies. A special study has been made of the subsequent history of some of these families in order to determine, if possible, the effect of the court removal order and the value of the pension as a means of safeguarding the welfare of children.⁹

THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW AS AMENDED IN 1915 AND IN 1917.

Some minor changes were made in the law of 1913 by the amendments of 1915 and 1917. The law was changed in 1915¹⁰ because it was found in practice that the amendments of 1913 were unnecessarily rigid with regard to citizenship. The law of 1915 made alien women eligible for pensions when they were the mothers of American-born children under 14 years of age and when they had made formal application for their first citizenship papers, provided, of course, that they could meet the other conditions laid down for eligibility. In 1917, however, the conditions of eligibility were again altered so that only widows of men residing in Illinois at the time of death, or wives of men who became incapacitated while residents of the State could receive grants.

It is of interest that the act of 1915 as introduced in the legislature, also proposed to make deserted women whose husbands had been away two years or more and women whose interest in real property was worth no more than \$1,000 eligible for pension grants. These provisions were, however, defeated through the influence of the Chicago court.

The law as passed raised the maximum allowance or pension that could be given to any one family to \$60 a month, making possible a

⁹ See pp. 95 et seq.

¹⁰ Laws of Illinois, 1915, p. 243.

more adequate allowance for large families, and the second proposal was embodied in the legislature of 1917.¹¹

Although the law has been made more liberal by its inclusion of alien mothers, there must remain, of course, other cases of real difficulty and hardship not remedied by the law; such is, for example, the case of the wife of an insane alien. Even if the husband has taken out his first papers, the wife is held ineligible for a pension, though neither he nor she can take out second papers, for the United States naturalization law makes no provisions for the naturalization of the wife of an insane alien. Such a woman can become a citizen only if the husband has taken out his first papers while sane and if she later makes "a homestead entry under the land laws of the United States."

Although the aid-to-mothers law has, since 1913, prescribed definite, and even rigid, tests of eligibility, the Chicago court has found it necessary to add further restrictions. Attention was called to the fact that under the loosely-drawn law of 1911 the Chicago court found it necessary to adopt the policy of refusing to pension certain classes of women who would have been eligible under the law. At the present time the Chicago court follows the policy of excluding certain classes of applicants by means of adopting a set of exact definitions for the somewhat indefinite terms used in the law. These rules of administration that are now being followed in the Chicago court include the following:

A man is not considered "permanently incapacitated for work" unless he is totally incapacitated for any work; but if a doctor's statement shows that a man will be unable to work for six months, he is held to be "permanently incapacitated for work."

The possession of more than \$50 in money will make a family ineligible on the ground that they have property, but \$50 in cash does not make a family ineligible on this ground.

A woman with only one dependent child will not be given a pension unless she is unable to do normally hard work.

A woman who is not a citizen of the United States must have her own "first papers" to get a pension for her American-born children. Her husband's declaration of intention will not render her eligible. That is, a pension will not be granted to an alien widow who has not taken out her "first papers."

A woman who has had an illegitimate child was for a time considered "morally unfit" for a pension and could receive none even for her legitimate children. Recently this ruling has been changed by the presiding judge, and pensions have been granted to such families for the legitimate children only.

On the other hand, certain provisions in the law are liberally interpreted. Thus, a woman who has been deserted for seven years is held to be eligible on the ground that her husband may be declared legally dead and that she is, therefore, legally a widow and eligible for a pension.

¹¹ Laws of Illinois, 1917, p. 220, secs. 2, 11.

The provision requiring a residence in the county of "at least three years next before making such application" has been liberally interpreted. That is, legal not actual residence is required, and families have been given pensions who had been out of the county for five years preceding their application, in case they could establish the fact that it was their intention to return.

In 1913 the court decided to uphold the county agent in his contention that the total family income should not exceed \$50 a month, the maximum pension then allowed by law. Pensions were not granted, therefore, to families having an independent income of \$50; nor were pensions granted so as to bring the total income above this figure.¹²

At the close of the first year of the administration of the old funds-to-parents law, in June, 1912, there were 327 families with 1,122 pensioned children on the pension roll of the juvenile court of Cook County, representing a monthly expenditure of \$6,963.96 for pensions. In November, 1919, the last month for which the record is available, there were 851 families on the roll with the expenditure of \$28,166.65 for that month.

While the number of families and children pensioned has varied with the changes in the law, these figures show that the law has been used extensively in Chicago ever since its passage. In this court the presiding judge and the chief probation officer have been deeply interested in devising methods of administering the law that should promote the well-being of the families for whose benefit it was designed, and should safeguard the interests of the community, which would, of course, have been seriously endangered if the law had been wastefully or unintelligently used or had been allowed to serve partisan or political ends.

The interest in the law and the methods of administering the law in the 101 other counties in Illinois have differed greatly both from Cook County and from each other. It has seemed best, therefore, to present first a study of the administration of the law in the juvenile court of Cook County (Chicago), and then an entirely separate study of the work of the "*down-State*" courts. The Chicago study contains, first, an account of the present methods of administration, which is descriptive rather than statistical. This is followed by a study of the families who were on the pension list at any time during the year 1917. Facts that are not published in the court reports but which are essential in attempting to understand the law in its administration are given in this part.

The Chicago section contains also the results of a study of the later history of 172 families dropped from the pension roll in July,

¹² See footnote, p. 18.

1913, because of the change in the law that made alien women ineligible. This study was undertaken in the belief that the situation in which these pensioners found themselves when they became technically ineligible through no fault of their own would throw some light upon the question of the value of this legislation to the beneficiaries. No visits were made to the homes of widows pensioned except for this section. In the case of the women on the pension roll of the Chicago court, the case records of the court and of the charitable agencies to whom so many of the women were known, gave so complete and so accurate a picture of the family life that it seemed an unnecessary intrusion to send investigators to disturb their privacy. It was necessary to make visits to the homes of the pensioned families in the other counties of the State because the records were everywhere so incomplete and unsatisfactory. The material used in the "down-State" part of the study is, however, described later in this report.¹³

¹³ See pp. 125-126.

PART I.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW IN THE COOK COUNTY (CHICAGO) JUVENILE COURT.

METHODS OF MAKING PENSION GRANTS.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS.

After a mother has filed an application for a pension the application is referred to the probation officer in the aid-to-mothers department, who has charge of the investigations for the district in which the applicant lives. The investigation, which must be very carefully made in order to establish technical eligibility, follows the standardized methods pursued by good private case-work agencies everywhere. The case-paper system is used, and a careful record is made of every step taken in the investigation; the same case paper serves, of course, for the later record for those families to whom pensions are granted and who remain, therefore, under the supervisory care of the court.

The first step in the investigation is to clear the name of the family in the confidential exchange, which is known in Chicago as the social service registration bureau. In this bureau all the standardized social agencies in Chicago, both public and private, register the names of the families or individuals with whom or for whom they have been working. It is, therefore, a preliminary inquiry to learn what agencies are already acquainted with the applicant. If the family is found to be already on the books of other social agencies, those agencies are asked to submit a written report summarizing their knowledge of the family before a court officer undertakes any further investigation. The officer may or may not visit the agencies later to consult their records.

This work of clearing with the social agencies by the officer to whom the applicant is assigned is followed by visits to the applicant's home, to relatives, and to other persons to whom the family may be known. When relatives are found able to help and liable for the support of the applicant under the pauper act, they are visited and asked to contribute. If they refuse, the applicant is asked if she is willing to have the relatives who are legally liable for her sup-

port prosecuted in the county court. If she refuses, her application for a pension is dismissed and she is left to her own resources. If she is willing that a prosecution should be undertaken, the information that has been obtained is sent to the division of nonsupport of the bureau of social service of Cook County. If a contribution is obtained either by the voluntary action of the relatives or as a result of the prosecution, the court will consider the necessity of making an allowance to supplement what the relatives give; or if the county court, after hearing the evidence, refuses to hold the relatives, the juvenile court again takes up the question of granting the pension. Relatives who are not liable under the pauper act are also asked to help, and if the relatives do not live in Cook County and can not be visited by the officer, letters are written asking them to contribute to the support of the family.

It is now an established part of the routine of the investigation to verify from documents or public records the following facts: The marriage of the parents, the dates of birth of the children, the death of the father, the date of his naturalization or application for first citizenship papers if the process of naturalization had not been completed at the time of his death. If the applicant is a widow whose husband was not naturalized, she must show her own first papers also, since the taking out of first papers by the husband does not, like his naturalization, affect his wife's status. If the husband is living but is permanently incapacitated, a doctor's certificate is required showing that such incapacity exists.

If the desired information can not be obtained from official records, other sources of information are consulted, such as the records of churches, benefit societies, trade-unions, insurance companies, employers, schools, and other institutions with which the family has come in contact.

Verification of all facts relating to the receipt of insurance money and its expenditure is required. If the applicant refuses to make a reasonably exact accounting as to the expenditure of the insurance money, the investigation halts until such an accounting is furnished. Many of the women feel that it is a great hardship to be obliged to tell a public officer how they have spent their money, and they complain that asking for such an accounting is a needless prying into their private affairs. It is not easy for any one who has spent money foolishly to tell about it, and it must be very hard to give an account of unwise expenditures to be presented to an official committee. To the court, however, such an accounting seems necessary, not only because the court must determine whether or not the woman possesses property that would render her ineligible for a pension, but also because the committee must form a judgment concerning her ability to

spend money wisely. If the woman is obdurate, however, and to the end refuses any statement, the final decision of the court will not necessarily be adverse, but will be determined by all the circumstances of the particular case. If there is no money left and if there has been no attempt to deceive the court, a pension will not be withheld solely because an accounting is impossible or because the insurance money is shown to have been unwisely spent. For example, an applicant, who was very indignant when questioned about her expenditures, persisted in defiantly refusing to account for the spending of the \$595 that she had received as insurance at the death of her husband in August, 1914. It was finally learned that she had gone to Portland, Oreg., with her mother and her children in October, 1914, and that she had spent, according to her own statement, \$108 for railroad fare. Later she told the officer that she had paid \$185 freight charges on her piano and the other furniture that she had shipped out and back. These sums added to the \$131 paid to the undertaker, the only payment that could be verified by the court officer, brought up the bill of expenditure to \$424, leaving finally \$171 entirely unaccounted for. The investigation halted in this case for a long time; but ultimately, so important did it seem that the home should be maintained for the three small boys of the widow, a pension was granted. The rule as to accounting for the insurance money was waived. This, however, is rarely done, for very seldom does a woman so resolutely persist in her refusal to furnish a statement of her expenditures. In general statements can be verified, and it is the policy of the court to verify them. To put it briefly, the investigation required by the court follows, in general, the methods common to any good relief agency. The court investigation, however, is much more rigorous as to the verification of certain facts than is any relief agency in Chicago.

A thorough investigation, such as the court requires, necessarily takes a good deal of time. During this period the court gives no emergency relief, and the family is left to its own resources or to the assistance of charitable agencies. If the family needs appear to be very pressing a letter may be given to the mother introducing her to the county agent or to the united charities, and the mother is always told by the interviewer that relief can be obtained from these sources while the investigation is pending.

Table I shows the length of time required for the investigation of the 778 applications of the families on the pension role in January, 1917.

TABLE I.—*Length of time required to investigate eligibility of families on pension roll, January, 1917.*

Time required for investigation of eligibility.	Families on pension roll.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	778	100.0
Less than 2 months.....	121	15.6
Less than 1 month.....	16	2.1
1 month, but less than 2.....	105	13.5
2 months and over.....	655	84.2
2 months, but less than 3.....	270	34.7
3 months, but less than 4.....	201	25.8
4 months, but less than 6.....	113	14.5
6 months, but less than 1 year.....	61	7.8
1 year or over.....	10	1.3
Time not reported.....	2	0.3

These 778 applicants included all those families who were under the care of the court at the beginning of the year 1917. As regards the time required for investigation, they may be considered a "random sample" of those who finally are given pensions. The investigation may take a shorter period of time for the applicants who are refused pensions. This table shows that only 15.6 per cent of these applicants were granted pensions within two months of the time of application and that 84.2 per cent waited for periods varying from two months to one year or longer. To those familiar with relief problems this needs no explanation. The court must choose between making a thorough, which means a slow, investigation, and granting pensions after an incomplete investigation, with the danger of having to withdraw them later. That the court has done well to choose the former method will scarcely be questioned. Those who criticize private charitable agencies for "taking so much time to investigate" have learned that a public agency must follow the same methods if its work is to be well done.

During the investigation every effort is made to protect the family's self-respect. There appears to be no rule against visits to present neighbors, but, in general, the officers seem to understand that such inquiries may injure the applicant's reputation in the neighborhood; and they are undertaken only when no other way can be found of obtaining necessary information. This practice, however, varies with the different officers, some resorting to it more frequently than others. In discussing the subject with a pension officer, the following story was told: This officer, who was formerly on the united charities staff and was therefore experienced in relief work before she went to the court, said that she had rarely made visits to present neighbors in the course of an investigation or in supervising her families, but a recent experience had led her to

think she was too careful about it. A pensioned mother, who seemed a most trustworthy woman, had been absent several times when the officer called. The officer did not suspect her of bad conduct, for the woman's sister lived with her and that seemed an adequate safeguard. The officer went to a neighbor merely to ask if she had any knowledge of where the woman was and when she would return. The officer was amazed to be told, "She keeps a man in there." Further inquiry proved the truth of the neighbor's statement. The pension was stayed, and the former pensioner married the man who had been living with her. The officer said she would not have thought of asking the neighbors if they knew anything against the woman's character; and yet in this case, had the inquiry at the neighbor's not been made, she did not know how the information could have been obtained, since there had been no reason to suspect the woman of misconduct.

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

When the work of investigation has been completed by the court officer, she submits a report to what is called the conference committee, which determines finally whether or not a pension grant will be recommended to the court. This committee consists of the chief probation officer, the head of the aid-to-mothers department, and the county agent, and meets regularly each Thursday morning. Before the report is submitted to the conference committee, however, another step is taken in those cases in which the investigation seems to have produced the facts necessary to establish eligibility. In such cases all information about the family is first submitted to the field supervisor, who is an expert dietitian,^a and an estimated budget showing the income needed and the amount necessary to supplement the family's own resources is prepared by the supervisor and is submitted to the conference committee with the officer's report of the results of the investigation. The investigating officer appears before the committee in order to submit her report and to answer any questions that may arise during the conference.

INVESTIGATION BY THE COUNTY AGENT.

Unfortunately the investigation is not complete when the juvenile-court officer has established the family's eligibility to a pension. The county agent, through a representative of his office, makes an entirely

^a As a result of changes in court organization, after the date of this study, a dietitian is no longer employed as field supervisor, but the budget method is continued by the use of The Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families, prepared by the committee on relief of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies. See Annual Report of the Juvenile Court and Juvenile Detention Home of Cook County, Illinois, for the Fiscal Year 1919, p. 8.

independent inquiry to establish the same facts. In Chicago the county agent is the official in charge of the granting of all public outdoor relief; and the pensions are, under the law, paid by this county officer upon the recommendation of the court. The county agent maintains, however, that he can not legally make payments to such persons as the court recommends except on the basis of an investigation made by his own office. This objectionable double investigation is a great hardship to the family and is a defect in present methods of administration. The county agent's investigation does not often reveal new data, but occasionally this does happen.

The procedure in the matter of awarding grants has come to be as follows: When the conference committee, after hearing reports from the investigators, decides to recommend the awarding of the grant, the name and address of the family are given to the county agent, who, through a member of his own staff, makes an independent investigation and comes to an independent decision. Should the county agent on the basis of his own investigator's report disagree with the conference committee's decision that a pension be awarded, the head of the aid-to-mothers department or the court officer who had charge of the investigation is notified, usually by telephone, that the county agent's office can not approve the committee's decision and is given the reasons for the failure to approve. The case may then be postponed pending further inquiries by the court investigator; or, if there is a difference of opinion merely, the case may go on to presentation in court. The county agent's investigator and the court investigator then present their opposing views to the judge, with whom, of course, the final decision rests.

If the conference committee decides against recommending a pension the case goes no further and the probation officer does not file the formal petition that would lead to a court hearing. The applicant may, however, get a lawyer or some other "reputable citizen" to file a petition for her, but this is very rarely done. The case would then be presented to the court and the judge might, of course, refuse to approve the conference committee's decision to dismiss the case. In practice, however, this has rarely happened.

COURT HEARINGS.

The last step before the granting of a pension is the court hearing and the decision of the judge of the juvenile court as to the mother's application. The head of the aid-to-mothers department and a representative of the county agent's office are present at the hearings which are held regularly on Thursday mornings. The chief probation officer is present only when a case is contested or when some especially difficult questions are involved. The probation officers who

have made the investigations in the cases to be heard are also present. Occasionally a representative from the State's attorney's office cross-examines as to common-law marriage or presumption of death. The hearings are on the whole friendly and informal. The mother sits with a little child in her lap and with the other children standing about her while the case is presented. Usually the formal petition is filed and the case presented by the probation officer who has made the investigation, but the family may be represented by a lawyer. Few lawyers have any knowledge of the problems of social treatment, and, therefore, they frequently urge the claims of the applicant as they would urge the case of a client in an action at law. They often fail to appreciate the nature of the task which the judge is performing, which is, in fact, hardly a judicial function. The judge is patient with their persistent efforts and takes pains to explain to them the purpose of the law and the principles upon which it is administered.

In most cases the recommendations of the conference committee are accepted. If, however, the county agent's investigation has revealed new data, their consideration may lead the judge to reject or alter the recommendation made by the committee. When there is a difference of opinion between the county agent and the conference committee, such as opposite views of the mother's character and fitness to care for her children, alleged drinking habits, or similar questions about which direct evidence can not be obtained, the judge considers all the facts and makes the final decision.

After the formal order for the pension has been made, the judge notifies the mother that the probation officer is to supervise the spending of the public money thus allowed to the family. He also charges the mother to keep full and accurate accounts. The supervising officer is usually the probation officer who has conducted the investigation and who is, therefore, already known to the mother.

METHODS OF PAYING PENSION GRANTS.

One further difficulty in the treatment of the pensioned families has arisen from the connection with the county agent's office. The pensions are paid in the office of the county agent instead of in the homes of the beneficiaries. Because of lack of flexibility in the methods of the county agent's office the allowances were at first paid only once a month, although most of the women were in the habit of being paid from the earnings of workers who received their wages once a week or once a fortnight. Since January, 1916, however, payments have been made twice a month—on the 5th and 20th. For some time after the law went into effect the payments were all made down town in the office of the comptroller, in the county building.

Later, the payments were made at the general office of the county agent on the west side of the city. On this subject the citizens' committee¹⁴ made the following recommendation before its final session on April 20, 1913:

The present method of paying funds is deplorable. The women assemble at the county agent's office, await their turn in just the same way as applicants for county aid have always had to do. The result is gossip among the women and consequent dissatisfaction. Such a public distribution is demoralizing and destructive of self-respect among these people. * * * Moreover, children are being kept out of school to accompany mothers to the county agent's office on the day the funds are paid. * * * It seems to the committee entirely practicable that the payments should be semimonthly instead of monthly and in the homes by mailing a certified check. Failing this, establishing centers in neighborhood banks might solve some of the difficulties of payment.

In response to these recommendations, the judge ordered that the mothers be instructed not to keep their children out of school on such occasions. No change in the method of payment, however, has yet been introduced, beyond the change to semimonthly payments.^b It is, however, possible for the woman who wishes to avoid the public distribution to go for her check in the afternoon instead of the morning of the day of payment. The women assemble in the morning in large numbers, but by afternoon very few are left. It is probably true that many of the women who receive pensions do not object to the congregate distribution. So limited are they in their social pleasures that they rather enjoy the excitement of the occasion and the opportunity for leisurely gossip. The superior woman has it in her own power to avoid much, at any rate, of the publicity by going for her check after the great mass of the women have left.

¹⁴ See footnote p. 11 for an account of the work of this committee.

^b No change had been made in the method of payment at the time that this report went to press (October, 1920).

THE PROBLEM OF SUPERVISION.

GENERAL POLICY.

The court follows the methods standardized by good private relief societies, not only in the investigation that precedes the pension grant but also in the care of the families after they are placed on the pension roll. Careful supervision of all pensioned families is the policy followed by the court, in order that the public money granted to these families may serve the purpose for which it is appropriated. The kind of supervision depends largely upon the number of families assigned to each officer and upon the training the officers have had for such work. At the time this study was made there were 16 officers in the pension division, so that with 740 families on the pension roll each officer supervised about 46 families. The officers in the pension division vary in training for relief work and in their individual abilities and resourcefulness. They are selected by a severe "merit test," many have had excellent training for relief work, and all are subject, it will be remembered, to the supervision not only of the chief probation officer but also to that of the special head of the aid-to-mothers department.

In order to collect some accurate data regarding the amount of supervision given to the pensioned families, the visits made by the supervising officers were tabulated from the case records of the 212 families who had been under care for a period of two years or longer. These data are as follows: Families visited monthly, 29; visited more frequently, 182; ¹⁵ visited irregularly, 1.

These figures show that according to the case records 211 out of the 212 families had been visited regularly once a month or oftener throughout a period of two years or longer, and that only one family had been visited irregularly. The vast majority of the families, 182 out of 212, had, as a matter of fact, been visited oftener than once a month. This is a good measure of supervision, when it is remembered that the families under care are very carefully selected. Only those mothers are placed on the pension roll who seem, after a searching

¹⁵ The records showed that four families had not been visited for one period of more than one month, due probably to the officer's vacation; but with the exception of this one month the visits were made more frequently, and these four families seem to belong properly in the class in which they have been placed.

inquiry, to be women who can be trusted to make reasonably wise expenditures and to maintain fit homes for their children. It is obvious that the mere fact of visiting a family regularly does not necessarily mean that the officer made intelligent use of the information that she got as a result of the visit. Regularity of visits is, however, one essential in a system of adequate supervision, and it is clear that the families on the pension roll are given at least that measure of supervision.

In addition to the supervision of the regular probation officer the families are visited by the field supervisor also. The work of the field supervisor is a very important factor in maintaining the best possible care for the pensioned families. Under her direction methods have been worked out for improving the domestic skill of the pensioned mothers and for teaching them the household arts of cleaning, cooking, sewing, and skillful buying. The field supervisor discusses the home conditions of the families with the officers in charge and suggests methods of improving the standards of the homes. The probation officer is then supposed to see that these suggestions of the field supervisor are adopted by the family. The field supervisor also visits the families herself. The study of the records of the 212 families who had been under care for two years showed that the field supervisor had visited these families as follows: Visited once, 44 families; twice, 87 families; three times, 45 families; four times, 17 families; five times, 10 families; six times or more, 4 families; no visits, 1 family; no report, 4 families.

It is, of course, better to have a family remain under the supervision of the same probation officer during the whole of the time that the family is on the pension roll. The officers of the court are assigned to districts, and an officer is usually kept in the same district as long as she remains in the pension department. The officers in charge of pensioned families are changed, therefore, only when a new officer comes into the department, or when a family moves into a new district. During the first two years after the passage of the pension law, the aid-to-mothers department was not well organized, and there seem to have been more frequent changes in the officers supervising individual families. Table II presents such figures as are available for the 212 families who have been on the pension roll at least two years, relating to the number of families that have been under the care of more than one officer.

TABLE II.—*Number of probation officers caring for families on pension roll for two years and over, together with length of time families were under care of court.*

Number of probation officers giving care.	Families under care for specified period.								
	Total, 2 years and over.		2 years, but less than 2 years 6 months.	2 years 6 months, but less than 3 years.	3 years, but less than 3 years 6 months.	3 years 6 months, but less than 4 years.	4 years, but less than 4 years 6 months.	4 years 6 months, but less than 5 years.	5 years or over.
	Num- ber.	Per cent distri- bution.							
Total.....	212	100.0	32	33	43	22	58	22	2
1 officer.....	29	13.7	9	13	5	.....	2	.....	.....
2 officers.....	38	17.9	8	6	14	6	4	.....	.....
3 officers.....	53	25.0	12	7	9	6	11	8	.....
4 officers.....	31	14.6	.....	5	8	4	11	3	.....
5 officers.....	31	14.6	2	2	3	4	12	7	1
6 officers.....	17	8.0	.....	.....	2	1	10	4	.....
7 or more officers.....	11	4.2	1	.....	2	1	6	.....	1
Not reported.....	2	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....

This table shows that only 13.7 per cent of these families had been continuously under the care of a single officer throughout the pension period. It must be remembered, however, that all these families had been under care for as long a period as two years. The table shows, moreover, that most of the families who had had several supervising officers had been under care for more than two years. In attempting to determine whether or not the families under the care of the court have suffered from being "passed on" from one officer to another the importance of a comparison with the methods of the private relief agencies in the same community should not be overlooked. There can be no doubt that the visitors in the private societies are changed much more frequently than are the court officers, and it would be very difficult to find families that had been regularly visited by a single officer or agent for as long a period as two years, although Table II shows that 29 of the families pensioned by the court had been cared for by a single officer during periods varying from two to four years.

The relationship established between the pensioned mother and the supervising probation officer is one of cooperation to the end that the best possible use may be made of the pension income. If there is any evidence of ill health or poor physical condition a medical examination is insisted upon. Free medical service is not uniformly furnished, but hospital care when needed is secured free of charge. The county agent in his capacity as supervisor of the poor refuses to allow the county doctors to visit the pensioned families, but free service is furnished to those able to attend clinics. The women are

also examined free of charge at the county building by the woman physician on the city staff or by the county physician, who is an examining officer at the juvenile court. Medicines are paid for out of the family income; and when a physician visits the home, a doctor's fee is paid. Since free medical service is felt by many persons to be the least objectionable form of relief, the question has frequently been raised as to whether or not these families for whom the county is doing so much should be given free medical care by the "county doctors," who are furnished by the outdoor relief office for destitute families. Such a change must be approved by the county agent before it can be made, and no agreement on this point has been reached. In the estimated budget upon which the pension grant is based, an allowance of 50 cents for each member of the family is nominally made for "care of health"; but as a matter of fact this is not supposed to cover doctor's bills but merely such items as toothbrushes, soap, and occasional medicines or drugs.

Children in pensioned families are placed in the open-air schools and sent to convalescent homes when necessary. School attendance and school progress of the children are carefully watched. School reports giving grade, attendance, deportment, and scholarship are supposed to be obtained monthly and the information entered on the case record. The study of case records showed that this regulation seemed to be very carefully enforced. Reports are obtained directly from the school or by giving the children blanks which must be signed by the teacher. If the mother works outside the home the arrangements made for the care of the children during her absence are carefully scrutinized by the officer. Country outings each summer are arranged by the officers, not only for the children but also for the mothers of the pensioned families.

Living conditions are gradually improved. This is often a difficult problem. Most of the pensioned families have been living in extreme poverty during a long period of illness preceding the death of the husband and father, and sometimes for many months after his death. Decent standards of living have been gradually lowered and are not always easily restored.

Statistics throw little light on a subject such as the improvement in living conditions, but some data are available regarding the improvements in the housing of the pensioned families. A report submitted by the field supervisor to the conference committee in December, 1914, dealt with the care of 313 families who had been under care at least three months. Of these 313 families, 116, or more than one-third of the whole number, had been enabled or persuaded to move to new quarters on receiving the county allowance. Table III shows the reasons for moving in the case of this group of families.

TABLE III.—Reasons of 116 families for moving.

Reasons for moving.	Families moved.
All reasons.....	116
Moral surroundings bad.....	14
Rents too high.....	16
Families in furnished rooms.....	2
Housing conditions bad.....	84
Dark basement.....	19
Badly ventilated rooms.....	37
Low attic rooms.....	2
Damp rooms.....	3
Overcrowded quarters.....	13
Rooms in bad repair.....	10

Further evidence as to the improvement in housing conditions was furnished by the study of the 212 families who had been under care for two years or longer. Information was available for 210 of these families, showing that 96 had been moved at least once and 10 others two or more times in order to improve the home environment or housing conditions. Tables IV and V show for 195 families the number of rooms in relation to the number in the family at the time when the pension was granted and at the time when this investigation was made two years later.

TABLE IV.—Number of rooms occupied by 195 families under care two years and over for which information could be secured both at the time of application and at the time of the study, together with the number of persons occupying them at the time of application for pension.

Number of persons in family.	Families living in specified number of rooms at time of application for pension.							
	Total.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
Total.....	195	2	16	33	102	22	19	1
2.....	1	1						
3.....	18		4	6	7	1		
4.....	37		5	9	19	2	2	
5.....	57	1	4	5	38	6	3	
6.....	40			8	22	5	5	
7.....	21		1	3	7	5	5	
8.....	10				5	2	3	
9.....	9		2	1	3	1	1	1
10.....	2			1	1			

TABLE V.—*Number of rooms occupied by 195 families under care two years and over for which information could be secured both at the time of application and at the time of the study, together with the number of persons occupying them two years or more after pension grant.*

Number of persons in family.	Families living in specified number of rooms two years or more after pension grant.							
	Total.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total.....	195	9	20	114	29	19	2	2
3.....	18	3	4	9	2			
4.....	51	2	12	33	1	3		
5.....	60	4	1	46	8	1		
6.....	30		1	17	5	7		
7.....	19		2	5	9	2	1	
8.....	6			2		3		1
9.....	9			2	3	2	1	1
10.....	2				1	1		

These tables deal with a single aspect of housing conditions, the relation between the number of rooms and the number of persons occupying them. Comparing the two periods, it is clear that some progress has been made toward providing more adequate quarters for the families under care. At the time of their applications for pensions, 2 families—1 of them a family of 5—were living in 1-room apartments; and 16 families, including 1 family of 7 and 2 families of 9 persons, were living in 2-room apartments. Taking the numbers cumulatively, 51 families were living in apartments of 3 rooms or less. Table V shows that after these families had been on the pension roll for a period of 2 years or longer, the 1-room apartments had disappeared; 9 families instead of 16 and no families of more than 5 persons, were living in 2-room apartments. At the later period 29 families in contrast with 51 at the earlier period were in apartments of 3 rooms or less. Some further evidence of the improvement in housing accommodations is obtained by means of the heavy zigzag line in the two tables. All families with more than 1 person to a room fall below the heavy line. In the first table 144 families fall below the line and in the second, 125.

It is important to note, however, that housing standards as judged by the number of rooms occupied can not be very greatly improved by the small incomes of these pensioned families. The supervising officers have improved housing conditions most frequently by obtaining better apartments in less congested neighborhoods where more light and air can be had for the same money. That is, housing conditions have been improved by moving families out of basements, damp rooms, and dark rooms rather than by increasing the number of rooms. Some improvement, however, as Tables IV and V indicate, has been made in the number of rooms.

It must be emphasized, however, that the method or the value to the families of such supervisory work as is done by the court officers can not be measured by statistics. In an attempt to test satisfactorily work of this kind, the statistical method must necessarily be inadequate. Each family represents a complex situation unlike that of any other family, and the services rendered are too varied to be counted as identical units. The supervisory work can, of course, be best understood by a study of case records of individual families. A few of these case records have been summarized, and the summaries are given below to illustrate the supervisory work in different types of families.

SUMMARY OF THE RECORD OF THE A FAMILY.

The A family came to the attention of the court when the father had been dead about three years. He had been a woodworker, American born, earning about \$48 a month, and at his death left \$900 insurance. There were four children, ranging in age from 2 to 9 years. Both Mr. and Mrs. A had relatives in the city, but they were poor, had large families, and were unable to help much or regularly. After paying funeral expenses and debts, the mother managed to support her family for three years on the remainder of the insurance money and what she could earn at home sewing. She managed to keep the family together without charitable assistance but was doing it at the expense of her health, and the family was not being adequately fed. It was at this time, in January, 1913, that the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium referred the family to the court for a pension. The mother had been found to be tubercular, the three boys had tubercular glands, the children were all undernourished, and the physical condition of the whole family seemed to be going down very rapidly. The doctors said that Mrs. A ought not to work any longer. When this pension of \$10 per child was granted she promised to "sew up" what she then had on hand and to stop work until her condition was improved. This \$40 a month was the maximum pension that the court was willing to grant at that time; but, as it was not sufficient in view of the tubercular condition of four members of the family, the White Cross League was asked to contribute. It furnished special diet of milk and eggs for nine months. The condition of Mrs. A improved so much that at the end of this period she was able to earn about \$7 a month without detriment to her health. In the meantime the family had been moved from four small rooms over a little grocery store to a new and more desirable flat where, in addition to four larger rooms, they acquired an attic, a garden, and a porch which could be used for a sleeping porch. The municipal tuberculosis sanitarium fitted this with blankets and bedding so that the mother and one child were able to sleep out.

During the three years since the family have been pensioned, the officers of the court have cooperated with the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium in restoring them to health. The two younger children

were placed in an open-air school and sent to the country in summer. The mother has done her part faithfully, and she is now "paroled" by the sanitarium as a closed case. One child, however, failed to gain as he should, and in the summer of 1916 he was sent to a sanitarium, where he is now improving.

When William, the eldest boy, became 14, the court reduced the pension to \$30 a month, as he had sufficiently recovered to be able to work. But the boy had entered high school and was very eager to finish his two-year business course. Since the court could not continue this pension, the probation officer applied for help to the scholarship committee of the vocational bureau. They arranged that he should remain at school and granted a scholarship fund of \$14 a month, a contribution to the family's income equal to the amount the boy could have earned. This arrangement is now in its second year and William's progress at school has been very gratifying. In the summer he worked in a railroad office, and at present he is doing errands after school hours. He sometimes earns as much as \$3 a week, since a bonus is paid for promptness, and William is both ready and eager. These earnings he faithfully turns over to the vocational bureau to repay them for his scholarship, because both he and his mother feel that no more should be accepted than is necessary to allow him to remain in school. Occasionally, however, the bureau returns some part of his earnings so that he may have some article of luxury such as a warm sweater, and William is always very grateful for what he calls a "present" from the bureau.

Thus this family which at the time the court took charge of it had four tubercular members has been able, because of a steady assured income and the friendly help of the probation officers in cooperation with other societies, to move to better quarters, to improve in health (only one member of the family is now tubercular), and to keep the oldest child in school until he has had a high-school business course. With all the aid the family has received, there is no evidence of any tendency to regard help as their rightful portion, but instead, a sturdy spirit of independence is still so much alive that the boy of 15 is voluntarily and cheerfully turning over his weekly earnings to help pay for his scholarship.

SUMMARY OF THE RECORD OF THE B FAMILY.

The father, who was American born, had been a teamster, earning \$48 a month. The court's investigation brought out the fact that the family had previously been known to the Cook County agent, the visiting nurse association, the adult probation department of the municipal court, and to the united charities. The united charities record showed that the family had been first reported to them in November, 1904, when the father was ill and the children were begging from house to house; and again in 1908 this complaint was made about the children. The family at this time were living in a house owned by Mr. B's mother and were not paying rent. When the application for pension was made, however, the family were living in four rooms in a basement, described on the record as "filthy, damp, and dark." Mrs. B, a woman of 35 years, complained of ill health and looked frail, slovenly, and discouraged.

The Teamsters' Union raised a purse of \$100 for the family which just covered funeral expenses, as Mr. B had carried no insurance. During the investigation by the court, which lasted a month and a half, the family was dependent upon county supplies and the irregular help of relatives. At the end of this time a pension of \$40 a month was granted. This seems to have constituted the family's only income until the two older girls were old enough to become wage earners.

For nearly three years Mrs. B was sick practically all the time. It was difficult to improve her housekeeping, which was very slat-ternly, and to get the children properly cared for.

In all there were eight probation officers on this case, but each one seems to have given herself to the problems in hand with energy and determination, and gradually the standards of living were raised, and the mother's health began to show a decided improvement. The family was moved from time to time to more desirable rooms. Medical treatment for Mrs. B was secured, and regular dispensary treatment was insisted upon. The diet and buying of the family was carefully supervised, and Mrs. B instructed in the art of keeping a clean home.

The pension for this family has been gradually reduced from \$40 to only \$24, as the children have become old enough to go to work. Both girls have good positions, one as a stenographer, and the other working for the telephone company. In another year one of the boys will be able to go to work.

In the words of the present probation officer: "This family will soon be self-supporting, has greatly improved in health and standard of living, will probably move into better quarters." This family illustrates the effect that constant, intelligent supervision may have upon the most careless housekeeping habits. The record shows a woman who, when the court began its work with the family, had a miserable home and neglected children, and whose own physical resistance was so low that the slightest ailment incapacitated her. Gradually she has become a woman who washes and scrubs her house, launders her curtains, paints the walls, keeps the children clean and fairly well dressed, and is herself practically discharged from the doctor's care.

SUMMARY OF RECORD OF THE C FAMILY.

In June, 1913, Mrs. C, a Polish woman, applied for a pension for her two children aged 8 and 5 years because she found it impossible to earn enough to support them. Her husband had died of heart disease in 1909, leaving some insurance; but the money had been used for paying funeral bills, debts, and living expenses. The family had been compelled to ask help from the county agent and the united charities a number of times during the four years following the death of the father. A stepson had gone to work at the age of 14, but Mrs. C found him so unmanageable that in 1911 she sent him to his uncle in Tennessee. Mrs. C had been earning only \$10 a month by sweeping in a school.

The family budget was estimated at \$34, and in October, 1913, the court granted a pension of \$10 for each of the two children. With

the mother's earnings of about \$10 a month, the income of the family was brought up to within \$4 of their estimated needs. It was found that the dust raised by sweeping in the school was very bad for the mother, as it caused her to cough so much that she could not sleep. Her work was changed to cleaning in a bank, where she earned \$3 a week instead of \$10 a month.

The probation officer found that Stephania, the older child, had never gone to school because she was extremely anemic and had very bad teeth. The officer had the mother go with both children, neither of whom were strong, to the municipal tuberculosis dispensary for examination, saw to it that the mother's teeth and eyes received attention, and watched the weights of the children. During the pension period the children had whooping cough, and in 1914 the doctor said that they were likely to become tubercular if they were not very well nourished. However, the fact that in 1916 all of the family were in good health indicated close attention by the officer to the health of the family as well as competent oversight by the mother. Both children are in school, their attendance is regular, and their scholarship and deportment good.

The officer has also secured gifts of clothing and food from the church and parochial school, given the family tickets to settlement parties, and interested Mrs. C in the mothers' club at the Northwestern University settlement. Continuous effort during the past two years has been made by the officer to secure from Mrs. C's mother and brother more generous help for the family. In this the officer has been very successful, since both relatives continued to increase the aid given to the family.

The mother provides a good variety of food and has learned to do her buying in large amounts. The home is reported as being always spotless, the children are well cared for, and a recent comment of the officer is, "Family very happy and comfortable; children exceptionally attractive."

SUMMARY OF THE RECORD OF THE D FAMILY.

A Polish laborer named Henry D lost his life in September, 1911, by falling from a building which was under construction. He had been earning only \$40 a month and had a wife and six children to support, but his widow received \$1,000 compensation. Two hundred dollars was spent on the funeral, \$100 was paid to the doctor, and \$50 went toward repaying a loan. Two months after the father's death twin babies were born, who soon died. Their burial cost \$50 more. The expenses of the mother's illness and the living expenses for the family of seven soon exhausted the insurance money.

Mrs. D endeavored to carry the family and earned \$1 a day at some work given her by the church, on whose building her husband had been killed. Her ability to work was seriously impaired because her hands had been badly crippled since childhood. She managed, however, to do the work, to give her children good care, and to keep her house very clean. In January, 1913, Mrs. D applied for pension, and received her first payment the following May. During that period the united charities paid the rent. The amount granted by the court was \$6 a month for each of the six children, the eldest of whom was 12 years and subnormal.

In the D family the standard of living had always been very low and the children were thin and undernourished. When they were examined at the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium it was found that Walter had tubercular glands, three of the others had enlarged tonsils, and Frank, the eldest, had a goiter. The probation officer, therefore, made it her business to watch carefully over the health of the family. After obtaining the mother's consent she had the adenoids removed from two of the children, had the children weighed, and sent them on vacations.

At school Frank was placed in a room for subnormals and made a fine record in basketry, rug making, and manual training. In May, 1916, he was earning \$8 a week in a glove factory, and he will probably be able to support himself. A butcher in the neighborhood had accused Frank of being the leader of a gang, and in June, 1916, the case came up in the police court. The complaint was apparently groundless, and the matter was cleared up by the probation officer. The supervisor records: "The subnormal boy, Frank, is holding his position surprisingly well."

Under the care of the court, Mrs. D has learned some English, and although the general capacity of the family is not high, there is no doubt that their standard has been improved. They have at least made an effort to meet requirements. The dietitian has brought about a change in the kinds of food used, although the officer is still working for further improvement here. The dietitian reports: "The income has been at least \$10 below the estimated minimum budget since the family has been under the care of the department. Clothing and other help has been received from the church. The children have been found getting coal from the railroad tracks, and the food has always been unsatisfactory."

SUMMARY OF THE RECORD OF THE E FAMILY.

On June 30, 1913, Mr. E died of appendicitis, and promptly on the next day Mrs. E applied for a pension. She received insurance money to the amount of \$204, but it was spent on funeral bills, clothes, old debts, and living expenses. There were four children—Charles, aged 6; Henry, 3; John, 2 years; and Anna, 8 months. The father was an American of German descent and the mother was Italian.

At the time of application the family had been living rent free in an attic apartment, in which the ceilings were very low and the bedrooms contained only one window. The house was reported by the probation officer as the dirtiest place she had ever seen. Pending the court's decision on the pension application, the family lived on the remains of the insurance money, the aid of neighbors and relatives, and the ingenuity of the mother, who raffled a quilt, thereby gaining \$41.

The necessary budget was estimated at \$37.15 a month, and the court awarded a pension of \$8 for each of the four children, although the relatives of Mr. E tried to have the children placed in an institution, on the ground that the mother was unfit to care properly for their physical wants. They acknowledged that her character was good but alleged that her house was dirty, as it evidently was. Since the grant the family has lived on the pension, supplemented by occasional gifts of vegetables sent from the farm by Mrs. E's mother and small sums earned at various times by Mrs. E herself.

The family has had little sickness during the pension period, and at present appears to be in good health. The children's school attendance is fair. Mrs. E's housekeeping has improved under supervision, although the children are not yet very neatly kept. The probation officer has suggested changes in diet and insisted on having the house painted inside. At the suggestion of the probation officer, cow's milk was substituted for condensed milk for the baby, clean pans were used for cooking, and the woman learned to buy fresh milk and fruit. Mrs. E has willingly followed advice, but she is undoubtedly subnormal, and is not naturally a good housekeeper. Her mother, a very efficient old lady, frequently has the family spend vacations at her farm, cleans house for her daughter, plans her buying, and helps her as much as Mrs. E's stepfather will allow. Mrs. E's mother showed much more zeal in doing for the family when, with the assistance of the court pension and the cooperation of the probation officer, it seemed possible to maintain a decent standard of living.

SUMMARY OF THE RECORD OF THE F FAMILY.

The F family, at the time of application for a pension, consisted of the mother, aged 31, and three children: Samuel, aged 12; James, 7; and John, 5. The father, who had been a laborer and a hard drinker, had died about four years earlier, leaving insurance which amounted to only \$208.40 and which was all used for the payment of hospital and funeral bills. Since his death, Mrs. F had been working as a school janitress, earning from \$25 to \$30 a month. In November, 1913, when she applied for a pension, she was living with her sister and parents, and her character and thrifty habits were recognized by the family physician and the principal of the school at which she worked. The municipal tuberculosis sanitarium reported that Mrs. F had been examined in October, 1913, and found not to be tubercular, and that although she would be benefited by a rest, she was able to work out.

Besides what she earned, Mrs. F was receiving some aid from a brother, and supplies from the county agent. At times the teachers also helped her a little. After the application for a pension had been made, the dietitian estimated the family budget at \$38.50 a month. It was thought that the woman ought to do less work but that her earnings ought to be about \$12 a month. In January, 1914, a pension of \$8 for each child was granted by the court, and Mrs. F moved out of her sister's home to establish a home of her own.

After the granting of the pension, a brother-in-law, who had quarreled with his wife, came to live in the home of Mrs. F, and, owing to some rumors of drinking and immorality, the conference committee of the court recommended in June, 1914, that her pension be "stayed" and the children sent to an institution for dependent children. The situation was, however, satisfactorily changed by removal to a new neighborhood and the exclusion of the brother-in-law from the home. The probation officer persuaded Mrs. F to sign the pledge, and there seems to have been no further trouble.

One immediate effect of the supervision by the court officer was a marked improvement in the children's school records, which were rather poor when the pension was first granted. The field supervisor gave advice and instructions as to diet and other items of house-

hold economy, which seem to have been faithfully followed. At present the mother is happy, takes good care of her children, is very intelligent in her buying, in which she cooperates with several women in the neighborhood, and will soon join a woman's club in her district. Samuel, whose pension was stayed when he became 14, is bright and ambitious. He works as an office boy, earning \$6 a week. Arrangements were made for him to attend night school, where he is very much interested in manual training, and devotes a good deal of attention to the furnishings of the household.

Medical aid was secured for Mrs. F, and although there has been illness in the family since the pension was granted, at present all members of the family are apparently in good health. The children's school records have been carefully watched, the diet has greatly improved in variety, and the family's entire standard of living is steadily improving.

PENSION "STAYS" OR WITHDRAWALS OF PENSION GRANTS.

The standard of supervision maintained demands the withdrawal of the pension grants whenever a change in family circumstances has occurred that makes a pension no longer necessary or its continuance undesirable for the good of the children. If the supervision of the pensioned family is adequate the court will be promptly informed of such changes in family circumstances or home conditions.

Table VI shows the number of pension grants "stayed," that is, withdrawn or canceled, during a period of 19 months, together with the reason for the stay and the length of time the family has been on the pension roll. During this period 543 families, including the "stayed cases," were under care.

TABLE VI.—Reasons for stay of pension in 170 "stayed cases," together with length of time family had been on pension roll.^a

Reason for stay of pension.	Families whose pensions were stayed after receiving pensions for specified period.						
	Total.		Less than 3 months.	3 months but less than 6.	6 months but less than 1 year.	1 year but less than 2.	2 years and over.
	Number	Per cent distribution.					
All reasons	170	100.0	11	10	29	67	53
Pension no longer needed.....	106	62.4	4	6	18	40	38
Mother's failure.....	24	14.1	2	2	5	7	8
Family ineligible at time of pension grant.....	16	9.4	5	.....	2	7	2
Reason ambiguous.....	24	14.1	.....	2	4	13	5

^a This table was prepared from material collected by officers of the Aid-to-Mothers Department for a survey of their own work. The period of time covered by the survey was Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915.

The important questions to be asked concerning the families who are dropped from the pension lists may be summarized as follows: Were they dropped because they were no longer in need of assistance? Were they dropped because the homes failed to come up to the stand-

ards set by the court? Were they dropped because the pension had been granted on the basis of an inadequate investigation, and the court discovered facts that would have prevented the grant had those facts been known at the time of the grant? Unfortunately the reasons given in the records for the "stay" of funds are often expressed in a small number of set phrases that are frequently ambiguous. An attempt was made by a careful study of each record, to relate the reason for the stay to the work of the court and in this way to answer the questions suggested above. Further explanation of the reasons for stays given in the table is, therefore, possible. In the first class of families—those in which the reason given is "pension no longer needed"—are included 39 families who were said to be dropped because their income was "sufficient," 32 who "should be self-supporting," 12 who had money that they had received after the pension grant, 12 in which the mother remarried, 5 in which the mother died, 2 in which the mother withdrew voluntarily, and 4 in which the family had left the city. These 106 families, 62 per cent of the total number "stayed," were dropped from the pension roll because the family circumstances had changed; and the fact that this change of circumstances was known to the court and was acted upon by the court is evidence of the fact that the families were being carefully supervised.

In the second class of families, those removed from the pension roll because of some failure on the mother's part, are included the following: Six mothers who were untruthful, 7 who kept roomers, and 11 who were reported as having refused to cooperate. A total of 24, or 14 per cent of the whole number "stayed" were dropped because the mother failed to meet the standards of family care set by the court, and refused to cooperate with the supervising officer in maintaining a proper home or proper care for the children. The woman's refusal to cooperate means that she is unwilling to take those steps which in the judgment of the officer and of the conference committee are essential to the proper care of her children. She may refuse to move from an insanitary house or a demoralizing neighborhood, she may insist on keeping male boarders or lodgers, or the husband may be the victim of an infectious disease, dangerous to the members of his family, and may refuse to leave the home. The court may become convinced that not even with an allowance can the home be kept at that level for which the county is willing to be responsible.

In the third class are included those families whose pensions apparently were stayed because the woman was ineligible at the time the pension was granted. The following were placed in this class: Two mothers who were found to be aliens, four whose relatives were able to assist, three whose marriage could not be proved, two who

could not prove the death of their husbands. In all these cases it is obvious that if the preliminary investigation had been adequate, the pension would never have been granted. Included in this group also are five women about whom more ambiguous phrases are used but who probably would not have been granted pensions if the preliminary investigation had been more searching. One had money, another was unfit morally, a third was physically unfit, and the other two had husbands who were not wholly incapacitated for work. In these five cases the pension was stopped before it had run three months, so that it is probably safe to say that there was an inadequate investigation in the first instance.

In the fourth class are included the families who could not be put in any of the foregoing classes because of inadequate information; that is, the reason given for the pension stay was recorded in an ambiguous phrase, "Has money," for instance, may mean that the family either had money undiscovered by the preliminary investigation or at a later date received money from some new source. "Man able to work" may mean that his health has improved, or it may mean a change in the standards of the department. "Mother unfit morally, mentally, or physically" may show deterioration on the part of the mother, it may mean failure to improve as expected under the care of the court, or it may mean an inadequate investigation to begin with. That is, families dropped because they should be self-supporting, because their income was sufficient, or because the mother remarried were dropped after the pension had done the work it was intended to do; while those who lost their funds because of no proof of death, no proof of marriage, etc., were only granted funds because of an inadequate preliminary investigation. But there are other phrases used which tell us very much less. That a family is dropped because of an "illegitimate child" immediately raises the question of whether that child was born before the grant of pension or during the time the pension was being enjoyed.

The most important fact in the table is, of course, that 62 per cent of the stays were ordered because the circumstances in the families had changed, that only 14 per cent were dropped because the mother could not be brought up to a proper standard, and only 9 per cent because the family had been found to be ineligible. It is also important to note that of the families whose circumstances had changed, the majority—78 out of 106—had been pensioned for a year or longer.

Most of the mothers who did not come up to the standards required of them had also had pensions for a year or more. This may be interpreted either as showing the patience of the court in dealing with the families whose care it assumes; or it may be taken as an indication of the rising standard set by the court and the gradual

weeding out of the unfit, for there is no doubt that a change in pension standards occurred after February 5, 1913.

Of the 16 cases in which the first investigation was obviously inadequate, 5 were dropped within three months; but of the other 11, 9 had been pensioned for a year or longer. This is very probably due to the fact that these pensions were granted in the early period, when the technique of investigation was less fully worked out than at present. Pensions can no longer be stayed because there is no proof of marriage or of the husband's death, since these facts must now be established from public records before a pension is granted.

As has been said, the group called "unknown" includes all those stays in which the reason for staying the funds is given but not in terms which permit the families to be grouped in this scheme. At the same time the reasons given are interesting and Table VII gives a list of these ambiguous reasons, together with the length of time the family had been on the pension roll.

TABLE VII.—Length of time on pension roll and reason for stay in case of 24 families classed as "reason ambiguous" in table.

Reason for stay of pension.	Families whose pensions were stayed for ambiguous reasons, after receiving pensions for specified period. ^a					
	Total.		3 months but less than 6	6 months but less than 1 year.	1 year but less than 2 years.	2 years and over.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.				
All reasons.....	24	100.0	2	4	13	5
Family had money.....	6	25.0	.....	1	3	2
Man able to work.....	3	12.5	.....	1	2	.....
Mother unfit morally.....	7	29.2	1	1	4	1
Mother unfit physically.....	5	20.8	1	1	2	1
Illegitimate child.....	3	12.05	.....	.....	2	1

^a See Table VI.

It is probable that some of these families, too, were put on the pension roll because the first investigation was inadequate. Especially is this true of those families dropped because the mother had an illegitimate child. All three had been on the lists for over a year, all three were dropped at the time when the court established the rule that copies of birth certificates must be obtained for children who were already being pensioned. It is also very probable that some of the families who were dropped because they had money were ineligible at the time when the pension was granted, but the investigating officer had failed to discover the savings. In 1914 the county agent began a reinvestigation of families receiving pensions, and he is said to have found that a number of families had money hidden away. The date of the stay of these six cases indicates that their ineligibility was probably discovered in this way. For the other three

groups, it is impossible to tell whether their stay was due to a change in their circumstances, to a change in the standards of the court, to the fact that the pension was granted under a misapprehension of the circumstances, or to the fact that the family had been given a trial and had been found wanting.

It appears, then, that the number of families having their funds stayed during the period under consideration was made unduly large by the fact that during this period the court began making an investigation of the families already under its care and demanding of them the same proofs of eligibility and fitness demanded of new applicants. In other words, the court during this particular period was engaged in rectifying the mistakes that had been made at an earlier period when the law was new, the probation staff inadequate and less competent, and adequate investigation the exception rather than the rule. Just how many of these 24 stays were due to these reasons can not be definitely determined; but at the lowest estimate, 20 out of 24 could be accounted for in this way.

One fact remains to be emphasized—the pensions of these families would not have been stayed if the court officers had not been thorough in their supervisory work. It should be made clear, however, that there may often be questions of fact that can not be disclosed by even a searching preliminary investigation and which may lead later to a modification or withdrawal of the pension grant. The possession of such personal property as would disqualify may be concealed for a considerable period; in one case, for example, when the property had been concealed and was later disclosed, the woman said that her conscience was greatly relieved by having the fact finally brought to light. The question of the mother's real fitness, too, is one upon which a later and more intimate knowledge of the family will throw light.

Facts are also available for the pensions stayed at earlier periods. This information throws no light on present pension policies since the methods of administration were so radically changed after February 4, 1913, when the work of reorganizing the pension department was begun. The head of the department has kindly supplied from records the following reasons for the 60 pension stays that were ordered between July 1, 1911, and November 30, 1912:

Pension no longer necessary because of increased earnings in family.....	10
Mother able to care for family without further outside assistance.....	5
Money received from insurance company in settlement of damage suit.....	6
Husband returned to family.....	5
Remarriage of mother	10
Death of mother	3
Mother insane and placed in hospital.....	1

Mother in hospital; children placed in homes.....	4
Mother found to be unfit.....	2
Illegitimate child born after grant of funds.....	5
Fraudulent statement as to parentage of pensioned child.....	2
Improper use of pension funds.....	1
Mother preferred children in institutions.....	1
Family moved and left no trace of whereabouts.....	1
Family moved to Europe.....	1
Stayed and afterwards reinstated, pending inquiry.....	3
Total	60

For the period between December, 1912, and June 30, 1913, the published annual report shows that 90 families, with 341 children, were removed from the roll. The number removed for each cause is not given, but the following general reasons were given for the removal of all cases for whom the court's care proved impracticable during this time: Pension stayed because the children became 14 years of age, mother remarried, mothers found to have money in the bank. fathers became able to work and found employment, homes were found to be irremediably unfit, and finally those removed because of changes in the law. (See Cook County Service Report, 1913, pp. 293, 294.)

For the years 1915, 1916, and 1917 data are published in the annual reports of the juvenile court (see Cook County Charity Service Reports for these years). In the following statement, showing the reasons for pension stays during these three years, the unit is the pensioned child and not the pensioned family. Similar data for pensioned families can not be obtained.

Reason for stay of pension.	1917	1916	1915
Total.....	818	652	270
Income sufficient.....	216	174	57
Mother remarried.....	133	112	19
Child reached 14 years of age.....	116	114	70
Has money.....	47	46	23
Mother unfit.....	38	39	22
Family should be self-supporting.....	36	8	1
Father able to do work.....	35	14	.....
Mother would not cooperate.....	34	19	7
Mother in hospital or sanitarium.....	23	17	8
Child died.....	22	14	4
Child in country.....	20	19	16
Left county.....	19	13	3
Child in hospital, sanitarium, etc.....	19	11	.....
Property interest.....	13	3	.....
Mother insane.....	12	4	5
Mother died.....	9	19	7
Mother sick.....	6	.....	.....
Damage suit settled.....	4	8	6
Mother withdrew.....	4	6	15
Family had not accounted for money previous to pension grant.....	4	.....	.....
Child in correctional institution.....	3	4	6
Relatives able to assist.....	2	.....	.....
Father died out of county.....	2	.....	.....
Child in institution for dependents or defectives.....	1	6	.....
Parents not legally married.....	.....	2	.....
Child a menace to family.....	.....	.....	1

* Twenty-one of the 23 received insurance money.

CHANGES IN AMOUNT OF PENSION GRANTS.

Further evidence of adequate supervision is found in a change in the amount of the pension whenever the family income has changed; that is, in some cases the allowance is not taken away entirely, but is merely decreased in amount when family circumstances have changed. For example, if a child becomes 14 years of age, so that he can lawfully work, or if new sources of income appear, the pension allowance may be reduced. If, on the other hand, sources of income are stopped or estimates are proved to be not well founded, the amount allowed may be increased. This has happened in cases where the illness of the mother and her resulting inability to earn has made a larger pension necessary for a time.

Table VIII shows the number of changes that were made in the pension grants of the 212 families who had been under care for a period of two years or longer:

TABLE VIII.—*Number of changes in amount of pension for 212 families under care for two years or longer.*

Number of changes in amount of pension.	Families under care two years or longer.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	212	100.0
0.....	56	26.4
1.....	60	28.3
2.....	52	24.5
3.....	22	10.4
4.....	18	8.5
5.....	4	1.9

This study of 212 families who had been on the pension roll for two years or longer shows that only 56 pensions had remained fixed and that the other 156 had been changed at least once during that period. There were altogether 322 actual pension changes ordered for this group of families. One hundred and thirty-five of these orders were pension increases and 187 pension decreases. This does not count the orders of the court which changed the distribution of the pension without altering the total amount. Such changes may occur, for example, when the pension of one child is ordered stayed at his death and the pension of the others increased until the new pension is equal to the old.

The purpose of these orders for pension changes can be best understood by an account of the method of adjusting the pension in a few individual families:

A pension of \$16 a month was granted in February, 1912, to the G family, consisting of the mother and four children aged 11, 10, 7,

and 6 years. Mrs. G earned \$7 a week by cleaning an office building at night. Her housekeeping and care of the children were not satisfactory under this arrangement, and in September the committee recommended that the pension be increased to \$32 and that Mrs. G should be told to stop her night work. The court did not grant the full increase recommended by the committee, but granted \$28 a month. Evidently Mrs. G did not stop night work at once, for a month later the case was again before the committee who repeated their former recommendation, and this time it was granted by a court order of November, 1912. The mother now did washings and earned from \$3 to \$4 a week. The pension continued at \$32 until March, 1914, when the eldest girl became 14 and her pension was stayed, making the family pension \$24. Although the girl of 14 was not so ill as to be pronounced unable to work, she was retarded in growth and underdeveloped, and it did not seem wise to have her go to work at once. The court was not willing to continue her pension, but as the income was thought insufficient in August, 1914, the pension of the youngest child was increased \$6, making a total of \$30 for the family. This continued until May, 1916, when the second child became 14 and the pension was reduced to \$22.

The H family consists of the mother and five children, the eldest 14 years and the youngest 13 months at the time of the application for a pension. The father had been an engineer and earned \$16 a week, but he had been sick and unable to work for a year before his death, which occurred in June, 1911. In April, 1912, the family was granted a pension of \$36 a month. The 14-year-old girl was attending a trade school and not bringing in any wages. The mother, however, though not strong, worked about three days a week at \$1 a day. Thus the total monthly income was \$48 a month. In July, 1912, the fourth child, Marie, 3 years old, had infantile paralysis and was sent to the hospital for treatment. She was there two months and during that time her pension was cut off, making the total pension \$27 for those two months. In September, 1912, the child came home; the pension was restored to \$36. This allowance continued until November, 1913, when Marie was once more sent to the hospital and her pension stayed for a month. For two years after that the pension was \$26. In December, 1915, it was withdrawn entirely while the mother went to the hospital for an operation. When it was reinstated the amount was \$35 instead of \$36. The eldest girl is at work earning \$6 a week, making a total income of \$59 a month.

The I family was granted a pension of \$42 a month in July, 1913. The family consisted of the mother and six children, all under 12 years of age, and the mother's father—an old man of 75, who paid his daughter \$5 a week for room and board. The budget as estimated by the dietitian was \$66 a month, which meant that the mother must earn only \$4 a month by outside work. This she was able to do without any difficulty. In August, 1914, a year after the pension was granted, the baby died, and the pension was reduced to \$36 a month. In April, 1915, the eldest child became 14, and her pension was stayed, making the total pension \$28. One month later Mrs. I's father died. This meant a substantial reduction of the family income, and the pension was again raised to \$36.

The fact that for the great majority of families the original grant is altered one or more times during the period the family is under care is an indication of thorough supervisory work. In the down-State counties many families were found drawing pensions to which they were no longer legally entitled. This was due to the inadequate probation work. The court was not informed of the changes in family circumstances which made a change in the pension or its withdrawal necessary, and pensions were continued which were no longer needed. The Chicago court, however, is in such close touch with the families under its care that any change in family circumstances is reported at once by the supervising officers, and the pension grant is altered accordingly.

ADEQUACY OF PENSION GRANTS.

AMOUNT OF PENSION GRANTS.

A point of interest and importance is that of the adequacy of the pension grants. The original pension law of 1911 left the amount of the pension to be determined by the court without any limitations as to the maximum or minimum allowance.¹⁷ The amended law of 1913, however, fixed a maximum pension grant at \$15 a month for a single child and \$10 for each additional child, with a maximum of \$50 a month for any one family. By the amendment of 1915, the maximum allowance for a single family was raised to \$60 a month. No one of the three mothers' pension statutes of Illinois, however, has made any provision for a minimum allowance. The smallest pension granted by the Chicago court is \$4 a month, and the pension allowances from this court, therefore, range from \$4 to \$60 a month.

Within these limits the amount of the pension grant is determined by such circumstances as the number and ages of the children, the supplementary resources available, and the health of the family, particularly the health of the mother, who is expected to do some work if the officer finds that it can be done without injury to her health or neglect of her home. It has already been pointed out that the field supervisor, who is a dietitian, prepares a budget for each family; and on this budget as a basis the conference recommends to the court that a pension of a certain amount be granted. This amount may, of course, be altered by the judge after he hears in court the discussion between the county agent and the other representatives of the conference committee.

All reports that have been published by the court, by the county agent, or by the comptroller give only the total amount granted monthly or yearly in the form of pensions and the number of families or total number of children receiving these grants. It is impossible to obtain from these reports any further information except the obviously unsatisfactory average monthly pension given per family or per child. In order to determine how far the pension grants furnish adequate relief, information is needed showing the number of pension allowances of definite amounts that have been granted, together with the number of members in the family, and the total income of

¹⁷ It will be remembered, however, that the presiding judge in the Chicago court had established a rule of the court, in the absence of a statutory maximum grant, fixing a maximum allowance. This maximum was at first fixed at \$10 a month for each child and was later increased to \$15 a month for a girl and \$10 a month for a boy, the amounts granted by law for the maintenance of dependent children in industrial schools.

the family. An attempt has been made, therefore, to collect such data. Table IX shows the number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts in the month of January, 1917, together with the number of pensioned children in the family; Table X shows the number of families granted pensions of specified amounts during the period from August 1, 1913, to March 1, 1915, when the officers of the court made their "survey" together with the number of children in each family; and Table XI shows the pension allowances for the families (212) who had been under care for a period of two years or longer. Only for this last group of families has it been possible to obtain data relating to total income.

TABLE IX.—Number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts during the month of January, 1917, together with the number of pensioned children in the family. ^a

Number of pensioned children in the family.	Families receiving pensions of specified amounts, January, 1917.														
	Total.	Less than \$5.	\$5-\$9.	\$10-\$14.	\$15-\$19.	\$20-\$24.	\$25-\$29.	\$30-\$34.	\$35-\$39.	\$40-\$44.	\$45-\$49.	\$50-\$54.	\$55-\$59.	\$60.	Not reported.
Total number.	778	1	12	47	115	147	133	107	99	52	29	21	11	3	1
1 child.....	31	1	3	5	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 children.....	203	.....	7	26	50	63	57	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 children.....	249	.....	1	10	30	60	51	59	38	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 children.....	189	.....	1	5	10	19	19	42	45	30	18	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 children.....	82	.....	.....	1	2	4	5	6	15	22	9	12	6	.....	.....
6 children.....	18	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	7	4	2	.....
7 children.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	1	.....
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1

^a Although children over 14 are not usually pensioned, in 13 families there is a child over 14 for whom the pension was continued because the child was unable to work.
^b Not reported because the record for this family could not be found.

Table IX shows that in January, 1917, when these data were obtained, only 3 families were receiving the maximum pension of \$60 a month allowed to a single family, although the 18 families with 6 children and the 5 families with 7 children would have been entitled to pensions of this amount under the provision of the law which permits the granting of \$15 a month to the first child and \$10 a month to each one of the other children under 14 years of age in a pensioned family; that is, 23 of these families might have been given the maximum pension, but only 3 families had actually been granted this allowance of \$60 a month. On the other hand, the pensions for the most part are not doles. Only 1 pension of less than \$5 a month was granted; only 12 pensions fall in the group \$5-\$9; 47 in the group \$10-\$14; or, taking the numbers cumulatively, 60 pension allowances of less than \$15 a month—approximately 8 per cent of the entire number—were being granted at the beginning of 1917. The largest number of families in any

one group (147) were receiving pensions of \$20–\$24 a month; the next largest group, 133 families, were receiving pensions of \$25–\$29 a month. That is, 280 families, or 36 per cent of the whole number pensioned, fall into a group receiving pensions varying from \$20 to \$29 a month.

The size of the pension must vary with the size of the family, since the law provides that the pension shall not exceed \$15 a month for a single child and \$10 for each additional child in the family. The heavy zigzag line in the table is so drawn that all the numbers above the line represent families receiving the maximum pension allowed by law for the number of children pensioned. These include 144, or 19 per cent of the total number of pensioned families.

Adequacy of relief can be tested only by data showing total family income and not by the information presented in Table IX, showing only the amount of pension given. Unfortunately the total income of these families could be obtained only by a detailed study of the case records of all the 778 families under care and such a study could not be attempted. But it must not be overlooked that the data in Table IX throw light on the policy of the court with regard to the amount of relief granted. A study of Table IX indicates that great care is used in determining the amount of the pension grant. The court has not followed an unscientific and careless method of granting a flat rate for each child, but the allowance has been carefully adjusted to the supplementary sources of income available for each family. These outside sources of aid are evidently studied with great care and the pension grant nicely graduated according to the family resources and needs.

Further data showing the actual pension allowances were obtained for the families on the pension roll between August 1, 1913, and March 1, 1915.¹⁸ These data are presented in Table X.

TABLE X.—*Number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts, Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915, together with the number of children under 14 years of age in each family.*

Number of pensioned children in the family.	Families receiving pensions of specified amounts.										
	Total.	\$5–9	\$10–14	\$15–19	\$20–24	\$25–29	\$30–34	\$35–39	\$40–44	\$45–49	\$50
Total number.....	543	4	39	95	159	55	91	33	52	8	7
1 child.....	9	.....	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 children.....	117	3	26	29	52	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 children.....	175	1	7	48	53	8	54	4	.....	.....	.....
4 children.....	136	.....	2	10	41	25	20	11	26	1	.....
5 children.....	62	.....	.....	2	10	15	10	11	12	.....	2
6 children.....	29	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	7	6	8	3	2
7 children or more.....	15	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	6	4	3

¹⁸ This material was taken from the schedules prepared by the officers of the court for their pension survey.

Table X furnishes information similar to that in Table IX. The numbers above the heavy zigzag line in the table represent the number of families receiving the maximum grant allowed by law for the number of children specified at the rate of \$15 for the first child and \$10 for each additional child. The maximum pension allowed during this period to any one family was \$50. The table shows, therefore, that out of 543 families only 24, or 4 per cent of the total number, were given the maximum amount allowed for the number of children specified. Table IX showed that 19 per cent of the 778 families on the pension roll in 1917 in contrast to this 4 per cent for 1913–1915, were receiving maximum grants. The larger number receiving such grants at the later period may indicate a more liberal pension policy or it may indicate the increase in pension allowances made necessary by the rising cost of living.

To make possible a comparison between the size of pension allowances at the earlier and later periods, a table of cumulative numbers and percentages has been prepared showing the number of families receiving pensions of more than certain specified amounts at the two periods.

TABLE XI.—*Number of families receiving pensions of more than specified amounts from Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915 and in January, 1917.*

Amount of pension.	Families pensioned.			
	Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915.		January, 1917.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
\$60.....			3	0.4
\$55 or more.....			14	1.8
\$50 or more.....	7	1.3	35	4.5
\$45 or more.....	15	2.7	64	8.2
\$40 or more.....	67	12.3	116	14.9
\$35 or more.....	100	18.4	215	27.6
\$30 or more.....	191	35.2	322	41.4
\$25 or more.....	246	45.4	455	58.5
\$20 or more.....	405	74.6	602	77.4
\$15 or more.....	500	92.1	717	92.2
\$10 or more.....	539	99.3	764	98.2
\$5 or more.....	543	100.0	776	99.8
Less than \$5.....			1	.1
Not reported.....			a 1	.1

a Not reported because the record for this family could not be found.

Table XI shows that somewhat larger percentages of the pensioned families were getting larger pensions at the beginning of the year (1917) than during the earlier period. Thus, selecting several different points of comparison, 8.2 per cent of the families at the later period in contrast to 2.7 per cent of the families at the earlier period received pensions of \$45 a month or more; 27.6 per cent at the later period in contrast to 18.4 per cent at the earlier period received pensions of \$35 or more; 58.5 per cent at the later period in contrast to 45.4 per cent at the earlier period received as much as \$25 or more.

As a result of a more detailed study that has been made of the 212 families who had been under care for a period of at least two years, some further data are available showing the amount of the pension grants. Data showing the total incomes of the pensioned families were also obtained from this study.

Tables XII and XIII show the amount of the pension grants originally made to the families who had been under care for a period of two years and the amount of pension grants two years later. In both tables the pension grants are given, together with the number of pensioned children; that is, children under 14, in the family.

TABLE XII.—*Number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts at time pension was first granted, together with number of children under 14 years of age.*

Number of pensioned children in the family.	Total.	Families receiving pensions of specified amounts at beginning of grants.									
		Less than \$10	\$10-14	\$15-19	\$20-24	\$25-29	\$30-34	\$35-39	\$40-44	\$45-49	\$50
Total ^a	212	2	8	22	55	30	47	18	22	5	3
1 child.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 children.....	32	2	5	7	15	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 children.....	62	.....	1	11	17	4	29	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 children.....	68	.....	2	2	19	17	10	8	10	.....	.....
5 children.....	26	.....	.....	.....	2	6	6	6	6	.....	.....
6 children.....	14	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	3	5	1	1
7 children.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	4	.....
8 children.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2

^a Of the total, 11 cases were found where a child was away from home or approaching fourteenth birthday. Pension was not granted for 1 stepchild.

TABLE XIII.—*Number of families receiving pensions of specified amounts two or more years after pension was first granted, together with number of children under 14 years of age.*

Number of pensioned children in family.	Total.	Families receiving pensions of specified amounts two or more years after first grant of pension.											
		Less than \$10	\$10-14	\$15-19	\$20-24	\$25-29	\$30-34	\$35-39	\$40-44	\$45-49	\$50-54	\$55-59	\$60
Total.....	212	8	10	28	68	21	37	22	12	3	2	.....	1
1 child.....	11	5	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 children.....	40	1	8	8	25	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 children.....	74	2	.....	12	28	8	18	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 children.....	57	.....	.....	4	12	5	17	10	7	2	.....	.....	.....
5 children.....	13	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	5	3	1	1	.....	.....
6 children.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
7 children.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
8 children.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1

In both tables the numbers above the zigzag line represent the number of families who were given the maximum pension grant. Table XII shows that only 8 families out of 212, or 4 per cent of the

total number, were originally given maximum allowances. After two years the pensions had been increased so that 20 out of the 212, or 9 per cent of the whole number, were getting maximum allowances. These tables indicate, as did the comparison between Tables IX and X, that pensions of maximum size are more frequently granted than formerly, probably in order to meet the increased cost of living. In general, these tables merely confirm the conclusions already drawn from Tables IX and X, that pensions of the maximum amount are granted with great caution, that the amount of the pension allowance is carefully adjusted to the special needs of each pensioned family, and that no unscientific "flat-rate" allowances are given. Thus, Table XIII shows that 57 families with 4 children to whom the maximum allowance of \$45 might be granted were actually given pensions varying from \$15 to \$45 and that only 2 of the 57 families drew as much as the latter amount.

It has already been pointed out that these tables dealing with the amount of the pension grants do not enable us to determine whether or not the pension allowance is adequate to the family needs. It is impossible to determine the adequacy of pension grants except on the basis of data showing total incomes together with the number in the family. A study of the case records for the 212 families who had been pensioned for at least two years made it possible to obtain the necessary data for determining the total income of these families. It must be explained, however, that accurate statistics of income are difficult to obtain. For example, a pension may be granted on the supposition that supplementary contributions are to be made by relatives or others; but it is impossible to determine accurately just how much these supplementary contributions really are from month to month. Relatives can not always be depended on to make their promised contributions regularly, and the supervising officer does not always know, and does not always record even when she knows, the precise amounts or the regularity of such contributions. Again, the pension may be granted on the supposition that the mother ought to earn a specified amount. But the earnings of women who take in washings or go out for day work are likely to be irregular, and may show a wide variation from week to week. This is true also of families in which there are other wage earners. Children who are supposed to be regular contributors to the family income are in and out of work, and their earnings vary with their periods of unemployment and their changes of jobs. If circumstances lead to a permanent change in the family income, the pension will be altered by the court; but temporary variations in income are inevitable when the entire income is not provided by the court pension and the pension is not altered from week to week to meet such changes in the situation.

It may be said, then, that there are two difficulties in the way of determining the family income: (1) The income in many families is not regular, but varies from week to week and from month to month; (2) the irregular supplementary earnings or contributions are not always recorded, even if known, by the supervising officer. In spite of these difficulties it is believed that as a result of a careful study of the total income of the 212 families who have been under care for a period of two years or longer it has been possible to work out with approximate accuracy for 208 of these families the total actual income for the last month under care.

The income for a single month has been taken, and the most recent month was selected for each family. In many cases it was necessary to estimate the mother's earnings from entries made at other dates, such as statements that the mother earns \$3 or \$4 a week doing daywork. When such entries were repeated frequently but nothing was said about the earnings in the particular month under consideration, it was assumed that these earnings continued in that month. The estimate of income from relatives or other sources was made in the same way; that is, if the contribution had been regular it was assumed that the same contribution was made in this particular month, even if it was not recorded for this month. In general, the minimum figure has been used in cases of doubt, and the incomes given in Table XIV are probably somewhat below the amounts the families actually received. Another reason for believing that these incomes are slightly below the real incomes is that no attempt has been made to estimate the value of what is sometimes called invisible relief—ice or coal tickets; gifts of food; clothing from probation officers, employers, or friends; or irregular gifts from relatives.

There remains the further question whether earnings for a single month, arbitrarily chosen, may safely be assumed to represent the income for the remaining months in the year. The monthly incomes vary, of course, much more in some families than in others. In a few families the income changes so often that it is impossible to find any month in which the income is like that of any other month for six months or a year, while in other families one month's income is regularly very much like the next. Undoubtedly for some families the income in the month selected was extraordinarily high or low; but it seems probable that for the majority the income was not very different in the selected month from the other months of the pension period. Moreover, an attempt to work out from the case records the yearly income of these families involved the making of so many estimates because of omissions in the records that the yearly income did not promise to be as accurate as the figures for the single month taken.

The results of this study of the incomes of the 212 families who had been pensioned for two years or more are presented in Tables XIV and XV. For four families the income could not be determined satisfactorily, and the data presented are for 208 families only. The first of these two tables shows the amount of the pension grant together with the total income, and the second shows total income together with the number of persons in the family. A child is, of course, counted as a person, and in general there is only one adult member of the household, since most of the families represent a widowed mother with children not old enough to go to work.

TABLE XIV.—*Monthly income of pensioned families for which information could be secured, together with pension grants.*

Total monthly income.	Number of families having monthly pension of—											
	Total.	\$5-9	\$10-14	\$15-19	\$20-24	\$25-29	\$30-34	\$35-39	\$40-44	\$45-49	\$50-54	\$60
Total.....	208	8	9	28	67	21	36	22	11	3	2	1
\$20-24.99.....	3	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25-29.99.....	5	.....	.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
30-34.99.....	14	.....	2	4	3	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
35-39.99.....	24	1	.....	.....	11	3	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-44.99.....	38	1	.....	4	11	2	13	4	3	.....	.....	.....
45-49.99.....	27	1	1	4	10	2	6	1	1	1	.....	.....
50-54.99.....	31	.....	.....	4	8	1	7	5	3	1	2	.....
55-59.99.....	10	2	1	1	3	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
60-64.99.....	19	2	2	.....	7	2	4	1	.....	.....	.....	1
65-69.99.....	11	.....	.....	2	5	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
70-74.99.....	14	.....	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....
75-79.99.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
80-84.99.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
85-89.99.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....
90-99.99.....	4	.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE XV.—*Monthly income of pensioned families for which information could be secured, together with number in family.*

Total monthly income.	Families of specified number of persons.									
	Total.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total.....	208	21	57	59	34	20	6	9	1	1
\$20-24.99.....	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25-29.99.....	5	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
30-34.99.....	14	8	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
35-39.99.....	24	4	14	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-44.99.....	38	2	21	12	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....
45-49.99.....	27	1	11	11	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
50-54.99.....	31	.....	4	14	8	4	.....	1	.....	.....
55-59.99.....	10	.....	.....	5	4	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
60-64.99.....	19	.....	2	6	4	4	1	2	.....	.....
65-69.99.....	11	.....	1	2	4	2	.....	2	.....	.....
70-74.99.....	14	.....	.....	1	7	4	1	1	.....	.....
75-79.99.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....
80-84.99.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
85-89.99.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....
90-99.99.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	1

Adequacy of income can not be discussed on the basis of the data shown in Table XIV, since the size of the family is not given, but the table furnishes some additional information relating to the pension policy of the court. It appears that pensions are granted to families whose income apparently place them above the poorest wage-earning groups. Twelve families, for example, have incomes of \$75 a month and over, including the pensions. For these families the pensions ranged from \$5 to \$49. A family with an income of \$70 had its income increased to \$75 by the grant of a \$5 pension. Two families with incomes of \$75 had their incomes increased to \$90 or more by pension grants of \$15 to \$19 a month. Two families with incomes of \$70 had their incomes increased to \$90 or more by pension grants of \$20 to \$24 a month. These incomes are probably large because they belong to large families in which there are working children, as well as a number of children under 14 years of age. In such cases the court evidently takes the position that the entire burden of supporting the dependent children should not be placed upon the children who have just gone to work. In any event the table does indicate that the court has shown a willingness to assist in maintaining a decent standard of living, which, with a large family, can be supported only on the basis of a reasonably large monthly income.

It should be noted, on the other hand, that some of the incomes are very low. Thus 3 families have an income of less than \$25, 5 other families have incomes of \$25 to \$29, and, altogether, there are 46 families with incomes below \$40. It is clear, however, that a study of incomes alone, without regard to the number of members in the family, is of little value. Table XV shows that the large incomes, in general, go with the large families and the small incomes with the small families. The maximum pension for a family consisting of a mother and two children under 14 years of age is \$25. There are two families of this size, however, and one family of four, with an income of less than \$25. In these cases the court apparently did not grant the maximum pension because supplementary sources of income were expected, although the table indicates that they were not forthcoming.

TESTS OF ADEQUACY OF PENSION GRANTS.

Statements of income, however, do not serve as a measure of the adequacy of the pension grants until some tests of "adequacy of relief" or adequacy of income have been accepted. Such tests are, of course, difficult to obtain and it is doubtful whether or not any scientific tests are available. For these Chicago incomes, however, certain tests may be applied with interesting if not wholly satisfactory results. The first of these is the relation between the actual family income and the estimated budget prepared by the field super-

visor, and submitted to the conference committee as a basis for determining what the pension ought to be. The field supervisor was a trained dietitian and her budget estimates were prepared after a study of the composition of the family and its special needs. To illustrate the method of making these estimates the following budgets are given. The sample budgets are copies of actual budgets submitted to the conference committee by the dietitian.

Budget estimates as a test of adequacy of relief.

A family: Estimated budget and income.

The following estimated budget was submitted by the field supervisor for a Polish family consisting of a mother, aged 25, and two children, aged 1 and 4 years. The father, who had died six months before the pension was granted, had been an elevator man earning \$11 a week.

Estimated monthly budget: A family.

Rent.....	\$8. 00
Food.....	17. 00
Fuel and light.....	4. 00
Household supplies.....	1. 75
Clothing (family)	5. 00
Care of health.....	. 75
Total	36. 50

The mother in this family was working at the time of application earning \$6 a week in a restaurant. She worked from 2 o'clock in the afternoon until 11 in the evening, but her sister who lived in the same tenement took care of the children during the mother's absence from home. The conference committee recommended that the mother continue her work and that a pension of \$13 a month be given (\$7 for the 5-year-old child and \$6 for the 2-year-old child). This pension was granted by the court. The income for this family, therefore, may be stated as follows:

Mother's earnings.....	\$24. 00
Court pension	13. 00
Total income	37. 00
Estimated budget.....	36. 50
Surplus .....	. 50

The income for this small family equaled almost exactly the estimated budget prepared by the dietitian.

B family: Estimated budget and income.

In the B family, Russian Jewish, the father, who died of heart trouble six months before the pension grant, had been a presser in a garment factory and had earned about \$8 a week. The family

consisted of the mother, aged 30 years, and three children, aged 1, 6, and 7 years. The estimated budget for this family submitted by the field supervisor was as follows:

Estimated monthly budget: B family.

Rent	\$10. 00
Food	19. 50
Fuel and light	4. 00
Household supplies and furnishings	1. 75
Clothing (family)	4. 75
Care of health	1. 00
Total	41. 00

The conference committee estimated that the mother in this family ought to earn \$12 a month. The mother, however, is not working now, but the doctor who recently examined her, reports that she is able to work about two days a week. The committee recommended a pension of \$27 a month, which was granted. This pension is now being supplemented by the Jewish Home Finding Society, which is giving \$8 a month and coal, and this society has reported that this supplementary allowance is to be increased to \$13 a month.

The relation between the estimated budget, the pension grant, and income in this family may be stated as follows:

Court pension	\$27. 00
Jewish Home Finding Society	" 8. 00
Present income (plus coal)	35. 00
Estimated budget	41. 00
Present deficit	3. 00

That is, there is a present deficit, but when the Jewish Home Finding Society raises its allowance there will be a surplus of \$2. It is to be noted, however, that the present income is more adequate than the former income from the father's wages.

C family: Estimated budget and income.

The C family was granted a pension in December, 1916. This family included the mother, aged 31 years, three children, aged 8, 10, and 11 years, and the father, 32 years old, who was in the third stage of tuberculosis, incapacitated for work and living in a sanitarium. The father and the mother were both born in Poland but had been in this country 29 years. The father had been a finisher and had earned \$15 a week when he was able to work. The budget for this family included extra diet, for the mother was found to have tuberculosis in the second stage, and the two younger children had had tuberculosis, al-

* In addition, the society contributed coal; estimated value, \$8.

though it was quiescent at the time the pension was granted. The budget estimates which follow are the original budget and a later budget prepared on the basis of the increased cost of living.

Estimated monthly budget: C family.

	Estimated budget on which pension was granted.	New estimate.
Rent.....	\$11. 00	\$11. 00
Food (extra diet).....	22. 00	26. 00
Fuel and light.....	4. 00	4. 75
Household supplies and furnishings.....	1. 75	2. 50
Clothing (family).....	5. 75	6. 25
Care of health.....	1. 00	1. 00
Total.....	45. 50	51. 50

The conference committee recommended a pension of \$35 a month, the maximum pension allowed by law for a family with three children, and the committee also recommended that the family be granted "county supplies" (the rations given by the outdoor relief department). The pension grant of \$35 was allowed by the court, but the county agent refused the request for county supplies on the ground that it is against the rules of the county agent's office to supplement pensions when the family is receiving the maximum pension allowed by law. The mother at the time of application for the pension was working in a phonograph office, earning \$6 a week, but she is not able to work now. The present situation of this family is as follows:

Income: Pension grant.....	\$35. 00
First estimated budget.....	45. 50
Later estimated budget.....	51. 50
Income deficit	10. 50 or 16. 50

D family: Established budget and income.

The D family consists of the mother, aged 33 years, and three children, aged 8, 10, and 13 years. Both parents were born in Ireland and had been in this country 13 years before the father's death. The father died of tuberculosis about eight years before the pension was granted. The mother was in a State hospital for the insane for a time but has recovered. She has tuberculosis of the knee, however, and the knee is in a cast. She also has tuberculosis

of the lungs, arrested. The three children all have glandular tuberculosis. The budget estimates for this family were as follows:

Estimated monthly budget: D family.

	Estimate on which pension was granted.	New estimate.
Rent (estimated).....	\$10. 00	\$10. 00
Food (extra diet).....	22. 00	24. 00
Fuel and light.....	4. 00	4. 75
Household supplies and furnishings.....	1. 75	1. 75
Clothing (family).....	5. 75	6. 00
Care of health.....	1. 00	1. 00
Total.....	44. 50	47. 50

The mother of this family was unable to work, and the conference committee recommended the maximum pension for a family of three children, \$35 a month. The present monthly income of this family is as follows:

Income: Court pension.....	\$35. 00
First estimated budget.....	44. 50
Later estimated budget.....	47. 50
Income deficit.....	9. 50 or 12. 50

Since the maximum pension for this family can not be more than \$35 (that is, \$15 for the first child and \$10 for each of the other two children), the supervisor of the pension department is asking aid from other charitable sources in order to bring the income up to the budget estimate, but she has no assurance as yet of any regular supplementary allowance although the church is paying the moving expenses and the first month's rent at the new address.

E family: Estimated budget and income.

The E family is typical of the families in which there are several wage earners. This family consists of the mother, aged 43 years, and four children, aged 11, 13, 16, and 18 years. The father died of tuberculosis in August, 1916, and the family was granted a pension in September, 1916. The father was American and the mother German born. The father had been a piano finisher, earning \$16 a week. The estimated budgets were as follows:

Estimated monthly budget: E family.

	Budget on which pension was granted.	New estimate.
Rent.....	\$11. 00	\$11. 00
Food (extra diet).....	33. 50	37. 00
Fuel and light.....	5. 00	5. 00
Household supplies and furnishings.....	2. 25	3. 00
Clothing (family).....	5. 75	6. 00
Clothing (working child).....	2. 50	3. 50
Spending money (working child).....	1. 00	1. 00
Car fare.....	2. 50	2. 50
Care of health.....	1. 50	1. 50
Total.....	65. 00	70. 50

The conference committee recommended a pension of \$18 a month for this family since the mother, although she was reported not very well was working and earning about \$10 a month, and the two older children were working. The present monthly income for this family may be stated as follows:

Mother's earnings.....	\$10. 00
Boy, 18 years of age, contribution of three-fourths of his wages.....	24. 00
Boy, 16 years of age, contribution of three-fourths of his wages.....	14. 00
Court pension.....	18. 00
Total income.....	66. 00
Estimated budget.....	65. 00
Surplus income.....	1. 00

F family: Estimated budget and income.

The F family consists of the mother, aged 37 years, and seven children, aged 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, and 17 years. The father who was born in Germany but who had been in this country 24 years died of heart disease in September, 1916. The family applied for a pension the same month and the pension was granted in October, 1916. The father had been a machinist, earning \$21 a week, and had no insurance. The estimated budget for the F family was as follows:

Estimated monthly budget: F family.

Rent.....	\$10. 00
Food.....	38. 00
Fuel and light.....	5. 30
Household supplies and furnishings.....	2. 75
Clothing (family).....	7. 25
Clothing (working child).....	2. 50
Spending money.....	1. 00
Car fare.....	2. 50
Care of health.....	2. 00
Total.....	71. 00

The mother in this family has not been working and is not working now. The little 14-year-old girl has not yet gone to work, but her future earnings were considered a part of the family income by the conference committee. The present monthly income is as follows:

Pension grant.....	\$35. 00
Girl of 16 contribution three-fourths of wages.....	18. 00
Total present income.....	53. 00
Estimated wages to be contributed by 14-year-old girl.....	12. 00
Budget.....	71. 00
Present budget deficit.....	18. 00
Future budget deficit.....	6. 00

G family: Estimated budget and income.

The G family is a colored family, consisting of the mother, aged 31, and four children, aged 8, 10, 11, and 13 years. The father had been a coal miner, and earned from \$50 to \$60 a month until he became ill with tuberculosis. He died in February, 1913, and the family got \$100 insurance from the miners' union. The family had not then been residents of Cook County long enough to be eligible for a pension. The pension was ultimately granted, however, in January, 1917. The following budget estimate for this family was submitted to the conference committee:

Estimated monthly budget: G family.

Rent (estimated).....	\$12. 00
Food.....	23. 50
Fuel and light.....	4. 00
Household supplies and furnishings.....	2. 25
Clothing (family).....	7. 00
Care of health.....	1. 25
Total.....	50. 00

The mother in this family is not well, but she does day work and earns about \$5 or \$6 a week. The conference committee recommended

a pension of \$28 a month, which was granted by the court. The present income of the family may be stated as follows:

Mother's earnings	\$22. 00
Court pension	28. 00
<hr/>	
Total income	50. 00
Estimated budget	50. 00
No surplus or deficit.	

H family: Estimated budget and income.

The H family, Russian Jewish, includes the father, who is incapacitated by acute articular rheumatism; the mother, aged 34; and five children, aged 2, 6, 8, 11, and 14 years. The father had been a peddler, earning about \$15 a week. The estimated budget which was submitted for this family includes provision for the father, who is living at home as a member of the family.

Estimated monthly budget: H family.

Rent and heat	\$16. 00
Food	32. 50
Fuel and light	2. 00
Household supplies and furnishings	2. 25
Clothing (family)	9. 00
Care of health	1. 75
<hr/>	
Total	63. 50

The mother sews and earns about \$3 a week. The estimated income for this family is as follows:

Mother's earnings	\$12. 00
Court pension	50. 00
<hr/>	
Total income	62. 00
Estimated budget	63. 50
<hr/>	
Income deficit	1. 50

The pension was reduced on November 13, 1916, from \$50 to \$40, when the eldest child became 14 years of age. The boy has remained in school to graduate from the eighth grade, February 1, 1917. There has been, therefore, for the two months of November and December an income deficit of \$11.50 a month, which will continue until work is found for the boy.

These sample budgets show the method used by the Chicago court to determine the amount of the pension grant. The budgets given are for large families with more than one wage earner, and for small families in which there is no one, not even the mother, able to work. No conclusions can be based on these sample budgets, since only a small

number are given. Table XVI has, therefore, been prepared showing, for all of the 212 families for whom the information could be obtained from the records,¹⁹ the size of the surplus or deficit after income and estimated budget had been compared.

TABLE XVI.—*Deficits and surpluses of income over last budget for families for which information could be secured.*

Amount.	Families.		
	Deficit.	Surplus.	Even income.
Total number.....	116	83	6
None.....			6
Less than \$1.....	11	9	
\$1 but less than \$2.....	11	3	
\$2 but less than \$3.....	15	11	
\$3 but less than \$4.....	13	4	
\$4 but less than \$5.....	10	11	
\$5 but less than \$6.....	8	5	
\$6 but less than \$7.....	9	8	
\$7 but less than \$8.....	3	5	
\$8 but less than \$9.....	5	3	
\$9 but less than \$10.....	7	4	
\$10 but less than \$15.....	17	10	
\$15 or over.....	7	10	

A study of Table XVI shows that 116 families, or 56.6 per cent of the whole number for whom the information was obtained, had incomes below the budget estimate prepared by the dietitian. But for the great majority of these families the deficits were very small as the following summary shows:

Deficits of—	Families.
Less than \$5.....	60
\$5 but less than \$10.....	32
\$10 or more.....	24

The 60 families with deficits of less than \$5 may be disregarded, since inaccuracies in estimating income may easily account for a small deficit. There remain 32 families with deficits of \$5 but less than \$10 a month, and 24 families with deficits of \$10 or more. That is, 56 families, or 27.3 per cent of the whole number, have deficits of \$5 or more per month. These deficits may be explained as due to one of the following reasons: (1) Temporary circumstances, such as the failure of children of working age to secure work, or temporary loss of work by the mother or some other wage-earning member of the family; (2) the provision of the law which fixes the maximum pension at \$15 for a single child and \$10 a month for each subsequent pensioned child in the family (this means that very small families in which the mother is so ill or so incompetent that she can

¹⁹ For seven of the 212 families no report as to the relation between budget and income could be obtained from the records.

make no contribution to the income may be left with only \$15 or \$25 a month as the sole income; some method of supplementing such an income will probably be found later by the supervising probation officer, but temporarily the family may be inadequately provided for); (3) the provision of the law fixing the maximum limit of the pension granted at \$60 a month. As the limit to the allowance per child may lead to an inadequate income for small families so the limit to the allowance per family may mean an inadequate allowance for very large families. If a family with six or eight small children, for example, has been in a tubercular condition so that extra diet is needed for several members of the family, the \$60 a month maximum pension, generous as it may sound, must be inadequate according to the standards set by the careful estimates of the court dietitian, unless supplementary sources of income are available.

A further explanation of the deficits may possibly be found in the fact that the value of the invisible relief already referred to has not been estimated in making up the income totals.

In discussing the adequacy of pension grants or the adequacy of any other form of relief, it is, however, necessary to remember that we have no way of applying a test of adequacy, such as the dietitian's standard, to the incomes of families outside of the pension department. That is, before any judgment can be passed upon the fact that 27 per cent of the families fall approximately \$5 or \$10 short of what an expert dietitian calls an adequate income, it would be necessary to compare this percentage with the percentage of independent wage earners' families whose incomes fall below a similar standard or with the percentage of families supported by other forms of relief who fall short by a similar test. Unfortunately such a comparison can not be made; and without such a standard of comparison it can only be said that while a certain percentage of pensioned families may not yet have adequate incomes, there is a considerable percentage of the nonpensioned families in the community in the same position.

Some comment should be made on the number of families who have incomes affording a surplus according to the dietitian's standard. The following summary shows that most of these surpluses were very small:

Surpluses of—	Families.
Less than \$5-----	38
\$5 but less than \$10-----	25
\$10 or more-----	20

Like the small deficits, the small surpluses may be disregarded since they may be easily accounted for by inaccuracies in estimating income.

The families with the large surpluses are, in general, families whose income is precarious because the help of relatives, or of some other supplementary source, is believed to be uncertain, or they are families whose pensions are being supplemented by the Jewish Home Finding Society.

Comparison between present and past incomes.

A second test of adequacy of income that might be used is a comparison between the present income of the pensioned families and the income of these same families when the husbands and fathers were alive. Although our American relief authorities have long since rejected the old poor-law doctrine that the condition of the family maintained by an allowance from public funds must be "less eligible" than the condition of the independent or self-sustaining family, nevertheless, it is true that the standard of relief for families supported from public funds will be kept within at least measurable distance of the wage levels, not of the lowest independent wage earner, but of the vast majority of the wage earners in the country.

A definite test of the relation of pension incomes to the incomes of the families supported by independent wage earners is furnished by Table XVII which compares for the 180 families for whom the data were available the father's monthly wages and the income of the families after they were put on the pension roll.

TABLE XVII.—*Present monthly income of pensioned families for which information was reported, together with the previous wages of the father.*

Monthly wages of father.	Total.	Pensioned families with specified monthly income.														
		\$20-24	\$25-29	\$30-34	\$35-39	\$40-44	\$45-49	\$50-54	\$55-59	\$60-64	\$65-69	\$70-74	\$75-79	\$80-84	\$85-89	\$90-94
Total.....	180	1	5	11	18	32	23	31	9	18	11	12	1	2	3	3
\$20-\$24.99.....	3					2		1								
25- 29.99.....																
30- 34.99.....	4					2	1			1						
35- 39.99.....	6					2		2	1	1						
40- 44.99.....	16		2	1	2	3	1	1		5	1					
45- 49.99.....	30		1	2	2	7	4	3	3	2	2	3		1		
50- 54.99.....	22			2	2	3	4	3		3	4	1				
55- 59.99.....	7		2	1		1	1					1	1			
60- 64.99.....	36	1		3	4	3	5	12	2	2	2	1			1	
65- 69.99.....	10				3	5		1							1	
70- 74.99.....	12				4	1	1	2			2	1			1	
75- 79.99.....	6			1			2	2				1				
80- 84.99.....	12				1	3	2	1		1		2				2
85- 89.99.....	2							2								
90- 94.99.....	2								1			1				
95- 99.99.....	2							1								1
100 and over.....	10			1			2		2	3		1		1		

Some comment is needed on the data relating to the father's wages. The only record of the father's occupation and earnings is the mother's statement to the probation officer, which is usually entered on the case record. In 32 out of 212 cases the officer either did not ascertain or did not record the father's wages, and Table XVII, therefore, relates only to 180 families. There is, of course, some question as to the accuracy of the statements given by the mother. Some women may give the father's usual earnings or wages and others his maximum or minimum earnings. Some may have overstated earnings and others may have understated. In some cases, too, the father's last occupation and wages may have been given even when the man may have been obliged by illness to give up his usual occupation for light work. In such cases, of course, the normal earnings of the father do not appear. On the other hand, many women gave only the daily rate of wages, and in trades in which employment is irregular the monthly earnings estimated on the basis of the daily rate without any allowance for unemployment represent an overestimate. On the whole the data relating to the father's wages may be said to represent a maximum estimate, since no allowance is made for irregularity in income due to unemployment. The present incomes are much less irregular than the old incomes, as they are based largely, if not wholly, on an absolutely regular allowance from the court.

A study of Table XVII shows that 13 families (those just under the upper zigzag line) have a present income equal to the income represented by the monthly wages of the father when he was alive and at work. It is important to note, however, that the present income for these families represents a larger income per person, even when the income is nominally the same, than in the father's lifetime, for two reasons: (1) The pension income is more regular and not subject to the irregularities due to unemployment; (2) the father's wage supported an able-bodied workingman in addition to the other members of the family. The cost of supporting the wage-earning father is not easy to estimate, but the monthly cost of his food, clothing, lunches, car fare, and tobacco, for example, could not be covered for most men by an allowance of \$10 or \$15 a week. Taking the lower or \$10 estimate, the two heavy zigzag lines in Table XVII have been so drawn as to include between them all the families whose present income equals the former nominal income from the husband's wage, together with all the families whose present income is \$5 or \$10 less than the old nominal value.

On the basis of this division into groups, the families may be classified as follows: Fifty-three families were above the upper zigzag line and have a larger present income than that represented by

the father's nominal monthly wages; 53 other families (those between the two zigzag lines) have a present income which either exactly equals the old nominal income or is not more than \$10 less than the old nominal income; that is, 106 families, or 59 per cent of the whole number, seem to be distinctly better off as to the income than during the father's lifetime, if adequate allowance is made for the fact that the present income is more regular and is not charged with the support of the wage-earning man. There remain 74 families below the lower zigzag line who now have an income that is nominally \$10 or more than \$10 below the income represented by the father's wages. It should be noted, however, that 45 of these families had during the father's lifetime a nominal wage of \$65 a month or more, which is, of course, above the maximum pension grant allowed by law. In 10 of these families the father's nominal wage was \$100 a month or more, and it appears that these high nominal wages were reported chiefly by women whose husbands were skilled members of the building trades. They were reported at high daily rates, but it would be true, of course, that these high rates were earned very irregularly. Statistics of income therefore seem to indicate that however inadequate the pension incomes may be, if measured by ideal standards they nevertheless measure up satisfactorily to the standard of wages in the groups of the community to which these families belong.

Comparison between public and private relief.

A third test that may be applied to determine the adequacy of the pension grants is a comparison between the amount of relief given in this way by the court and the amount of relief given by the largest private relief agency in the same community. A study was made of the 172 families who were dropped from the pension roll in July, 1913, because of the change in technical requirements for eligibility prescribed by the new law. Many of these families became charges upon private charity; and in the section²⁰ in which the study of these 172 families will be found data are given showing the amount of the former court pension and the amount of relief given by the private charitable agency to the same families.

Without anticipating the discussion in these later sections, it may be said here that 55 out of 69 families received smaller allowances after they became a charge on private charity; and those families who lost little or nothing by the transfer from a public to a private agency were the families getting the smaller pensions of \$30 or less. Out of 18 families getting large pensions, from \$40 to \$50, only 1 got as much after the change. That is, these families transferred from the court to a good private relief society lost a considerable

²⁰ See pp. 95 et seq.

percentage of their income by the transfer. Nor did it appear that this change was made because any new sources of income had been discovered. In most cases the mother was working more days than when she had the pension grant.

Scientific tests of what constitutes adequate relief are slowly and with difficulty being developed by our relief societies. It is probably true that until the great majority of independent wage earners have incomes that are adequate, relief will never be really adequate. The point that must be emphasized is that the pensions of the Chicago court, whether really adequate or not, appear to give the pensioned families larger incomes than they enjoyed when they were supported by the husband and father if allowance is made for the fact that there is no adult male wage earner to be supported out of the weekly pension income, and that the pension allowance is absolutely regular and subject to no hazards such as unemployment. Further evidence seems to indicate that the standard of relief maintained by the court is more nearly adequate than that maintained for families who are being supported by one of the best of the private relief societies in the same community.

THE SUPPLEMENTING OF PENSIONS BY PRIVATE AGENCIES.

Those who are familiar with the work of private relief societies know that no test of what constitutes adequate relief has as yet been agreed upon. Judged by the income standards of those families before the wage earner's death, the court pensions are as adequate as the father's wage. It must, of course, be recognized that, judged not by our present wage standards but by reasonable standards of what is necessary to maintain physical and mental efficiency, the court pensions must be inadequate.

Originally the judge of the juvenile court seems to have thought of the pension as a supplementary income merely. The mother's income, he said, should be supplemented with sufficient public funds. But the families asking for pension are many of them families without any income at all, save the precarious earnings of the mother, and in many cases the mother is in poor health and handicapped by the care of small children, so that she really has no earning capacity at all.

There is another method of supplementing the family income—through supplementary grants of aid by other charitable organizations. In Chicago the two most important relief agencies have taken opposite positions on this question. The Jewish societies and the United Charities of Chicago both turned over to the court to be pensioned a considerable number of families whom they had been assisting before the court's allowance was made. There was a definite

question raised as to whether or not assistance would be continued for families whose pension income they thought inadequate. The united charities took the position that the welfare of the family demanded the reduction to a minimum of agencies dealing with the family; that the court in estimating the allowance and in making grants should assume entire responsibility for all the charitable aid given the family—for all the income other than such as came from family earnings and from relatives.

The Jewish charities, on the contrary, took the position that adequacy of relief or of income must be sought by every practicable method. If the court's allowance, together with the family's other income, did not prove sufficient the society would contribute the amount necessary to bring the family income up to an estimated minimum. This organization also took the position that a Jewish mother should remain in her home and should not go out to work. Therefore whenever, according to the usual practice of the court, the estimated income includes not only the pension allowance but also a definite sum expected to be contributed from the mother's earnings, the Jewish Home Finding Society makes a contribution not less than the amount the mother is expected to earn.

Data showing the extent to which pensions are known to be supplemented are available for the 212 families that have been under the care of the court for a period of two years or longer. Sixty-one of these families received assistance so regularly that they might be said to be receiving supplementary pensions, and 60 others had received some relief during the period they had been under the court's care. Table XVIII shows the supplementary sources of income for the 61 families whose pension had been regularly supplemented.

TABLE XVIII.—*Supplementary sources of aid for 61 pensioned families.*

Source of aid.	Number.
Total.....	61
Relatives.....	27
Jewish aid society or Jewish Home Finding Society.....	20
Churches.....	5
Scholarship committee.....	3
County outdoor relief.....	1
More than one source ^a	5

^a Includes Jewish Home Finding Society and a friendly visitor; church, relatives, and county outdoor relief; relatives and Jewish Home Finding Society; relatives and a lodge; relatives and church.

It will be seen that a considerable number of those receiving regular supplementary assistance were being helped by relatives. It should be made clear that the families included in this group are only those receiving definite sums from their relatives regularly each month, either as a result of a county court prosecution or by a

voluntary agreement. Many other pensioned families—in fact, the majority of the families cared for by the court—receive some help from relatives, such as irregular gifts of clothing and food.

The supplementary aid given by the scholarship committee is in the form of a pension for a child who has reached the legal working age of 14 years and can no longer be pensioned by the court, but who is too delicate to be allowed to go to work or too promising to be allowed to go into unskilled work. It has already been pointed out that the county agent has refused to grant county supplies to pensioned families. The one family receiving supplementary aid of this kind is, of course, a rare exception.

Table XIX shows the kind of assistance received by 60 other families who had had definite supplementary relief after they came under the care of the court.

TABLE XIX.—Source and nature of supplementary relief received by 60 other pensioned families.

Source of relief.	Families receiving specified supplementary relief.		
	Total.	Regular.	Tempo- rary.
Total.....	60	11	49
Hospital.....	1	.....	1
Employer.....	4	.....	4
County agent.....	20	1	* 19
Scholarship.....	4	4	.....
Individuals, clubs, etc.....	8	2	6
School Children's Aid Society and churches.....	10	2	* 8
United charities.....	8	.....	* 8
St. Vincent de Paul.....	2	.....	2
Others.....	3	2	1

* Number includes those also having had other outside aid in addition to that indicated. "Others" includes such organizations as the Volunteers of America, the Woman's Catholic League, and the Waitresses' Union.

REJECTED OR DISMISSED APPLICATIONS.^c

Rejecting or dismissing applications is a very important part of the work of the pension or aid-to-mothers department of the court; and if the work of the department is to be understood it is quite as necessary to study the rejected applications as those accepted. A woman who is found, upon preliminary questioning, to be plainly ineligible to a pension is not allowed to file her application. If she is destitute and ineligible for a pension, she is told that she must apply to some relief agency and is told where to go. If it is not clear that an applicant is ineligible, the application is filed, the court officer investigates, and the committee, on the basis of this investigation, recommends that the application be granted or dismissed. In some cases, where the home is clearly unfit, not only is the application dismissed but also a petition is filed in order to have the children declared dependent under the section of the juvenile-court law which authorizes the court to remove children from the custody of unfit parents. If this drastic remedy is not taken the cooperation of some other disciplinary agency may be sought.

Valuable data relating to rejected applications are available for the period from August 1, 1913, to March 1, 1915.²¹ During this period 532 families with more than 1,400 children applied for pensions and had their applications "dismissed." During the same period 226 new pensions were granted. That is, there were more than two applicants rejected to every new pensioner placed on the roll during this period of 19 months. Table XX shows the marital status of the rejected or dismissed applicants:

TABLE XX.—*Marital status of women whose pension applications were dismissed during the period Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915.*

Marital status.	Dismissed applicants.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	532	100.0
Widows.....	450	84.6
Husbands living but incapacitated.....	67	12.6
Deserted or divorced women.....	14	2.6
Unmarried mothers.....	1	.2

^c This section of the report was prepared by Miss Helen Russell Wright.

²¹ This material was furnished by the officers of the court, who made the compilation as a part of a survey of the work of their department.

This table shows that the great majority of the applicants refused are widows. Included with the 450 women classified as widows, however, are 11 women who were unable to prove that they had ever been married. The number of applications from deserted or divorced women is very small, because it is not the practice of the court to allow women to file applications if they are obviously ineligible, and both of these classes of women are ineligible under the present law.

A study of the reasons given for rejecting these 532 applications shows the great care with which pensioned families are selected. In general, the secretary of the case committee uses one of several set phrases in recording the reason for dismissing the case. For the 532 families who were refused pensions during this period, there were 23 such phrases used, of which the most frequently repeated were "Income sufficient," "Should be self-supporting," and "Relatives able." These various phrases may, however, be classified into five large groups.

The first group includes the families who were refused pensions because they were technically ineligible under the law, without regard to the mother's need for regular assistance or her fitness for maintaining a home. The second group includes those women who, in the opinion of the committee, could not come up to the standard set in that section of the law which declares that the mother must be a person morally, mentally, and physically fit to have the care of the children for whom the allowances are granted. The third group of families includes those for whom a pension was not considered necessary to save the children from institutional care or from parental neglect. The fourth group includes those for whom the court, generally because of obstacles put in its way by the women themselves, found it impossible to complete the necessary investigation to prove the right to a pension under the law. Finally, the fifth group of women withdrew their applications so that their eligibility was not passed upon by the committee. Table XXI shows the number of women included in each of these five groups:

TABLE XXI.—Reasons for rejecting applications of 532 "dismissed cases."

Reason for rejection of application.		Number.
Total.....		532
Group	I. Pension not needed.....	293
	II. Technically ineligible.....	98
	III. Ineligible because of unfitness of mother.....	39
	IV. Impossible to establish eligibility.....	49
	V. Application withdrawn.....	* 53

* Included in group V is the case of one mother who died before investigation was complete and one "mother" who proved to be the grandmother.

This table shows that more than half of the rejected cases belonged in Group I and were dismissed because, after a careful investigation, the committee decided that the family did not need a pension. Further information about this group of applicants was sought from the case records in order to determine what circumstances rendered the pension unnecessary. Table XXII shows the more specific reasons for rejecting these 293 applications:

TABLE XXII.—*Reasons for rejecting applicants in Group I, "Pensions not needed."*

Reason for rejection of application.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	293	100.0
Relatives able to support.....	101	34.5
Income sufficient.....	90	30.7
Family should be self-supporting.....	46	15.7
Money on hand.....	50	17.1
Need only temporary.....	6	2.0

This table shows that 34.5 per cent were rejected because they were found to have relatives able to help them. It must be assumed that these relatives were either legally liable to render assistance or that they were willing to assist, since it is the practice of the court to grant pensions to families with relatives able to help when the relatives can not be compelled or persuaded to assist. It may be assumed, therefore, that in these cases where a pension was refused because of relatives' ability to help, really substantial assistance could be counted on. Thirty of the families were living with relatives at the time they applied for a pension; 19 families were actually being helped by relatives; 7 had relatives boarding in their homes, possibly giving some help in addition to paying board. The relatives of 7 other families agreed to assume the burden of their support, or enough of it to enable the family to maintain a decent standard of life. For 6 families relatives were found who were liable under the law, and these were to be forced to contribute to their support. For about 30 families we have no further information bearing on this question. In two cases only did there seem to be evidence that the help of relatives was not likely to be a dependable source of income. One was the case of a mother who put three of her four children in institutions and found a boarding place for herself and her baby, and the other was the case of a family that was being supported by the Jewish Home Finding Society.

A further analysis was made of two other groups in Table XXII. These are the families whose applications were dismissed because the committee thought that their incomes were already sufficient and the families who, according to the committee, "ought to be self-

supporting.” This further study showed that in a considerable number of these families the income was so small that they could only be independent with the help of relatives, so that the group of those dismissed because relatives were able to help is even larger than it appears to be. In Table XXIII the families rejected because of sufficient income are classified by income groups and by the number in the family.

TABLE XXIII.—Size of family and income of families dismissed because “income was sufficient.”

Number in family.	Families with specified monthly income.						
	Total.	Under \$30.	\$30-\$39.99	\$40-\$49.99	\$50-\$69.99	\$70 and over.	N. R.
Total.....	90	3	13	8	38	25	3
2.....	5	2	2	.....	.....	1	.....
3.....	13	.....	4	4	4	1	.....
4.....	19	.....	5	2	8	2	2
5.....	16	.....	1	1	11	2	1
6 and over.....	37	1	1	1	15	19	.....

The only family in this table that appears to offer a serious problem is the family of six, with an income of less than \$30 a month. Further inquiry showed, however, that the family had relatives able to help them and liable for their support. This family was, of course, really dismissed because the relatives were able to assist, but the reason given was income sufficient. The other two families with income of less than \$30 were families of only one child, and the court always considers that the mother of an only child should be self-supporting if she is physically able to work. With these exceptions and that of the two families with more than four members who have incomes of less than \$40, the income of the family appears, if not adequate, at least not obviously insufficient for the family needs. It should be pointed out, too, that the income figures are, of course, not precise and it is probable that they are too small.

In determining the need for a county pension the source of the family income is as important as the amount of the income. It was found that in 8 families the widowed mother herself contributed more than \$50 of the monthly income, in 24 others she contributed between \$30 and \$50, while in 17 she contributed anywhere from \$15 to \$29, and in 16 less than \$15. In 22 families she contributed nothing at all, and for 3 families we have no information. It is to be regretted that more is not known about those women who were contributing large amounts to the family income, for with women’s wages at the present level there are very few untrained women who can earn \$30 a month without neglecting their homes and injuring their own health,

Of the 46 families who, in the opinion of the court, ought to be self-supporting, 18 were families in which there was only one child under 14. Of these, 4 were families in which there were older children to help the mother support the younger child; and 14 were families in which the whole burden fell on the mother. As has been said before, it is only when the mother is unable to work that the court considers her unable to support one child; and, of course, with older brothers or sisters it is clearer that the family should support itself. The wisdom of such a ruling may, of course, be questioned, but there are no facts available to show whether or not it worked a real hardship on these families.

Leaving the families who were refused pensions because they were thought to be able with available assistance to support themselves, the next largest group of dismissed cases includes those who were technically ineligible for pension grants under the provisions of the pension law. The specific ground of ineligibility is shown in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV.—*Families ineligible for technical reasons.*

Reason for ineligibility.	Families.
Total.....	98
Mother not a citizen.....	34
Mother a property owner.....	20
Husband not incapacitated.....	20
Mother deserted or divorced.....	12
Family nonresident.....	12

As soon as the court investigation reveals a technical disqualification for a pension, the case is dismissed and no further information about the family is obtained. It is true of course that not all those dismissed for technical reasons would have been granted pensions even if the eligibility provisions had been less rigid. Of the 34 women who were refused pensions because of noncitizenship, there were 16 who were evidently in need of this form of relief as they were being cared for by private charity; but there were 10 others who did not need a pension, either because they were able to support themselves, had relatives able to help them, or were expecting money from other sources, such as the settlement of damage suits, etc. Of seven women in this group we know nothing beyond the facts given in the table. About the other groups of those excluded for technical ineligibility we have even less information, but such as we have points in the same direction. There are some in each group who needed regular assistance to keep the homes together and there are others who would not have been given a pension even if the particular provision of the law which excluded them had been inapplicable.

A closely related group includes the families unable to prove their eligibility—families who would not or could not furnish the facts required before a committee decision could be reached. Table XXV shows the more detailed reason found in the case record for the rejection of these applications.

TABLE XXV.—*Families unable to prove eligibility.*

Reason for ineligibility.	Families.
Total.....	49
Mother refused to cooperate.....	18
Mother unable to prove marriage.....	13
Unsatisfactory account of expenditure of money.....	9
Could not be located.....	9

In the words of the case record, 18 of these mothers who were applicants refused to cooperate. This may of course mean a number of things. For example, a woman refuses to cooperate when she says that she is too sick to work but will not go to the doctor for examination; or when she will not give such necessary information as the names and addresses of relatives, place of her marriage, or the dates of birth of the children. Not infrequently a woman is placed in the group of refusing to cooperate when she insists upon taking men to room in her home, because the court quite rightly considers this a dangerous practice for the widow with young children.

In other words, a refusal to cooperate is not used to cover that more or less subtle attitude on the part of the mother which resents suggestions and insists on independence, but rather refers to some very definite refusal by which she makes it impossible to establish eligibility or insists upon continuing some practice which the court can not sanction. For 8 of the 18 families the records show the exact point at which cooperation ceased. In 4 cases the father had tuberculosis and refused to leave the home; 2 women refused to give up their lodgers; 1 woman was unwilling to prosecute relatives liable for her support; and the other, contrary to the court's advice, refused to take part-time work.

Very little need be said about the other groups in Table XXV. Thirteen women were unable to prove their marriage to the father of the children. The officers of the court are very resourceful in finding records of marriage when such a record exists, and the court has been very liberal in the kind of proof allowed—two witnesses, for example, are accepted as proof of a common-law marriage. It seems more than likely therefore that most of these 13 women had not been married. In this case they really belonged to the class of those considered unfit morally, but it is worth noticing that the committee considered only 2 of them to be so unfit to maintain a home that steps

were taken to break up the family. In these cases the women were considered immoral and were referred to the complaint department of the court for treatment.

Nine women were not able to convince the court that they were without money. Their cases were dismissed because of an unsatisfactory account of expenditure of money, and one woman because she made false statements about her expenditures. Here again the phrase alone does not convey the whole situation, and it is necessary to read a good deal into it to understand just why the court refused a pension. Pensions are not refused on this ground unless a family is known to have had money and unless there are indications that the money is not exhausted. It does not mean that a woman who had \$500 three years ago will not be granted a pension unless she can account for it up to the last dollar. Much the same kind of treatment is given the untruthful woman. A single false statement or even several untruths would not cause a woman to lose her chance of a pension if she evidently needed help. A woman who is refused a pension because of her untruthfulness has told so many different and irreconcilable stories that the court is unable to accept her statements and can not, therefore, obtain satisfactory evidence that the family is eligible for a pension. The nine families who could not be located had either given false addresses or had moved without notifying the court of the change of address, so that in any case the family could not be found by the officer assigned to investigate.

Another group of families in Table XXI (group III) includes the 39 women whose applications for pensions were dismissed because the mother was not, in the judgment of the court, mentally, morally, and physically fit to have the care and custody of the children. Of these mothers 30 were refused pensions on the ground that they were morally unfit. The other 9 mothers in this group were refused pensions because they were physically or mentally incapable of caring for their children—3 of these were tubercular and were sent to the county infirmary at Oak Forest; 1 was suffering from "nerves," and the home had already been broken up; and 1 was feeble-minded and was referred to the probation department of the court. In the other 4 cases the nature of the mother's infirmity can not be ascertained from the records, in 1 of them it is not possible to find out what became of the family. Three of these families were left in the care of private agencies or of "benevolent individuals." The reasons for this policy may be questioned on the ground that if a mother is physically and mentally incapable of maintaining a home under the careful supervision of the court and with an income that is steady and comparatively high, she would be no more capable of maintaining it under less rigid supervision and with the smaller allowance of the private organization.

Of the 30 mothers whose petitions were dismissed on the ground that they were morally "unfit," 7 were the mothers of illegitimate children; and of the 23 other women whom the court regarded as morally unfit 15 were referred by the aid-to-mothers department to other departments of the court, in the belief that the mother should not be allowed the care and custody of the children unless she could be made to change her way of living. The officers from the pension department themselves filed dependent petitions for the children from 2 families; from 2 other families the children were sent to live with the grandparents who had good homes for them; the children of 1 mother were left in the institutions in which they had been placed, and those of another woman were sent immediately to institutions. In other words, in 21 of the 23 cases where the mother was considered morally unfit to have a pension, the pension department took steps to protect the children. Why this was not done in the other two cases does not appear in the material available.

The mothers of illegitimate children, on the other hand, were allowed, with one exception, to keep their families without interference from the court, and four of them were referred to the united charities for the assistance which the court could not give them under the current interpretation of the law.

There are two opposing views of the court ruling that the mother of an illegitimate child, no matter how long ago the child was born, shall be considered morally unfit under the law and, therefore, ineligible for a pension. That such mothers are refused pensions is considered most unfair by some of the officers of the court. As one of them said of a certain woman for whom she had tried in vain to get a pension: "That woman was a good woman and she needed a pension. It does not seem fair to punish her all her life for the sins of her youth." On the other hand, it is pointed out that there are other suitable ways of providing for the needs of the woman and her children, and that so long as there are private charitable organizations willing to assist such families, the court is unquestionably pursuing a wise and safe policy in holding the mother of an illegitimate child technically disqualified for this form of public aid.

Attention should be called to the fact that in addition to the clear cases of ineligibility and of unfitness, there are doubtful cases arising from differences of opinion as to what constitutes fitness. Such a case as the following illustrates the room for doubt and for difference in policy between the probation staff and the court:

A mother whose pension was stayed in June, 1913, because she was an alien, reapplied when the law was changed in 1915, and she became once more eligible. The officer under whom the woman had previously been on probation, though assigned to another district in 1915, was assigned to reinvestigation. It was found that one child in the family was subnormal, one boy was truant, and that the

mother drank. The committee decided that the woman's fitness to care for the children was doubtful. The officer was directed to bring the children to court on dependent petitions. These were dismissed by the judge who was sitting temporarily in the absence of the regular juvenile-court judge, with the recommendation that the woman be pensioned. The case committee again discussed the situation. A pension was finally recommended and was granted in court upon the return of the regular juvenile-court judge. The extent to which the court can risk assuming the care of such family groups will depend in large measure upon the amount of time and the degree of skill which the probation staff can bring to bear upon the family situation.

Little if any comment is needed with regard to the other groups of dismissed cases. Fifty-one women either asked to have their applications withdrawn or became ineligible for county funds before the investigation had been completed. Six remarried and their husbands would supposedly support the children; 3 moved out of the county; and the other 42 withdrew their applications. Information is available as to the reasons for the withdrawal of 25 of the 42 applicants—8 women planned to make another attempt to support themselves and their children, 6 decided to rely on the help of relatives, 2 planned to leave the State, 2 preferred to take boarders, 1 expected settlement of a damage suit, 1 decided that she preferred to put her children in an institution, while 5 seem to have withdrawn their petitions when they found that the court would undoubtedly consider their income sufficient.

Table XXII showed that 50 women were refused pensions because they had money at the time of their application. They might be placed in the group of women who were technically ineligible. The court ruling is that possession of more than \$50 shall disqualify. The amounts of money possessed by these rejected applicants is not given. Many of them would of course become eligible later when the money had been used.

Six families were found to be only in temporary need. In 4 of these cases the distress was caused by unemployment, and work was found for the person needing it, or the family was referred to the united charities for emergency relief.

There are certain other facts about the rejected families that throw light on the work of the department. Of the 532 dismissed families, 126, or 24 per cent, had applied for funds at an earlier date. Most of them had been refused upon their first application, but 8 had actually had funds at an earlier period and had then been dropped from the pension roll. Of these 8 reapplications 5 at this time were refused because they either were or should be self-supporting, 1 woman refused to cooperate, 1 woman had an illegitimate child, and 1 was thought to be morally unfit. It is not clear whether these last 2 had deteriorated since the stay of their first pension or whether their later rejec-

tion indicated that the court set a higher standard of what could be accepted as a fit home.

On the whole there can be no doubt that a study of the dismissed cases shows the care with which the court chooses the families that are placed on the pension roll, and its scrupulous adherence to the legal requirements as to eligibility.²²

²² Through the kindness of the head of the aid-to-mothers department of the court, the following data were obtained showing the reasons for the rejection of 1,248 applications that were dismissed when the law was new and procedure not well standardized. The following data, while not valuable as throwing light upon present methods of administering the law, are of interest because they show the large number of unsuitable applicants that flocked to the court soon after the passage of the law. It should also be pointed out that the reasons given in the following list are not all equally satisfactory. "Referred to the United Charities" or to any other agency does not explain why the applicant was considered unsuitable for a court pension. The data are submitted, however, because they are believed to be interesting, even in the unsatisfactory form in which it is necessary to present them.

Reasons for rejection of 1,248 applications for pensions between July 1, 1911, and November 30, 1912.

Reasons for rejection.	Applications rejected.
Income sufficient.....	339
Family had money or interest in property.....	171
Husband alive and able to support.....	90
Relatives able to support.....	14
	614
Referred to relief societies.....	124
Referred to county court or court of domestic relations.....	13
Referred to other agencies.....	20
Only 1 child under 14.....	62
No child under 14.....	18
Parents dead or insane.....	9
Application from grandmother or aunt.....	5
	251
Unfit parents or homes.....	63
No established home.....	21
Illegitimate child in family.....	19
Unmarried mothers.....	4
No proof of marriage.....	2
	109
Nonresidents.....	21
Family could not be found.....	44
Mother remarried.....	7
Mother refused information.....	4
Mother preferred county supplies.....	3
Mother preferred children in institutions.....	2
	81
Applications withdrawn.....	114
Miscellaneous reasons.....	3
Reasons unknown.....	16
	133
Total.....	1188

Attention should be called perhaps to the fact that the annual published reports of the chief probation officer contain statistics of the number of cases dismissed by the court. This is, however, very different from the number of cases dismissed by the conference committee. Cases dismissed in court represent only the cases about which there has not been entire agreement in the conference committee or cases in which the judge fails to approve the decision of the committee. For example, during the year ending Dec. 1, 1916, 41 cases were dismissed in court. The total number of cases dismissed by the committee during this period is not given, but during the nine months from Mar. 1, 1916, to Dec. 1, 1916, the report shows that 318 applications were refused. The report shows the following reasons for rejecting the 41 cases that were dismissed in court: Allens, 10; money in bank, 8; income sufficient, 3; full amount given to one child, 6; mother withdrew, 2; refused to cooperate, 4; no appearance, 3; no proof of marriage, 2; marriage not legal, 2; over age, 1; total, 41.

FAMILIES ON THE COOK COUNTY (CHICAGO) PENSION ROLL DURING THE YEAR 1917.

An account has been given of the methods used in administering the pension law in the juvenile court of Cook County. Following this discussion of methods of administration, it is important to know the results of the policies that have been described in the number of pensioned mothers and children and certain other facts about the families who have been placed on the pension roll. These facts have been obtained from a study of the pension records of the families on the roll during any part of the year 1917.

In January, 1917, 778 families were on the so-called pension roll drawing allowances under the aid-to-mothers law; and during the year 188 other families were added, making a total of 966. Seventy-three of these families had had pensions at an earlier date, and had been dropped from the pension roll, and then restored. This stay of pension had been due in most cases to the change in the law in 1913 making citizenship a requirement of eligibility, and the return of these families to the pension roll had been made possible by the amendment to the law of 1915.

It is of interest, too, that 182 of these families had made unsuccessful applications for pensions at an earlier date and had later re-applied and been placed on the pension list. The reason for accepting them on a second application was, in most cases, that the families had become eligible in the intervening period because of some change in circumstances; for example, they no longer had money, the required period of residence had been completed, or proof had been found of certain facts necessary to establish eligibility.

Table XXVI shows the length of time the 778 families who were on the pension roll in January, 1917, had been under the care of the court.

TABLE XXVI.—*Time on pension roll of families on the pension roll January, 1917.*

Time on pension roll.	Families on pension roll.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	778	100.0
Less than 6 months.....	170	21.9
6 months and less than 1 year.....	166	21.3
1 year and less than 1½ years.....	137	17.6
1½ years and less than 2 years.....	68	8.7
2 years and less than 2½ years.....	45	5.9
2½ years and less than 3 years.....	47	6.0
3 years and less than 4 years.....	59	7.6
4 years and less than 5 years.....	79	10.2
5 years to 5½ years.....	6	.8
Not reported.....	1	.1

The change in the pension law in 1915 by which alien women were made eligible to pensions, substantially increased the number of pensioned families. This increase is reflected in Table XXVI, which shows that a large per cent of the total number of pensioned families had been on the pension roll for relatively short periods. Thus 21.8 per cent of the total number of families had been pensioned for less than six months, and 21.3 per cent had been pensioned for periods varying from six months to one year. That is, 43.1 per cent had been on the pension roll for less than one year. Another 17.6 per cent had been on the roll for less than a year and a half. Taking the numbers cumulatively, 60.7 per cent of all the families had been pensioned for less than a year and a half. Only 6 of the families pensioned during the first 6 months after July 1, 1911, when the first pension law went into effect, were still on the pension roll. The families cared for during the year represent a very much larger number of pensioned children. Table XXVII shows the number of pensioned children in each family and the total number of pensioned children.

TABLE XXVII.—*Number of pensioned children in each family with total number of children on pension roll in 1917.*

Number of pensioned children in family.	Number of families.	Total number of pensioned children.
Total •	965	3,255
One child.....	31	31
Two children.....	232	464
Three children.....	305	915
Four children.....	226	904
Five children.....	112	560
Six children.....	39	234
Seven children.....	13	91
Eight children.....	7	56

• Omitting 1 family for which the record was missing.

The 3,255 pensioned children are, with a very few exceptions, children under 14 years of age. It has already been pointed out that the court is very reluctant to pension any child of working age, and such pensions are granted only for children who are reported by examining physicians as physically unfit to go to work. There are a few families in which the child is enabled to remain in school after the fourteenth birthday has been reached because the probation officer has obtained a scholarship stipend from the scholarship committee. In general, however, children in pensioned families have their pensions stayed by court order on the day they reach the age of 14, when the officer finds work for them or sends them to the vocational bureau, supported by the Chicago Board of Education, for advice or assistance in finding work.

In many of these pensioned families there are, in addition to the pensioned children, other children in the family who are at work and contributing to the family support. Table XXVIII shows the total number of children over 14 years of age in the pensioned families.

TABLE XXVIII.—*Number of families on pension roll in 1917 having specified number of children over 14 years of age.*

Number of children over 14 years of age in family.	Pensioned families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	966	100. 0
No children over 14.....	619	64. 1
One child over 14.....	209	21. 6
Two children over 14.....	107	11. 1
Three children over 14.....	29	3. 0
Four children over 14.....	1	. 1
Not reported.....	a 1	. 1

a Not reported because the record for this family could not be found.

This table shows that in the great majority of these families—64.1 per cent of the whole number—there are no children old enough to go to work. In these families, of course, the mother is the only possible wage earner. In 209 families—21.6 per cent—one child has reached the legal age of 14; and it is the court rule in such cases that the child must begin to share the burden of supporting the family. In only 14.2 per cent of the families was there more than one child of legal working age.

Certain facts relating to the nationality, marital state, age of the father at time of death, and cause of death, amount of insurance left, and some other facts of interest about the pensioned families will be presented in a series of tables. Table XXIX shows the nationality of the families on the pension roll in the year 1917.

TABLE XXIX.—*Nationality of 966 families on pension roll in 1917.*

Nationality of families on pension roll in 1917.	Families.
Total.....	966
American.....	328
White.....	302
Colored.....	26
Foreign born.....	638
Polish.....	148
German.....	86
Italian.....	81
Russian.....	73
Irish.....	71
Scandinavian.....	40
Austro-Hungarian.....	39
Slavic (miscellaneous).....	42
Lithuanian.....	18
English and Scotch.....	15
Greek.....	8
Dutch.....	6
Canadian.....	3
Other.....	8

In this table the nationality represents the country of birth of the husband. The wife and the husband were usually of the same nationality, but when different the nationality of the husband has been taken. Information as to nationality is supplied by the mother's statements to the investigating officers. No attempt has been made to relate the number of families in each group to the number of each nationality in the population at large, since the question of precisely which families are placed on the pension roll is determined by such questions as length of residence in the country and in the county, number of children under and over 14 years of age, ability of relatives to assist, and other conditions that can not be related to the census returns of nationality.

The present law provides that families are eligible for a pension only after a residence of three years in the county. Table XXX shows the length of time the families pensioned in 1917 had resided in Cook County at the time they made application for pensions. For 17 families there was no report as to length of time of residence.

TABLE XXX.—*Number of families who had resided in Cook County for specified periods of time on application for pensions.*

Length of residence in county.	Number of families.
Total.....	966
Less than 3 years.....	14
3 years but less than 10.....	207
10 years and over.....	728
10 years but less than 20.....	354
20 years and over.....	232
Life.....	142
Not reported.....	17

This table shows that the mothers' pension system did not immediately attract a large number of indigent families to Cook County, or if such families came, it is clear that they were not granted pensions. The great bulk of the pensioned families had lived in the county for periods of from 10 to 20 years or longer. Taking the numbers cumulatively, it appears that 728 families, or 75 per cent of the total number, had resided here for 10 years or longer. It will be noted that 14 families had been here less than the 3 years now required for eligibility. These families were pensioned under the old law; and after the new requirement of residence had been established they had become eligible and were therefore not removed from the pension roll. The table, it will be noted, gives the period of residence at the time of application. A few of the families completed the three-year period of residence before the pension was granted.

More interesting questions relating to the families under care are those which throw light on the current pension policy of the court.

The procedure of the court has now become well established, and the data relating to families under care at this time may be assumed to give a very fair picture of the work of the court. Of special interest is the question of the number of widowed mothers on the pension list. Table XXXI shows the marital state of the women receiving pensions.

TABLE XXXI.—*Marital state of pensioned mothers in 1917.*

Marital state.	Pensioned Mothers.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	966	100.0
Widowed.....	864	89.4
Married, but with husbands incapacitated.....	98	10.2
Deserted.....	4	.4

It appears from this table that the vast majority, 89.4 per cent, of the pensioned mothers are widows; 98, or 10.2 per cent, are women whose husbands though living are permanently incapacitated for work; 4 are women whose husbands deserted them, but in these cases the husband has not been heard of for 7 years or more, so that he is in the eyes of the law presumed to be dead and his deserted wife is treated as a widow.

Interesting questions arise concerning the group of 98 women with incapacitated husbands. The nature of the "physical or mental infirmity" that has rendered these men unable to support their families is a question of social importance. Since the law authorizes the court to grant an allowance to the wife of an incapacitated husband on condition of his removal from the home when his presence in the family is a menace to the physical or moral welfare of the mother or children, it is also of interest to know how many of the incapacitated men have been removed from their homes and placed in institutions. Table XXXII furnishes this information.

TABLE XXXII.—*Number of incapacitated fathers living at home and outside of the home, according to the nature of their incapacity.*

Cause of incapacity.	Fathers incapacitated.			
	Total.	Living at home.	Living away from home.	Residence not reported.
Total.....	98	25	72	1
Per cent.....	100.0	25.5	73.5	1.0
Tuberculosis.....	37	3	34	.....
Insanity.....	32	1	31	.....
Paralysis.....	8	5	3	.....
Locomotor ataxia.....	5	3	1	1
Heart disease.....	3	3	.....	.....
Kidney disease.....	2	2	.....	.....
Others.....	11	8	3	.....

^aThe other forms of incapacity with the number of cases of each are as follows: Blind, 2; bronchitis and asthma, 2; cancer, 1; epileptic, 1; curvature of spine, 1; multiple sclerosis, 2; gastric crisis of tabes, 1; intestinal trouble, 1.

This table shows a large proportion of the pensioned husbands, if they may be so described, incapacitated by tuberculosis or insanity. Of the total number, 25, or 25.5 per cent, have been permitted to remain in their homes; and of these 1 is insane and 8 are suffering from tuberculosis. Nearly three-fourths, however, have been removed from their homes. This is due to the fact that a large number of the men are insane and are necessarily under institutional care and to the fact that the court usually requires a man suffering from tuberculosis to leave home and to go to the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium before a pension is granted. It would, of course, be exceedingly interesting to know how far the previous occupations or places of employment of the tubercular men may have been a cause of their incapacity, that is, how far the taxpayers are supporting the families of men who have been incapacitated by bad working conditions. It has not been possible, however, to trace the working histories of these men nor of the fathers who died, leaving their families a charge on the taxpayers.

The age of these permanently incapacitated husbands is another point of interest. The ages of 4 of the men could not be ascertained, but Table XXXIII gives the ages of the 94 for whom this information was available.

TABLE XXXIII.—*Number of incapacitated fathers in different age groups.*

Age of father.	Fathers incapacitated.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	98	.....
Total reported.....	94	100.0
Under 45 years.....	70	74.5
Under 40 years.....	51	54.3
Under 30 years.....	8	8.5
30 years but less than 35.....	19	20.2
35 years but less than 40.....	24	25.5
40 years but less than 45.....	19	20.2
45 years but less than 50.....	15	16.0
50 years and over.....	9	9.6
Not reported.....	4	.....

Table XXXIV shows that some of these men were very young; 8 were under 30; 19 between 30 and 35; 24 others were under 40; and 19 more under 45; that is, taking the numbers cumulatively, 70 of these men, 74.5 per cent of the number whose age was reported, were under 45 years of age, and 51, or 54.3 per cent, were under 40. In the tubercular group the proportion of younger men was even higher. It seems to be clear that, in general, the incapacitated fathers were men who should have been at the height of their earning power

instead of being supported either in institutions or in their own homes by the aid of State funds.

Further information concerning the 864 mothers who are widowed is also needed. It is important, for example, to ascertain the cause of the husband's death; and in Table XXXIV are presented such data as are available for the 864 families.

TABLE XXXIV.—*Causes of death of fathers of families on the pension list in 1917.*

Cause of death of father.	Families in which father had died.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	864	.....
Total reported.....	827	100.0
Tuberculosis.....	247	29.9
Pneumonia.....	116	14.0
Diseases of heart.....	103	12.4
Accident ^a	68	8.2
Homicide.....	42	5.1
Diseases of kidney.....	40	4.8
Diseases of stomach and liver.....	29	3.5
Cancer.....	25	3.0
Suicide.....	24	2.9
Heat ^b	17	2.1
Paralysis.....	15	1.8
Appendicitis.....	13	1.6
Poisoning and infection.....	12	1.5
Brain trouble.....	13	1.6
Dropsy.....	10	1.2
Alcoholism.....	10	1.2
Typhoid.....	10	1.2
Syphilis, locomotor ataxia and paresis.....	6	0.7
Bronchitis.....	5	0.6
Rheumatism.....	5	0.6
Other diseases of respiratory system.....	3	0.4
Other.....	14	1.7
Not reported.....	37	.....

^a Includes deaths by drowning.

^b Most of these deaths occurred during the summer of 1916.

The causes of death listed in this table are obviously not scientific. Although the death certificate is examined in order to verify the fact of the father's death, the cause of death on the court record is not copied from the certificate but is merely a record of the woman's statement of the cause of death as she understood it or remembers it.²³

The table shows that a large per cent of these men who died leaving a widow and young children to be supported at public expense probably died of what may be called preventable causes of death. Since causes of death are recorded as stated by the widow, it is unfortunately impossible to determine how many of the deaths were due to an industrial accident or an industrial disease.

²³ An attempt was made to reexamine the death certificates to ascertain the causes stated by the physician, but many certificates were not on file and those found did not seem to alter the conclusions drawn from the widows' statements.

Equally important with the cause of death is the age of the father at the time of death. Table XXXV shows the ages at the time of death for the 789 fathers for whom this information could be obtained.

TABLE XXXV.—*Age of father at time of death.*

Age of father at time of death.	Fathers who had died.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	864	.....
Total reported.....	789	100.0
20 but less than 25.....	15	1.9
25 but less than 30.....	92	11.7
30 but less than 35.....	173	21.9
35 but less than 40.....	219	27.8
40 but less than 45.....	140	17.7
45 but less than 50.....	84	10.6
50 but less than 55.....	41	5.2
55 but less than 60.....	15	1.9
60 and over.....	10	1.3
Not reported.....	75	.....

Table XXXV shows that the majority of these men were young; 15 were under 25, and 92 were between 25 and 30 years of age. Taking the numbers cumulatively, 107 were under 30 years of age, 280 were under 35, 499 were under 40, and 639 under 45. This table emphasizes the waste of omitting any steps that might be taken to save lives valuable to the community. If the money now expended in supporting the families of these men could have been appropriated for any measures that might have saved their lives by improving living or working conditions, it is unnecessary to say that in the long run the community would have been greatly benefited.

Another question of great interest arises concerning the pensioned families. To what income group did the family belong before the father's death or incapacity? That is, do the pensioned families belong to the very poor groups in the community, or do the widows and wives of men who were once skilled workmen earning high wages become applicants for this form of relief? A second and related question is: How long a period elapses after the death of the father before the mother makes application for a pension? In Table XXXVI is presented such information on the previous occupations of the fathers as is available for the families on the pension roll in the year 1917.

TABLE XXXVI.—*Occupations of fathers before death or incapacity.*

Occupational group of father.	Families pensioned.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	966	.....
Total reported.....	914	100.0
Unskilled labor.....	409	44.7
Skilled labor.....	328	35.9
Clerical or professional work.....	32	3.5
Personal service.....	80	8.8
Miscellaneous.....	65	7.1
Not reported.....	52	.....

The occupations of the fathers as recorded by the officers on the case records would obviously be inaccurate, since the officer gets the information from the mother, who often does not know what her husband's occupation was. She may know where he worked, and she knows quite definitely what he earned, or at any rate what he turned over to her for the family purse, but frequently she has only the vaguest idea of what his occupation was. In general, however, the information seemed to be accurate enough to make possible a classification of the occupations into several large groups that were indicative of the general character of the work done. The table shows that of the men whose occupational group was reported, 44.7 per cent were in unskilled occupations and 35.9 per cent were in what appeared to be skilled occupations. It is believed, however, that the percentage of unskilled men is understated and the percentage of skilled men overstated. A comparison of occupation with earnings seemed to indicate that in some cases when the woman said that her husband was a bricklayer or a carpenter, he must have been only a helper. On the whole, however, there is no question about the fact that a very considerable number of families now on the pension roll were families in which the wage-earning father and husband was a skilled member of a trade.

A great number of the men were unskilled laborers, working with pick and shovel, driving teams, working in the stockyards, etc. But a not inconsiderable number were doing work requiring some degree of training or experience, varying from the very slight skill demanded of a punch presser to that required of electricians and engineers. A smaller group was doing work of a clerical or professional nature, varying from the work of an insurance agent to that of a tight-rope walker drawing \$600 a month; a still smaller group of men, porters, waiters, bartenders, etc., was doing work that may be called "personal service."

Table XXXVII throws further light upon the former wage status of the pensioned families.

TABLE XXXVII.—*Number of families pensioned in 1917 in which the father had previously earned specified monthly wages.*

Monthly wages.	Pensioned families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	966	.....
Total reported.....	879	100.0
Under \$30.....	9	1.0
\$30-\$34.99.....	16	1.8
\$35-\$39.99.....	35	3.9
\$40-\$44.99.....	114	13.0
\$45-\$49.99.....	140	15.9
\$50-\$54.99.....	79	9.0
\$55-\$59.99.....	47	5.5
\$60-\$64.99.....	158	18.0
\$65-\$69.99.....	42	4.8
\$70-\$74.99.....	85	9.7
\$75-\$79.99.....	23	2.6
\$80-\$84.99.....	54	6.1
\$85-\$89.99.....	10	1.1
\$90-\$94.99.....	7	.8
\$95-\$99.99.....	11	1.2
\$100 and over.....	49	5.6
Not reported.....	87	.....

TABLE XXXVII-A.—*Cumulative series of numbers and percentages.*

Monthly wages.	Pensioned families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	966	.....
Total reported.....	879	100.0
Under \$30.....	9	1.0
Under \$40.....	60	6.7
Under \$50.....	314	35.6
Under \$60.....	440	50.1
Under \$70.....	640	72.9
Under \$80.....	748	85.2
Under \$90.....	812	92.4
Under \$100.....	830	94.4
\$100 and over.....	49	5.6
Not reported.....	87	.....

An earlier statement has been made as to the accuracy of the data relating to the fathers' wages or earnings,²⁴ and no further comment will be made on this point. Accepting the data as presented in these tables, it appears that some of the families were supported out of very low earnings. Thus Table XXXVII shows that 9 men

²⁴ See *supra*, p. 67.

earned less than \$30 a month, 16 were in the wage group earning \$30 and less than \$35 a month, 35 in the group earning \$35 and less than \$40 a month, and 114 in the group earning \$40 and less than \$45 a month. Looking at Table XXXVII A, which gives a cumulative series of numbers and percentages based on cases for which information was available, it appears that 6.7 per cent of the men, all of whom, it will be remembered, were not only husbands but fathers with small children to support, earned less than \$40 a month, 35.6 per cent earned less than \$50, and 50.1 per cent earned less than \$60. When the earnings are so low, it is not to be expected that savings will be accumulated, and the question at once arises as to the amount of insurance left by these men and the length of time that elapsed between the death of the husband and father and the filing of the application for a pension. No attempt was made to collect this information for the 966 families under care in 1917, since data had already been collected in the course of the survey carried on by the officers of the court for the 470 families under care between August 1, 1913, and March 1, 1915. Table XXXVIII shows the number of families left with insurance of specified amounts.

TABLE XXXVIII.—*Number of pensioned families with insurance of specified amounts: Data for 470 families on pension roll Aug. 1, 1913, to Mar. 1, 1915.*

Amount of insurance.	Pensioned families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	470	100.0
None.....	201	42.8
Less than \$200.....	77	16.4
\$200 to \$499.....	77	16.4
\$500 to \$999.....	49	10.4
\$1,000 and over.....	66	14.0

According to this table, 201 of these families, or 42.8 per cent of the whole number, were left without any insurance at all, and the majority of those who had some insurance received only relatively small amounts. Thus 77 families, or 16.4 per cent, got less than \$200; and another 77, or 16.4 per cent, got less than \$500. It is well known that a small insurance policy is used largely to pay the funeral expenses, doctor's bills, and other debts incurred during the father's illness. There is very little left out of the insurance policy, therefore, after all these expenses and debts are paid. It is to be expected that many of these families will make application for pensions very soon after the father's death, since in most cases their only source of support in the interval is what the mother can earn or the contribution of a charitable society.

Table XXXIX shows the length of time that elapsed between the father's death and the application for a pension. The information could be obtained for only 466 out of the 707 fatherless families.

TABLE XXXIX.—Interval between father's death and application for pension—data for 466 families on pension roll, Aug. 1, 1913 to Mar. 1, 1915.

Interval between death of father and application.	Pensioned families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	466	100.0
Application before death.....	14	3.0
Less than one month.....	78	16.7
One month but less than three.....	52	11.2
Three months but less than six.....	38	8.2
Six months but less than one year.....	65	13.9
One year but less than two.....	67	14.4
Two years but less than five.....	97	20.8
Five years and over.....	55	11.8

Table XXXIX shows that 14 families had made application for pensions before the father's death. These were families in which the father had become mentally or physically incapacitated some time before his death, and the pension had been originally asked on the ground of his incapacity. Seventy-eight families, or 16.7 per cent of the whole number, applied for pensions within a month after the husband's death; 52, or 11.2 per cent, made applications within three months; and 38, or 8.2 per cent, within six months; or, taking the numbers cumulatively, 168, or 36.1 per cent, had applied before the husband and father had been dead six months. The other 61 per cent succeeded in carrying their families without the aid of the court for considerable periods of time.

The tables that have been given in this section show that the fathers of these families were men whose earnings were low, and that many of the widows supported themselves for some time after the death of their husbands. As a result of these circumstances the families that are placed on the court pension roll are often in poor physical condition and are frequently living under conditions that are inimical to health.

Tables have already been given showing certain facts as to the housing condition of the families at the time the pension was granted.²⁵

An attempt was made to collect certain other data relating to the health of the families at the time of the granting of the pension. But, although testimony of the officers is unanimous that the families are physically in poor condition, facts as to health are difficult to

²⁵ See *supra*, p. 81.

obtain. Among the 543 families studied in the survey conducted by the officers of the court, in 113 families, or over one-fifth of the entire number, some member of the family was reported tubercular. The information about other ailments is probably not nearly so complete, but the diseases reported run all the way from general anemia and lack of nutrition, reported for 17 mothers, to the more specific diseases of tumor, varicose veins, goiter, etc. Indeed incomplete as the reports obviously are it is the exceptional family about whom there are no reports of ill health.

The fact that so many of the families are tubercular or are suffering from some other form of ill health has made necessary the allowances for "extra diet" so often met with in the budgets prepared by the field supervisor.²⁶

The court has done much to restore these families to normal conditions of health not only by providing the necessary medical care and insisting upon frequent examinations, but also by providing adequate pensions for families in need of special diet.

²⁶ See *supra*, pp. 59, 60, 61.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF FAMILIES MADE TECHNICALLY INELIGIBLE BY CHANGES IN THE PENSION LAW.^d

Attention has already been called to the fact that the radical amendments of the pension law in 1913 made a large number of families technically no longer eligible for pensions and resulted in the withdrawal of pension grants from 172 families who had been beneficiaries under the old law. What became of these families was a question of interest. Were they able to get on satisfactorily without this public aid? Did the withdrawal of the pension lead to a lowering of the home standards with resulting harm to the children? Or, were the pensioned children promptly placed in institutions for dependent children?

A study of the effects of the withdrawal of the pension upon these families who had been dropped because of technical ineligibility would, it was believed, throw light upon the value of the pensions in sustaining a proper standard of family life. An attempt was made, therefore, to follow the later history of these families, who at the time this study was begun (September, 1915) had been off the pension roll for a period of more than two years. The histories of these families were traced chiefly through the records that were found in the offices of various private agencies to which the families had been referred for help. But the court records were also used, and conferences with probation officers and visits to the families themselves were further sources of information.

Most of the provisions of the aid-to-mothers act of 1913, which replaced the loosely drawn act of 1911, were founded upon the current practices of the Cook County juvenile court;²⁷ but in several important particulars a change was made, so that some classes of families previously pensioned by the Chicago court were no longer eligible. These were (1) aliens, (2) deserted or divorced women, or women whose husbands were in prison, (3) families who had not had a continuous residence of three years in the county. All such families who were receiving pensions under the old law were summarily dropped from the pension roll on July 1, 1913, when the new law went into effect.

^d This section was prepared by Miss Helen Russell Wright.

²⁷ See *supra*, pp. 11-13.

Immediately after the change in the law a meeting of the citizens' committee was held to discuss the treatment of these families, and it was decided that the court should refer them to private relief societies for care. A list of the families referred to each agency was obtained from the court, together with information as to the amount of the former pension, the date at which the pension had been granted, and the reasons for the stay of the pension. This list contained the names of 172 families with 577 children. Table XL shows the specific ground of ineligibility that led to the removal of each of these 172 families from the pension roll.

TABLE XL.—*Number of mothers dropped from pension roll in July, 1915, because of ineligibility.*

Ground of ineligibility.	Number of mothers.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	172	100.0
Mother alien.....	137	79.6
Mother deserted or divorced.....	31	18.0
Insufficient period of residence in Cook County.....	3	2.0
Husband in jail.....	1	.4

Of the 137 women who lost their pensions because they were not citizens, 122 were widows, and 12 had incapacitated husbands living at home. One of the other mothers might be classed with the widows since she was supposed to be widowed, but it developed that she had a second husband. The large number of aliens affected is especially significant since a later amendment to the law, July, 1915, made most of these families again eligible or made it very easy for them to become so.

The length of time these families had been on the pension roll and the amounts of their pensions are facts of importance. Most of the families, as Table XLI shows, had been on the pension roll for periods of nine months or longer, and they had become accustomed to maintaining their homes on the basis of the monthly court allowance.

TABLE XLI.—*Number of families who had been on pension roll for specified periods.*

Time on pension roll.	Number of families.
Total.....	172
Less than 3 months.....	18
3 months but less than 6.....	11
6 months but less than 9.....	25
9 months but less than 1 year.....	47
1 year and over.....	71

The pensions relinquished were most of them substantial allowances. Table XLII shows that only 22 of the 172 families were getting less than \$20 a month.

TABLE XLII.—*Number of families who had received pensions of specified amounts.*

Amount of pension.	Number of families.
Total.....	172
Less than \$20.....	22
\$20 to \$29.....	60
\$30 to \$39.....	60
\$40 and over.....	30

The sudden withdrawal of the pensions from these 172 families involved, in a large number of cases, a readjustment almost as radical as that which followed the father's death. The court referred 124 of the families to the united charities, 27 to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, 21 to the Jewish Home Finding Society, and all the 172 families to the county agent.²⁸

A letter concerning each family was sent to the proper organization, and the responsibility of the court for the family came to an end. The private charities, however, did not in all cases consider the letter of reference a request for a visit. Different societies and even different agents of the same society seemed to follow different policies. It should not be overlooked that a very heavy charge had been suddenly placed on the private societies, and the policies must have been to some extent shaped by their available resources both as to visitors and funds.

It was not to be expected that for every family a private charitable pension would immediately be substituted for the old court pension. It was inevitable that in some cases the private society would differ from the court in its view of the assistance the family needed and that some of the families would themselves seek a new method of managing their affairs. The 172 families, therefore, got along without the court pension in a variety of ways. They may be grouped into five main classes: (1) Those whose children were taken away; (2) those who kept the family together by their own efforts, with only irregular assistance from charitable agencies; (3) those who were cared for by means of regular assistance from private charity; (4) those who were cared for in other ways than by a pension in the home, e. g., returned to Europe, given sanitarium care, etc.; and (5)

²⁸ The official in charge of the distribution of public outdoor relief which in Cook County, it will be remembered, is given only in kind. See p. 8 for a statement as to the outdoor relief given in Cook County.

those who apparently had no outside help of any kind. It will be seen that there might be some overlapping of these groups, since a family might have regular relief for a time and then get along with little or no relief, or a family might be helped until the children were placed in institutions.

Since the breaking up of the home and the placing of children in institutions is of special interest, all families who were broken up, either by court order or by private arrangement, have been grouped together without regard to their other history. All families who have at any time received regular relief have been grouped together, leaving in the other groups only those who at no time since July 1, 1913, were given regular material relief.

Table XLIII shows the number of families in these various groups:

TABLE XLIII.—*Number of families assisted or not assisted by private agencies.*

Form of assistance.	Number of families.
Total.....	172
Pensioned by private agencies.....	20
Assisted irregularly by private agencies (partially self-supporting).....	35
Entirely self-supporting.....	32
Families broken up.....	8
Otherwise cared for.....	3
Not reported.....	4

FAMILIES BROKEN UP.

Of the 172 women who suddenly lost their pensions while they were still in need of them, only 8 gave up their children. The 8 families in which the children were taken away is a group of special interest. The children of 1 family were sent to their paternal grandmother who had a good home and was able and willing to give them good care. In the other 7 families the children were sent to institutions. One mother made private arrangements for the institutional care of her children without the knowledge of the court. This woman was offered a regular allowance equal to more than half her former pension, and a plan was suggested whereby she might earn the rest; but she was not satisfied to try this arrangement and preferred to put her children in institutions. One family was broken up for a very short time until the mother had had an operation, arranged for by the united charities, and had become physically fit to care for her children. One mother remarried, and she and her new husband were not willing to care for the old family, so they took the simplest means of getting rid of the burden. The other four mothers lost their children because, in the words of the court record, the mother was "unable to give them proper maternal care and guardianship." Further de-

tails about these 4 families were secured by a study of the court and the united charities' records.

In two of these cases the united charities refused to support the family because they considered the mother morally unfit to care for her children. The B family had been helped by the united charities from the time of the father's death in 1908. In spite of efforts to improve the home, conditions had never been at all satisfactory. The mother insisted on keeping roomers in quarters too small for her own family, and would not move even when desirable quarters were found for her. The house was exceedingly dirty, and the children were dirty and frequently sick. Moreover, rumors were very frequent that the mother was immoral. The united charities had originally reported the family to the juvenile court, thinking that the court would take the children away, but the court hoped that by further efforts and by means of a regular pension of \$40 a month the home could be safely maintained. The task proved none too easy; and when the law changed after she had had her pension for a year, the only improvement noticed was that the house was cleaner. To offset this were the repeated complaints that had come to the department concerning Mrs. B's deportment in the neighborhood. "Sufficient proof of immorality on her part has not been secured. * * * Her quarrelsome habits with the relatives and neighbors are well established," said the letter from the juvenile court to the united charities when the family was referred back to the latter organization. It was also known that at least \$50 of her pension money had been spent on clothes for herself and a prospective husband who had later disappeared. When the pension was automatically stayed, the united charities refused to give further assistance, and 3 of the 4 children were sent to an institution for dependent children. The county in this instance paid for the support of the children in institutions instead of supporting them by pensions in the home.

On similar grounds the united charities refused to give further financial assistance to the N family. This decision was not made, however, until it seemed to the visitors of both the united charities and the juvenile protective association that no amount of material relief would benefit the family. The court ordered two of the children sent to institutions, and appointed the county agent guardian of the other three, with power to send them to relatives in Baltimore. The relatives, however, were not located, and later these children also were sent to institutions. In this case also the change in the pension law meant that the children were supported by the county in institutions instead of in the home.

The two other families whose children the court sent to institutions because the mother was unable to care for them had apparently not been dealt with by any private agency after the court pension ceased. One family had three wage earners, and there is reason to think that the four dependent children might have been cared for had a greater effort been made to keep them at home. The mother bore the reputation of being unreliable—she had at an earlier time before the pension grant put three children in an institution, when the family income was \$60 a month—and the theory that she was unwilling to carry the family burdens any longer seemed to be well founded. About the other family not enough information could be secured to warrant even a guess as to whether the children should have been kept in the home or whether there was some reason, other than poverty, for the breaking up of the family.

On the whole, therefore, it appears that of the seven mothers whose children went to institutions, two were considered morally unfit, one was temporarily physically unfit to care for her children, three others seemed to be unwilling to make the sacrifices which keeping the children entailed. We have left, therefore, only one other mother whose children were put in institutions, and of this family little is known. It is clear, however, that she did not apply for help to the united charities before she gave up her children.

CARE OF JEWISH FAMILIES.

Passing on to the group of families pensioned by private agencies, these are divided into two groups. Twenty-one were Jewish families cared for by the Jewish Home-Finding Society, and 69 were pensioned by the united charities. Twenty of the 21 Jewish families were given a monthly pension, in all but two cases equal to or greater than the court pension. In the other Jewish family the father was periodically insane, and regular relief was, therefore, given intermittently, varying with his ability to support the family.

After the new pension law of 1915 was passed, most of these families again became eligible for pensions; and 14 have been restored to the pension roll. The net result of the earlier change in the law therefore, so far as the Jewish families were concerned, was a change in the source of their relief, with little if any change in the amount of their income. Since the Jewish Home Finding Society was supplementing their public pensions, even while under the care of the court, there was practically no problem of readjustment for this group of families.

FAMILIES PENSIONED BY PRIVATE CHARITY.

Out of the 150 non-Jewish families dropped by the court, 69 appear to have received regular assistance from private charity. Sixty-six were pensioned by the united charities for long or short periods; and 3 families through the efforts of the united charities received relief from other sources—1 from an interested individual, 1 from the church, and 1 from a church and township. Of the 69 families regularly assisted, only 9 had children of working age, and in the other 60 families the mother was the sole wage earner. It is of interest, too, that 62 of these families had been known to the united charities before they had been pensioned by the court, and 35 of them had been pensioned during this earlier period.

In general, these families received their private pensions as regularly as they had received their court pensions. There are a few exceptions, for one or two families had different items of relief from different sources, and one or the other was sometimes behind; and in some cases rent was allowed to run until the family was threatened with eviction. But the amount of relief regularly given in the majority of cases appears to have been less than the former court pension. There are, of course, obvious difficulties in attempting to make a direct comparison between the allowances of families who are cared for by different relief agencies. Some difficulties were encountered in determining the precise amount of relief given by the private agency. The court allowance was a fixed and regular cash allowance. In the case of the private society, the rent might be paid from the office, some assistance given in kind, and some cash might also be given. Moreover, the families might also receive assistance from other sources. It is the practice of the united charities, for example, to ask to have its pensioned families put on the outdoor relief list, and the value of the county supplies must also be determined. The county agent gives out several different rations varying considerably in value, and the charity records do not always show the value of the particular ration received nor the estimated value of other relief in kind. An effort was made, however, to make the estimates of the new income on a very liberal basis; and by adding the value of relief in kind to the amounts given the family in money, it is believed that a satisfactory estimate of the new family allowance was arrived at. Table XLIV shows the difference between the former court pension and the value of relief regularly received when the family was under the care of the private agency. It should be made clear, however, that some of these families had additional help in emergencies and that the amount of relief given in the table represents only the estimated regular allowance.

TABLE XLIV.—*Amount of court pension and estimated deficit in later, private allowances.*

Amount of previous pension.	Families who received regular relief from private agencies.						
	Total.	Estimated deficit in private allowance.					
		None or less than \$5.	\$5-\$9.	\$10-\$14.	\$15-\$19.	\$20.	Not reported.
Total number of families..	69	15	11	13	12	17	1
\$10-\$19.....	3	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
20- 29.....	23	8	7	3	5	.....	.....
30- 39.....	23	4	4	4	5	6	.....
40- 49.....	20	1	.....	5	2	11	1

In this table it appears that 17, or 25 per cent, of these 69 families suffered a decrease in income of approximately \$20 a month when they became pensioners on a private rather than a public basis; 12 others had a deficit of \$15 to \$19, making 29 families, or 42 per cent, of the whole number who suffered a decrease of \$15 or more. Fifteen families, or 22 per cent, received the same pension or lost less than \$5 by transfer to the private relief societies.

It may not be fair, however, to draw the conclusion from this table that the standard of relief maintained by the united charities was as a general policy lower than that of the court. Attention should again be called to the fact that a heavy and unexpected burden had been placed on the private societies by asking them suddenly to support a large number of pensioners, and during the period under discussion, an industrial depression occurred that would, even without this additional burden, have taxed their resources to the uttermost. It is, however, only fair to the court to say that at any rate the aid-to-mothers department apparently was maintaining a standard of relief which, measured by the standards of the best known of the private societies, was liberal and presumably adequate.

Of course a reduction in the amount of relief does not necessarily mean a reduction in family income. Part of the deficit may be made up by increased earnings on the part of the mother or by earnings of children, if there are children in the family who have reached the age of 14. As a matter of fact, there were in these 69 families only four children who began work within six months of the stay of the pension; and of these, two came from families where the united charities relief was equal to the court pension, so that it is evident that the deficits given in Table XLIV were in general not made up by earnings of new child wage earners.

About the increased earnings of the mother, we have, unfortunately, little information. The reports of the mother's earnings are very incomplete both for the pension period and for the later period

after the pension had been withdrawn. We are, therefore, too uncertain about both items to attempt a careful comparison. In the comparatively few cases, however, where the mother's earnings both during and after the pension period are recorded, there appears to be little difference in her contribution to the family income. The court policy is to have the mother do all the work she can without injury to her health or to her children's welfare, and in the few cases in which the mother appears to have earned more after the stay of the pension, there is nothing in the records to indicate that the court had made a mistake in its estimate of the mother's earning capacity. Take, for example, the case of Mrs. K. —, who had incipient tuberculosis as well as tumor. The court required her to do no work except to take care of her four children. On the stay of her pension she received from the charities \$5.50 for her rent; \$1 a week fairly regularly from a sectarian relief organization; and county supplies. Mrs. K. — was expected to do enough work to earn the rest of her food. This she attempted to do by washing, and she sometimes earned as much as \$3.25 in a week. However, her earnings were not regular; sometimes she did not work because she could not get washings; but more often, she was sick and unable to do the washings she had, or she could not work because of the sickness of the children, which occurred with disturbing frequency. The result was that often the family got entirely out of food, "which," notes our investigator, "was detrimental to her health owing to the fact that she had tuberculosis," and emergency relief seemed to be given tardily. In other words, while the mother was nominally working after the stay of the pension, her work was so interrupted that her earnings were small and there were times of acute distress in the family.

If the difference between what the court gave and what private charity gave was not made up by increased earnings on the part of the family—and there seems to be no evidence to show that it was in any considerable number of cases—the transfer of a family from a public to a private agency was accompanied for the most part by a decrease in the family income. Unless the court pension was more than adequate, the relief given afterwards was less than adequate. It is of course not possible to establish a causal connection between the loss of the pension and later physical deterioration or breakdown. As a matter of fact, some of the families who seem to have suffered most since the withdrawal of the pension are families who were receiving fully as much from the united charities as they had ever received from the court.

Attention should, however, be called to the fact that the health of some of the families seemed plainly to deteriorate. In 8 of the 69 families some member of the family became tubercular; 2, who

were tubercular to begin with, grew worse; 3 mothers worked until they broke down—1 before the united charities visited her, 1 for whom the united charities paid the rent regularly, and 1 who was being assisted only in emergencies; 4 families, while they do not appear to have developed any chronic disease or suffered complete breakdown, have had a history which leaves the impression of an almost unbroken succession of sickness. Four families are reported as improved in health; and 3 of the mothers submitted to an operation, so that presumably they, too, have improved. Of the other 44 families we either have no reports of ill-health or reports indicating little change at the later period.

It can not be assumed that all these cases of reported ill-health are to be charged to inadequate relief. Some breakdowns would undoubtedly have occurred even if the court pension had continued. In some cases, however, there does appear to be a connection between physical breakdown and overwork. Take, for example, the story of Mrs. G. Her rent was paid, but she earned the rest of the family support by working six days a week in a laundry. In July, 1915, she was taken sick, was unable to work for two days, and so lost her place in the laundry. The charities visitor notes at this time that work in the laundry has worn her out; she "looks badly, very thin and pale." An examination at the municipal tuberculosis clinic showed that she had incipient tuberculosis; and from that time on, the united charities gave her a weekly allowance of \$3 in addition to her rent.

A similar case is that of the mother of the W family, who had been receiving \$30 a month from the court. When the pension was withdrawn, she was given only her rent and was expected to earn enough for food for herself and three children. She tried to do this by sewing, but her earnings were irregular, because of her own sickness or that of the children. As a result they were often without food, and the mother was repeatedly forced to ask the united charities for a small grocery order to tide her over. Their whole story is characterized by the investigator as "a dreary tale of sickness." Tuberculosis was discovered in November, 1914, and the rent was then supplemented by a weekly allowance of food.

A number of cases of moral breakdown among these families should also be noted. Here again it is not possible to attach a causal relationship between inadequate relief and bad morals. It is always possible that an old evil, long concealed, has just been brought to light through more intimate acquaintance with the family. Leaving out of account for the present those rumors and suspicions which attach to several of the families, there are in some cases certain definite facts which indicate moral deterioration. From five families whose pensions had been withdrawn children

were brought before the juvenile court as delinquent (one as truant); and the daughter of one family had an illegitimate child. Two of these families show no other evidence of low moral standards. There were no complaints recorded about the mother's conduct or the general standard of living of the family. The relief in these two families was much less than had been given by the court, but there may be no relation between this fact and the children's stealing grain from cars on the railroad track. In the other three families which sent children to court as delinquents, as well as in the family where the oldest girl gave birth to an illegitimate child, the delinquent is only one member of a group in which the whole situation is radically wrong. The mother of one delinquent boy is one of those who had an illegitimate child, and F, his older sister, is in grave danger, if not already immoral. The mother of the girl who had an illegitimate child is strongly suspected of immorality, and the united charities has many reports of men being there late at night. The other two come from homes where the standards are generally low, and there are suggestions that one mother may even be immoral. She is known to have men roomers, her housekeeping is haphazard, and the house is unusually dirty.

Aside from these families, where there is evidently some very definite moral failure, there are those other families alluded to above in which suspicion more or less definite attaches to the mother. There are two families not included among those already cited where the united charities felt warranted in discontinuing relief—one, because the mother kept men roomers, and one, because complaints that the mother drank, made her house a rendezvous for drinking men, and was herself immoral were so frequent and came from such trustworthy sources that they could not be disregarded. It is necessary to add that the juvenile court, after a careful investigation, concluded that the charges against this woman were unfounded and regranted the pension in 1916. Unfortunately the report on the investigation is not sufficiently full to explain the situation.

Reports of drinking or immorality are also current about several other families, but their foundation has not been well enough established to make the united charities take any action or stop giving material relief.

It is impossible to say of these difficulties either "They are a new development since 1913," or, "They are not new difficulties, they antedated the withdrawal of the pension." The delinquency of the children is new, but the situation in the home may or may not be new. The birth of the illegitimate children also took place after the withdrawal of the pension, but the lack of moral standards may have antedated even the grant of the pension. This was the situation in the one case of a delinquent boy whose mother had an illegiti-

mate child. The mother's care of her home and children was never satisfactory either to the court or to the united charities. Similar conditions may have existed at an early date in other cases, but may not have been recorded.

A point of interest is the length of time after the withdrawal of the pension before the 69 families began receiving private relief regularly. For some of them there was an interval between the time when the court dropped them and the date when the united charities took them up. Eight families, for example, got along for six months or more without assistance from the united charities. One of these families was visited several times, then lost track of until March, 1915, and at that time the mother, who had supported herself by keeping boarders, was about to have an illegitimate child and needed a good deal of assistance from that time on. Another family was known to the united charities at frequent intervals, but the mother was working for a cleaning firm and seemed to be supporting herself until January, 1915, when she broke down from overwork. One mother who was not visited until January, 1914, was found to have injured her eyes seriously in the meantime; for she had been sitting up late at night "sewing pants" by the light of a kerosene lamp, in a brave attempt to support herself and four little children. Another family was called to the attention of the united charities early in 1915 by a doctor who reported the eldest child ill as a result of under-feeding.

It is of interest that 19 families are still being assisted by the united charities, although the majority of the families dropped in 1913 are either self-supporting now or have been restored to the pension roll. Eight are deserted wives; one woman had been divorced; two alien mothers had insane husbands and, therefore, could not take out their own first papers. There are five families carried by the united charities who, although they satisfy the requirements of citizenship and widowhood, fail to meet other requirements of the law. Two families are, so far as known, eligible in every way; they have applied for a county pension, but their applications have not yet been acted upon (March, 1916). One other family (alien) that is still receiving a private allowance is receiving it from a church and has never taken steps to become eligible for a county pension.

All the five mothers who are classed as ineligible for other reasons have applied for a regrant of pension and have been refused by the court for the following reasons: Two, because in each case the oldest child was found to be illegitimate; one, because a man roomer was discovered; one, because the mother was found to have money; and the fifth, because there was only one child under 14 and the court thought that the family should, therefore, be self-supporting.

In the two cases where there was an illegitimate child there was not any suspicion of the mother's present character; the presence of the roomer on whose account the court dismissed one petition had just been confirmed and the united charities had had no time to decide on their course of action. Undoubtedly they will not continue paying a weekly allowance unless he leaves, although no suspicion attaches to the mother's morality in this particular case. The discovery of one woman's bank account came as something of a shock to the united charities, as this woman had been from all points of view one of the most satisfactory of any of the women in their care. When they talked to her they found that she had saved it little by little from the relief they had given her, and possibly from the county pension. She had not intended to deceive the united charities after they had helped her so much and had no thought of doing wrong when she put away something from each sum that was given her, just as she had done from her husband's wages. She did not want to die and to leave her children penniless, and so was doing her best to provide for them a secure future. She had managed to accumulate \$192.75. It was possible for the united charities visitor to make her understand why they objected to what she had done and to persuade her that she could trust the society to look out for her children. She therefore turned over her little savings, which are now being given back to her in small amounts. Probably when this is gone she will reapply for a county pension.

The mother of the family in which there is only one child under 14 is able to do some work, but she has not been able to do steady work, so that her earning capacity is small. The eldest girl is 14 but is not strong, and the united charities thinks it far better that she remain in school. The court doctor will not certify that she is unable to work, so the court does not feel justified in pensioning the family.

FAMILIES RECEIVING OCCASIONAL ASSISTANCE.

There remain two other groups of families whose pensions were withdrawn: (1) Thirty-five families who managed to get along with only occasional assistance; and (2) 32 families who apparently were entirely self-supporting.

Were these families as well off as they were under the pension system? With regard to the families who had occasional assistance, our discussion must be confined to the families who finally asked help from the united charities. Other families were assisted by churches, by the county agent, or by some minor charitable agency; but their records were not so easily available as those of the charities. In general the 35 families in this group were families with only a few pensioned children and with correspondingly small pensions; and in 13 families there were other sources of income than

the mother's earnings. The readjustment, therefore, was not so difficult.

Fourteen of these families who asked or received very little help were found on later investigation apparently to need more assistance. To five of these who had become eligible the court had re-granted their pensions before our investigator visited them. Five families were found by the investigator to be in such obvious need that three of them were reported to the united charities and the other two were told to reapply for pensions at once. The records show with regard to the other four families that the mother either broke down completely or was frequently ill and showed unmistakable signs of overwork.

It is very easy to understand why the mother should have over-worked, since in 12 of the 14 families she was the sole contributor to the family income, and since in most of these families there were several children to be provided for. One mother had six children to care for, one mother had five children, four mothers had four children each, five had families of three children, while only one mother had a small family of two children. To support families of this size meant a heavy portion of work; and as these mothers were not equipped to do any kind of skilled work, it meant for every case but one spending long hours over the washtub or scrubbing on her knees.

Of the families who seemed able to support themselves with slight assistance, seven were families in which at least one child was helping the mother care for the family; and in three of the families relatives also were helping to some extent. In one family a mother and one child cared for six people. They had a hard struggle, and it has been possible for them to succeed only because the mother was an excellent seamstress. She had a little help immediately after the pension was withdrawn and is very resentful that she ever became a "case" on the records of a private charity. She said it was through no fault of hers, as she would "rather die than take charity," but because the court had sent in her name. She did not consider the court pension charity. There were two families of two children each in which the mother was the sole wage earner. They live quite comfortably when work is plentiful and no one in the family is ill; but in time of emergency one woman falls back on the united charities, and the other relies on the help of a brother who lives with her. He apparently does not fail her, though he has had to pawn his clothes to help her out. In normal times, too, the board of this brother and another roomer is a great help in eking out the scanty income. The other mother also had help from relatives, although of a different kind. Her father takes care of the children, leaving her free to go to work.

There are a number of families who could not be located and about whom the records contained little information. In a few cases the woman is known to have remarried, and in a few others in which the pension was small there was a child within a few months of working age. Apparently the family managed with credit until this new wage earner began to contribute to the family income.

In general, it may be said that in some of these families the change of circumstances that occurred would have led to a discontinuance of the pensions, even had there been no change in the law; that in at least 14 families in which the mother tried to manage with only occasional help the burden seems to have been too heavy for her. Of the other families we lack complete information in many cases. We have no evidence that they did not get on satisfactorily. Eight families, however, about whom the records gave considerable information, seemed to have managed very well with the occasional help they received.

FAMILIES ENTIRELY SELF-SUPPORTING.

Out of the 172 families, there were only 32 who, so far as we know, managed without any assistance from charitable resources. Some of these were helped by relatives, but in most cases the mother and children maintained the family by their own efforts. Like the preceding group these families were for the most part those with few children and small pensions. Some of them were families with children over 14 and some with children nearly 14, who were able to work shortly after the discontinuance of the pension. These facts undoubtedly go far toward explaining why this particular group of families was able to get along without assistance.

The manner in which they lived and the exact means by which they supported themselves immediately following the stay of their pensions is not known. They are families about whom charitable agencies have no record, and two years had passed before they were visited in the course of this investigation. The information obtained, therefore, is more complete for the recent than for the more remote past. Valuable as this information is, the period of readjustment is the one with which we are directly concerned.

Eleven mothers were the sole contributors to the family income, but six of these had only three people to support. Of those who had more, one was granted a county pension again within six months; another worked for a time scrubbing at night and then remarried; a third woman had a brother in Norway, who sent for her and her three children to come home.

A colored family of five was supported entirely by the mother, who was exceptionally skilled and competent. There was a defec-

tive girl of 15 in this family who, though she could not work herself, was able to relieve her mother of the household duties. The mother was an excellent cook and laundress, in good health, and a good wage earner. The court hoped that this family would succeed without assistance; and after the change in the law in 1915, when the mother asked for a pension again, it was refused on the ground that her income was sufficient.

Some other families, however, maintained their independence at heavy cost. For example, Mrs. R, an extremely plucky Swedish woman, supported a family of five, but they all became tubercular. Mrs. R was a deserted woman who, before she was granted a court pension, had been helped by the charities, had done night scrubbing in the county building and also some washing. Later, however, after a county election, the new administration made a clean sweep of all county employees, even the scrub women. Efforts were made to get Mrs. R reinstated, but fortunately for her, they failed, so that she applied for a pension under the aid-to-mother's act and was granted \$20 a month. The court soon found that Mrs. R was tubercular. They increased her pension to \$40 a month to enable her to rest; and after three months of this treatment she was so much improved that she was once more able to do light work and her pension was cut to \$28. When the law changed in 1913 and the court was forced to withdraw her pension, she was referred to one of the private societies with the recommendation that she continue light work. Instead of applying for aid, Mrs. R began scrubbing again in the county building, where for the next two years she earned \$60 a month. In March, 1914, her husband, who had not been heard of since his desertion in 1908, was killed on the railway tracks at Highland Park, where he had been at work and had accumulated property. After the funeral bill, some claims against the property, debts, etc., were paid, his wife received \$500, which she, probably overthriftly, put in the bank in trust for the children while she continued scrubbing. When the family was visited by the investigator, they were living in a dark apartment in a rear tenement, crowded in between two higher buildings. The children who were at home were frail and delicate, and their mother said they were tubercular. In verifying this statement at the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium, the records showed that the mother herself was in the second stage of tuberculosis, moderately advanced, two of the children were glandular and in need of treatment; and one girl was in the first stage in need of sanitarium care. Here obviously the costs of "independence" had been too great.

Five mothers who supported themselves and two children without assistance were exceptionally vigorous and well, and the children too, with a single exception, have apparently been equally well. Even

in these families, however, independence has been maintained with a struggle which for women less fortunately endowed physically would have been disastrous. Two women did washings away from home; one earned \$5 to \$6 a week, and the other worked four or five days a week at \$2 a day. One woman worked in a tobacco factory, standing at a labeling machine 10 hours a day six days a week, and earned a dollar a day. Another earned the same amount as a waitress.

Thirteen mothers shared the duty of supporting the family with children of working age, and most of them according to their own stories get along without any special distress, although the long, hard pull had left its mark on some of the mothers. One Italian woman who seems quite worked out, and who is now supported by her two boys, expressed great indignation because her pension had been cut off in the time of their greatest need, and she had been forced to go to work again in spite of serious heart trouble.

In two of these families independence has been accompanied by moral disaster, although the moral breakdown was clearly not caused by the withdrawal of the pension in either case. One mother gave birth to an illegitimate child in 1914, but the father was a boarder who had been living with her a long time, unknown to the court, while she was still a county pensioner. Another woman drinks, and although three children are now of working age, not one of them is a good wage earner, and the eldest boy, according to his sister, is a "plain bum." But this family had a very unsatisfactory history before the court pension was granted, the children had been sent out to beg and the mother was incompetent.

In conclusion, looking back over the histories of the majority of these families, it appears to be true that the families, on the whole, suffered a serious loss when the pensions were withdrawn. In general, their incomes were not so large or so regular, even when they had the assistance of private charity, and many of the mothers suffered from overwork. In a few cases the families became sufficiently self-supporting and managed to get on with a struggle, but without any disastrous results. Can it be said that these families should never have been placed on the pension roll? On the contrary, it would probably be nearer the truth to say that these families were in grave danger—danger of overwork on the mother's part and danger of neglect of home and children. A few exceptionally competent women were able to take grave risks and succeed in spite of them. The community, however, can not safely refuse aid to mothers on such grounds. The few women of exceptional health and skill who were able to be self-supporting would doubtless have maintained better homes with the help of the pension from the court and have given their children a better start in life.

EXPENDITURES FOR MOTHERS' PENSIONS, 1911-1918.

Every social experiment should be considered on its merits as a social institution, entirely apart from the question of cost. The community can afford to pay to have its children trained to be useful citizens if it can be persuaded that the money will bring these results. The question, "How much will it cost?" is, nevertheless, an interesting if not a determining factor in the problem. In Cook County during the eight and a half years since the installation of the pension system in July, 1911, \$1,477,960 has been expended for pensions, exclusive of the cost of administration. This has been distributed as follows:²⁹

1911 (six months) -----	\$2,784	1916-----	\$219,004
1912-----	86,249	1917-----	263,291
1913-----	128,380	1918-----	259,767
1914-----	100,236	1919-----	281,213
1915-----	137,036		

The section of the aid-to-mothers act providing for a fund to be raised by a special tax was declared unconstitutional in 1915 (*People v. C., L. S. & E. Ry.*, 270 Ill., 477). Between 1911 and 1916, although the county board had made an annual appropriation for mothers' pensions, the court was not limited by this appropriation, for the board was obliged to honor the pension orders until the amount brought in by the special tax was exhausted. This amounted to over \$300,000 a year, and the entire sum has never been used, the nearest approach to it being in 1916, when the pension expenditures rose to \$219,000. The appropriation for this year had been only \$185,000, but, although the court did not keep within the appropriation, the special-tax fund would not have been exhausted had not the supreme court decision invalidated the special tax. After this time the court was limited in making pension grants by the county board appropriation, but the latter became more generous.

For the fiscal year 1917 the appropriation made was \$260,000. While this was almost \$45,000 greater than the expenditure for the year preceding, it failed to allow for the necessary increase in pension expenditures. The increase of 1916 over 1915 had been nearly \$82,000.

²⁹ Data are for calendar years and are computed from the Cook County Comptroller's Report for 1916 and from figures supplied by his office. Data for 1918 and 1919 are from published reports of the Cook County agent. They are slightly higher than the comptroller's figures for the same period, as they include all checks issued and there are always some that are not cashed. Comptroller's figures for these years were not available.

The officials of the court realized that the appropriation of \$260,000 was inadequate; and for some time they hoped that when the need for more money became apparent to the board some means would be found of increasing the appropriation for this purpose. For some months, then, the court continued to grant pensions without regard to the probable inadequacy of the appropriation. When it finally became apparent that the county board could not or would not find any money with which to increase the appropriation, the court had to find some way by which it could keep down expenditures. It was decided to continue the pensions for the families under care, but to discontinue the granting of pensions to new families except to fill vacancies. As there were already more than enough applications pending to fill such vacancies, further applications were refused. Between May, 1917, and December, 1917, the court referred all applicants to the united charities or other relief organizations. There were in May, 1917, 162 applications on file on which the investigation had not been made. The court decided to complete the investigation in these cases and have the committee consider them. No cases were actually brought before the judge, however, until there was a pension vacancy. Whenever a family already on the list was dropped these new families were taken on, not in order of priority of application, but in order of their need as determined by the committee. Not all vacancies thus created could be filled, however, as it was necessary to reduce the monthly expenditure in order to keep within the appropriation. In place of 158 pensions stayed, only 100 new pensions were granted. Even with this rigid economy the department found itself with a deficit of \$12,000 at the close of the year. Fortunately a surplus in the outdoor relief department balanced this deficit. The year 1918, however, brought similar difficulties.

The appropriation for mothers' pensions for 1918 was \$260,000, the same as for 1917, and the outdoor relief appropriation was cut down on the basis of the surplus of the preceding year. In the last half of 1917, 798 mothers were turned away without being allowed to file their applications, because of the inadequacy of the appropriation. In December, 1917, the beginning of the new fiscal year, all these women were notified that they might now make application for pensions. The great majority of them did so, and those applications were investigated and pensions granted in cases of urgent need. During the first months of the year 1918 the rate of expenditure was beyond that allowed for in the appropriation, but the judge hoped that the county board could be persuaded to take money from some other appropriation for this purpose. This hope failed, however; and since April, 1918, new applications have not been

accepted, and women in need have again been referred to the united charities or other relief organizations.³⁰

The continued failure of the county board to provide the funds necessary to pension the mothers made eligible by the legislature is an interesting example of the ease with which our American legislatures record their good intentions in the form of laws which are left to the local authorities to enforce. The legislature of Illinois has continued to add to the list of eligible beneficiaries under the mothers' pension act without taking steps to see that pensions will be provided for the mothers who have been made eligible.

County boards throughout the State have failed to make appropriations adequate for the pensioning of all mothers with legal claims under the aid-to-mothers act. In a few counties all pensions have been summarily ordered discontinued because the pension fund was exhausted. Fortunately, in Chicago it has never been necessary because of lack of funds to withdraw any pensions already granted; nor has the Chicago court been willing to adopt the policy of granting a larger number of small pensions. The plan of maintaining adequate care for the families who were already dependent on pension grants was the only wise course under the circumstances. The burden has inevitably fallen heavily on the united charities, charged with the unexpected burden of caring for most of the deferred applicants for an uncertain period of time; but the society has always found a way to meet the increasing charge.

The cost of administration should be added to the cost of the pensions. At the time of the study, the salaries of the 4 clerks, 16 officers, and the supervisor in the department amounted to \$2,100 a month. To this must be added an additional \$320 a month, the salaries of 1 clerk and 2 investigators in the county agent's office; and \$125 a month for a clerk in the circuit court office. It seems unnecessary to add any portion of the salary of the chief probation officer and the judge, since no additional expense has been added here by the pension work. Without any allowance, however, for the salaries of these two officials, the expense for administrative service amounts³¹ to \$2,545 a month, or \$30,540 a year.

³⁰ This situation continued until July, 1919, when an amendment, free from the constitutional difficulties of the early law, providing for a tax of four-fifteenths of a mill (Illinois Session Laws, 1919, p. 781) brought relief. At this time the list of the women who had been turned away without being allowed to file applications contained about 1,000 names. When it became apparent that the law would pass, these women were notified to come in and file applications and the department proceeded at once with the work of investigation. As the work was more than the department could handle with dispatch and as the united charities, which had been supporting many of the women, announced that it could not continue this support after January, 1920, the district superintendents of that organization were commissioned volunteer probation officers, and their investigation of the families was accepted. In April, 1920, the head of the department stated that they were now up with their work and had no more old cases to investigate.

³¹ In January, 1919.

It is of interest that, along with the increasing expenditure on pensions, there has gone not a decrease but an increase in expenditures on county outdoor relief and county subsidies for the maintenance of dependent children in institutions.

Total expenditure on outdoor relief increased from \$188,773 in 1910, the year before the passage of the pension law, to \$242,030 in 1919. The cost of supporting dependent children in institutions rose from \$61,981 in 1910 to \$292,248 in 1919.

THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW IN RELATION TO DEPENDENCY AND DELINQUENCY.

Interesting questions arise as to the effect of the mothers' pension law upon the commitment of children to institutions and upon the number of widows with children remaining under the care of public or private relief agencies. Statistics are available only for Cook County. It has already been said that the number of pensioned widows increased month by month, except when changes in law and policy rendered ineligible some families who had in consequence to be removed from the pension roll. The following statement shows the numbers on the pension roll at the end of each six months' period, beginning with July, 1912:

	Number of families.	Number of children.	Monthly expendi- ture for pensions.		Number of families.	Number of children.	Monthly expendi- ture for pensions.
July, 1912.....	382	1,306	\$8,145	July, 1916.....	681	2,106	\$18,403
January, 1913.....	501	1,663	12,413	January, 1917.....	780	2,355	21,064
July, 1913.....	332	1,075	8,232	July, 1917.....	802	2,449	22,409
January, 1914.....	338	1,096	8,185	January, 1918.....	768	2,332	22,017
July, 1914.....	346	1,121	8,320	July, 1918.....	733	2,288	22,422
January, 1915.....	362	1,191	8,902	January, 1919.....	646	1,978	19,675
July, 1915.....	439	1,431	11,731	July, 1919.....	709	2,195	22,681
January, 1916.....	580	1,845	15,363				

The changes in the pension law in 1913 and 1915 are reflected in this statement. In 1913, when women who were not citizens were made ineligible, the number of pensioners dropped very suddenly; and in 1915, when women of this class were once more declared to be eligible, the number of pensioners rapidly increased. Except for these changes the increase in numbers up to 1918 probably represents a normal increase, due to the gradually increasing knowledge of the generous provision that is being made for mothers who are charged with the support of young children. The decrease in 1918 has been explained as due to the failure of appropriations.³² The increasing confidence of the community in the aid-to-mothers department undoubtedly tended to increase the number of pensioners. Women who would not have applied or would not have been advised by charitable organizations to apply for outdoor relief were told of the work of the pension department and encouraged to ask for this assistance,

³² See section on Expenditures for Mothers' Pensions, 1911-1918, pp. 113-114,

that was adequate on the one hand and was so administered as to encourage the self-respect of the beneficiaries instead of humiliating or degrading them.

Curiously enough, along with the increase in the number of mothers and children pensioned there went, for a time, an increase in the number of dependent children committed to institutions. The following statement shows the number of court commitments to institutions for dependent children with the amount paid to these private institutions from the county treasury from 1911 through 1919:

Year.	Number of dependent children committed. ^a	Public money paid to institutions.	Year.	Number of dependent children committed. ^a	Public money paid to institutions.
1911.....	894	\$73, 119	1916.....	867	\$297, 652
1912.....	1, 327	183, 223	1917.....	789	290, 077
1913.....	1, 109	267, 542	1918.....	895	294, 210
1914.....	1, 048	307, 558	1919.....	839	292, 248
1915.....	916	302, 101			

^a Figures compiled from Cook County Charity Service Reports. Figures include commitments to all institutions for dependent children. They do not include commitments to hospitals, or homes for defectives, child-placing societies, or homes for friendless which provide only temporary shelter.

Although the number of committed children increased in 1912 and remained for 1913, 1914, and 1915 larger than in 1911, when the pension law was passed, the change was more apparent than real. It has already been explained that, by the industrial school law of Illinois, institutions for dependent children may, by qualifying as industrial schools, receive a county subsidy of \$15 a month for each dependent girl and \$10 for each dependent boy committed by the court. Before the passage of the pension law, only four institutions in Cook County received such grants, two Catholic institutions, one for boys and one for girls (St. Mary's Training School for Boys at Feehanville and the Chicago Industrial School for Girls), and two nonsectarian schools (Glenwood Manual Training School for Boys and Park Ridge Industrial School for Girls). After 1911, a number of schools which had been in existence for some years but which had never received public money went through the form of qualifying as industrial schools under the State law and immediately asked public money for the children they were supporting. This meant, in effect, that some institutions brought into court the children who had had institutional care, in some cases for years, and asked to have the children formally recommitted under the industrial school acts, in order that the institution might receive the \$10 or \$15 a month per child allowed to the other four institutions that had qualified and were receiving subsidies under those laws.

It is not possible to determine how many of the children who, on the face of the court record are dependent children committed to institutions were, as a matter of fact, dependent children who had been receiving institutional care but for whom the institutions had not previously received public money. That is, there may have been an increase in the number of children committed by the court without there having been an increase in the number of institutional children. In so far as this explains the increase in the institutional population it is only indirectly connected with the operation of the mothers' aid law. The discussion of mothers' pensions in the newspapers and the wide publicity given to the fact that some institutions were being given large grants of public money may have led other institutions that had not hitherto known of this subsidy to make application for similar subsidies. It may even have led to the organization of some new institutions that hoped to be able to support themselves with the assistance of the public grant.

It is clear, however, that the mothers' pension law could reduce the number of children committed to institutions only if children had been committed to institutions before the passage of the pension law because of the poverty of their mothers. It is believed that this had not been happening in Chicago except in occasional, exceptional cases in which the mother had not been put in touch with the good relief agencies of the city. There were large relief societies in Chicago whose policy was the keeping of children with their mothers except when the mother was not fit. Some difference of opinion might exist as to what constituted a "fit" mother. A relief organization might, of course, refuse to support a home on the ground that it was unfit and on the theory that the children could be given suitable care only if they were taken away from their home when the court, or some other agency, or some private individual interested in the family might disagree with the relief society and feel that a wrong was being committed when the children were sent to institutions. In the view of the relief society the children were being committed because the home was unfit; from the other point of view the children were being committed because of poverty. Such cases of disagreement, however, were apparently not numerous; and since children were not committed because of poverty, except in these rare instances, a reduction in commitments could not be expected because of the introduction of the pension system.

Another point as regards the effect of the aid-to-mothers' law is how far delinquency and truancy among children may have been prevented. Unfortunately, this is not a subject on which satisfactory statistics can be furnished. It is true that statistics are sometimes published to show that there are very few delinquent children

among the pensioned families; but, of course, it is not possible to say how many children would have been delinquent in these families if there had been no pension system. A careful examination of the records of the 212 families who had been on the pension roll in Chicago for at least two full years showed only 3 families of the 212 in which a child had been brought into court as delinquent and only 1 family in which a child had come in as truant. This seems to be an exceedingly good two-years' record; but again it must be pointed out that no estimate can be made of the number of children who would have become delinquent if these families had not been pensioned.

Earlier studies of juvenile delinquency have laid stress on the fact that neglected homes with wage earning mothers were an important contributing cause of delinquency among children.³³ And it is only reasonable to assume that the policy of providing adequate pensions for destitute mothers with children, and of keeping more mothers at home where they can look after their children, has undoubtedly prevented a considerable number of homes from becoming unfit, and has probably kept more mothers alive and in good health than the old system did. In so far as an adequate pension means a better standard of living, less work for the mother outside of her home, and better care for the children in the home, there will probably be fewer commitments of children because of delinquency and truancy; but this would be a long-time effect of the pension system and one that in any event could never be established statistically.

One of the interesting questions with regard to the effects of the aid-to-mothers law is whether a new class of families in need were discovered and provided for by the machinery created by this statute, or whether the law merely set up new machinery for doing work that was already being done, or at any rate being attempted, by other relief agencies. This can be determined on the basis of available data, showing how many of the pensioned families had been assisted before the granting of the pension by other private or public charitable agencies.

The records of the social registration bureau of Chicago were consulted in order to ascertain how many of the families on the court pension roll had been registered prior to the granting of the pension by some social agency. Table XLV summarizes this information for the families added to the pension roll in 1917, who had been assisted by other agencies before the court pension was granted. The table also shows the number of families registered by agencies giving services and not relief.

³³ Russell Sage Foundation. *Delinquent Child and the Home*, Breckinridge and Abbott. Charities Publication Committee MCMXII, Ch. V, pp. 95-97.

TABLE XLV.—*Number and per cent of pensioned families who had been registered in the social registration bureau prior to pension grant.*

Registered by—	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	188	100.0
United charities.....	112	59.6
Other relief-giving agency.....	31	16.5
Other type of agency.....	10	5.3
Unknown to any agency.....	35	18.6

The information in this table relates only to the social agencies of Chicago which register their families with the social registration bureau. According to this table all but 18.6 per cent of these recently pensioned families had been on the records of some one of the social agencies of the city, and 76.1 per cent had been on the records of one of the relief-giving agencies (59.6 per cent registered by the united charities and 16.5 per cent by other relief societies).

Data on this point were first gathered for the pension survey conducted by the officers of the court, and it is of interest to note that the per cent of families unknown to any agency seems to have been increasing. This survey covered 543 families on the pension roll during the period between August 1, 1913, and April 1, 1915, and 532 families whose applications for pensions were rejected during this period. Table XLVI shows the number and per cent of the pensioned families who had been registered prior to the granting of the pension.

TABLE XLVI.—*Number and per cent of families pensioned between Aug. 1, 1913, and Apr. 1, 1915, who had been registered in the social registration bureau.*

Registered by—	Number.	Per cent.
Total.....	543	100.0
United charities.....	^a 393	72.4
Other relief-giving agency.....	84	15.5
Other type of agency.....	35	6.4
Unknown to any agency.....	31	5.7

^a Most of these were known to other agencies as well, such as the county agent, the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium, the visiting nurse association.

Of these 543 pensioned families it appears that 393, or 72 per cent of the entire number, were known to the united charities. How much or how little had been done for them by that agency we are not told; but the united charities had registered their names in the social registration bureau. Most of these "charities" families had also been registered by various other agencies, such as the county agent, the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium, the visiting nurse association, etc. Besides this group of 393 families who had been on the chari-

ties records there was a group of 84 families registered and presumably helped by other relief-giving agencies; 35 more were known to social agencies that give services only; while only 31 families, that is, 6 per cent of the 543, had not been registered by any social agency at the time of their application for aid from the juvenile court. It is probable, too, that some of these families may have received aid from organizations that do not register in the social registration bureau. Some of the sectarian relief organizations, for example, do not register the families whom they assist. It is clear, however, that the evidence of the survey indicates that, in general, it is not a new group of dependents who are receiving aid under the aid-to-mothers act.

A study was also made of the 532 families who applied for pensions but whose applications were rejected during the period of the survey. Table XLVII shows the per cent of the dismissed applicants who were on the social registration bureau in comparison with the per cent of successful pension applicants who had been registered.

TABLE XLVII.—*Per cent of dismissed applicants registered by social agencies compared with the per cent of pensioned applicants registered.*

Registered by—	Applicants dismissed.	Applicants pensioned.
Total.....	100.0	100.0
United charities.....	45.9	72.4
Other relief-giving agency.....	16.7	15.5
Other type of agency.....	13.5	6.4
Unknown to any agency.....	23.9	5.7

This table shows that a considerably larger per cent of the pensioned families than of the dismissed families had had charitable assistance before they were given relief in the form of pensions. This may be explained in part by the court requirement that the family shall be without property and with not more than \$50 in money before eligibility for a pension can be established. That the court scrupulously adheres to the tests laid down is indicated by these figures. Families who are not destitute, who have been getting on without charitable assistance in the past, are left to continue in the way of independence until their resources are exhausted, when they may reapply for a court pension. The larger per cent of rejected families known to the nonrelief giving agencies is probably due to the fact that the unfit applicants are included among those rejected and that these unfit applicants have probably been registered by corrective agencies such as the juvenile protective association.

Questions invariably arise as to just how much assistance had been given to the families by the relief-giving organization that had registered the families in the social exchange. No information on

this point is available for the large group of families included in the court survey, but certain facts were found for the group of 212 families who had been under care for two years.

The reports for these families made by the agencies to the court before the granting of the pensions furnishes some evidence of the care they had been giving to the families they registered. One hundred and fifty-three of these 212 families, or 72 per cent of the whole number, had been registered by the united charities. The reports of the united charities do not show what had been done for 82 of these families. For the other 71 the reports show that the society had given little or no material relief to 18 families; 39 families had been given relief irregularly; and only 4 families had been pensioned. It is probable that this is not an understatement of the number of families who were being pensioned, since a fact of this kind would almost certainly be included in their report to the court. It is also probable that the 82 families for whom the amount of relief is not specified had been assisted only irregularly.

Some attention should, perhaps, be given to a question that may arise from a study of the data in Tables XLV and XLVI. The theory on which the law was based was that children who might otherwise be separated from their parents because of poverty should be enabled to remain under the care of their natural guardians. On that theory, it may be asked whether the enactment of the law was really called for since private organizations had apparently already made provision for maintaining the integrity of these homes. That is, it may be asked whether the families to whom pensions were given should not have been families not otherwise adequately cared for.

In this connection two facts should not be overlooked. The first is that being registered by a social agency and being adequately cared for by the agency are not the same thing. It has already been shown that only a small percentage of the registered families were really being pensioned. Another fact of importance is that some of the private charitable agencies turned over to the court the families they were assisting.

Thus the records of the united charities show that during the first year after the enactment of the pension law 387 families previously under their care were told by officers of the society to apply for pensions. Similarly, the Jewish societies referred about 100 of their families to the court; while the St. Vincent de Paul Society referred to the court approximately 365 families during the first year and a half after the enactment of the law.³⁴ In such cases, it is evident that no new dependent groups are formed, but those formerly relying on private now depend on public aid.

³⁴ These figures were obtained from the executive officers of the several societies.

The original policy of referring to the juvenile court all families who appear to be eligible for mothers' aid appears to have been consistently followed by the private relief societies down to the present time. In reply to an inquiry as to whether they now had on their relief lists any pensionable families, both the Jewish aid society and the united charities prepared for our investigator a list of families with children of pension age who were being given relief by these societies instead of pensions by the court. The united charities list contained 26 names. Of these, 12 were widows then ineligible because they were aliens. Two other widows were technically ineligible because they owned a very small interest in some property in Italy; the property brought them no income but rendered them ineligible for pensions. In 7 other cases the husband and father was alive but unable to work. In these 7 cases, however, the man was not totally and permanently incapacitated, and his children were therefore ineligible for pensions. The remaining 5 families were being supported pending the court investigation and were to be transferred to the court roll if found eligible.

The Jewish aid society was similarly supporting seven families with small children, all of whom were technically ineligible for pensions, three because they were not citizens and four because the husband and father was not totally incapacitated. It is clear therefore that the large private relief organizations are not now supporting families eligible for pensions and that they must have found the aid-to-mothers law a substantial relief to their treasuries. It has, however, already been pointed out that some new charges would have accrued to both societies in so far as the law had created or tended to help in the discovery of new applicants for assistance, many of whom became a charge on the private societies pending investigations by the court or chargeable permanently because they were found ineligible by the court. It seems fair to assume further that these were cases of legitimate need for whose discovery the community and the private agencies must feel grateful.

As regards public outdoor relief the county agent's attitude toward the pension department is apparently somewhat uncertain. The county agent, it will be remembered, is a member of the committee which passes on the pension applications, and he makes an independent investigation of the applicants' eligibility. Although his department must inevitably suggest to many applicants for outdoor relief that they go down to the court and apply for pensions, this does not appear to be the consistent policy of the outdoor relief department. A study of the records in the county agent's office in one important district showed, for example, 165 families with children of pension age (i. e., below 14 years) in receipt of outdoor relief.

Sixty were widows with young children, and 105 were classified as married couples with young children. The case records were then examined in order to discover why they had not been sent to the court for pensions, with the following result: 114 were technically ineligible for pensions, 5 were below the court standard of fitness, and 23 were in need of temporary relief only, leaving 21 families who appeared to be eligible for pensions and in need of such assistance. Among the families termed technically ineligible there were 32 aliens, 4 property-owners, 28 married couples in which the husband was not totally incapacitated but was unable to support his family entirely, 35 in which the husband was not permanently incapacitated, and 15 families with the husband in jail.

In the group classified as needing only temporary relief were 3 married couples in which the man was unemployed, 3 widows who had just received insurance money, 13 in which there was only one dependent child, and 4 in which there were children of working age.

Five families were classified as below the court standard of fitness for the following reasons: In 2 the mother was physically or morally unfit to care for her children at home, and in 3 others some member of the family who refused to leave the home for sanitarium care was considered a menace to the health of the other members.

The 21 families who appeared to be eligible and in need of pensions were studied further. Seven families have since been pensioned, 9 were merely being aided pending investigation. Five families remained who appeared not to have applied for a pension although the investigator was told that in 2 of the families the mothers preferred to work regularly and support their children with occasional aid from the county agent rather than apply for a pension. But the other families apparently did not know of the aid-to-mothers law, and the county agent's office had not informed them of this source of regular and adequate aid. A similar study of the records in another district office of the outdoor relief department brought to light 11 other widows who were eligible for pensions and who had not applied for mothers' aid. Here again the investigator was told that 9 of these widows were able to support their families with occasional doles from the outdoor relief department, and that there were only 2 widows, therefore, in need of regular aid who had not been told to apply for pensions. On the whole, then, although there are a few families in need of help who might become pensioners if the county agent's office suggested an application at the court, there are apparently not many who do not in course of time discover for themselves the possibility of this more adequate form of relief.

PART II.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AID-TO-MOTHERS LAW OUTSIDE COOK COUNTY.

INTRODUCTION.

The Illinois aid-to-mothers law makes no provision for State supervision or control over the administration of the law. Each county in the State is an independent administrative unit. The law prescribes, of course, that pensions shall be granted only on certain conditions; but if a county disregards these conditions and grants pensions to persons not legally entitled to them, there is no State department with authority to see that the law is enforced.

Since there are 102 different counties in Illinois, which represent nearly 102 different pension policies, few general statements can be made about their methods of administering the law.

The material relating to the administration of the law in the "down-State" counties, which is presented in this section, has been secured from the following sources: (1) The data secured from the replies to an inquiry conducted by correspondence with the county judges of the State. Through the cooperation of the State charities commission, a schedule was sent out by the secretary of the commission to each county judge in the State, asking for certain facts as to the use of the pension law in his county. Schedules were returned from 77 counties only, for some of the judges refused to send any reply even after follow-up letters had been sent to them. (2) Further data were secured by correspondence with the representatives of various private charitable organizations in the outlying portions of the State. Twenty-three schedules were returned by representatives of such agencies. (3) After this preliminary survey of the field by correspondence, further data were secured through a special investigator who visited 14 counties, all except 1 that had pensioned thirty or more families during the preceding year and a number of other counties selected for special reasons. The counties selected to be visited were in different sections of the State, some poor and some rich, some mining, some manufacturing, and some rural. Twenty-three counties had only five families or fewer than this number pensioned, and no investigation was made in any of these counties.

The schedules collected by correspondence with the county judges were sent out in August, 1915, and the data relate, therefore, largely to the autumn of 1915. The visits of the special investigator were made in the months of October, November, December, 1916, and January, 1917. As has been pointed out, the Illinois law provides no State supervising agency with control over the administration of the pension law, and no reports are submitted by the 102 different local authorities to any central office. It is very difficult, therefore, to ascertain either the extent to which the law is being used or the methods of administration that have been adopted. The State charities commission has obtained such information as it has published by correspondence with the judges, many of whom refused to answer letters, and by reports sent in by the State inspector of county almshouses and jails during her investigations in 1913 and in 1915. Information as to the number of counties that have made use of the law is, however, probably complete. But although the preliminary inquiries of the State inspector have been a useful basis for further inquiries, she visited none of the pensioned families, and her inquiries as to methods of administration were very limited.

In addition to this material, use has been made of three reports on the use of the aid-to-mothers law published by the State charities commission in the Institution Quarterly in September, 1913, December, 1914, and September, 1916.

THE DETERMINATION OF PENSION POLICIES IN THE 101 OUTLYING COUNTIES.

The judge of the juvenile court, who is also the county judge in the 101 counties outside of Cook County, is the person in each county who has the right to grant pensions; and if he does not approve of the law, he may nullify it simply by refusing to grant any pensions. But the judge who approves of the law and wishes to put it into operation can do so only after the county supervisors have voted to appropriate money for this purpose. That is, both the judge and the supervisors must agree as to the desirability of providing pensions or none will be granted. Thus in five counties the supervisors have made appropriations, but the judge has granted no pensions. On the other hand, some counties have not used the law because of the unwillingness of the county commissioners to add to the taxes. The judge in one county, for example, reported that the county board would not levy a tax for the purpose of providing this fund unless compelled to do so by a mandamus suit, and the judge added that in his opinion such a suit should be brought "if for no other reason than to convince the county board that the laws of Illinois apply to them as to any other body of public servants."

In another county the judge actually granted a few pensions, but the supervisors obtained legal advice to the effect that the constitutionality of the law was doubtful and refused to pay them. Further evidence of the unwillingness of the county supervisors to make the necessary appropriation is found in several other letters. Thus the judge of County X wrote: "Our board of supervisors have so far failed to levy the tax under the mothers' pension law * * * so we have been unable to personally test the law." Appropriations were made later on in this county and pensions actually paid. Similarly the judge of County Y, where an appropriation of \$2,000 had just been made, wrote: "I have tried heretofore to have our county board appropriate some money to be used for this fund, but was never successful until now. * * * Since the law was passed I had a number of applicants, some of whom I knew to be worthy, but have had to deny them all as there was no money to be used for them." ¹

¹ It is of interest that a letter from the probation officer in this county contains the following statement: "The matter stands thus at the present time, but public sentiment is getting better and there is a prospect that this law may be carried out in the county. Just now there are no cases calling for a mother's pension that are not being taken care of, only in such cases as those in which a mother refused to take help in the old way for fear it will be thrown up to her children at school by their playmates."

In other counties, as has been pointed out, the law has not been put in operation because the county judge does not approve of the law or is not sufficiently interested in the law to grant any pensions. In one county the probation officer of the court wrote briefly: "This county does not approve of mothers' pensions." In five other counties appropriations have been made but no pensions granted; in one county the clerk is supplied with the necessary blanks; while from another county the judge wrote in reply to our inquiry: "We have had applications for help where the mothers' pension act should have been invoked, but no one has seen fit as yet to invoke it. * * * The county board has in some instances aided parties who could have made proper proof, but who were aided as paupers."

In one county the judge reported that there had been numerous applications under the act, but that he has adopted the policy of asking the local supervisors of the poor to be present at the hearing. In every instance, he reported, the supervisors were "able to furnish the aid required." "This plan," continued the judge, "seems to me to be in the interests of economy, as necessities rather than money are furnished the applicant; and I think I can safely say in every instance thus far the wants of the parties in need have been supplied." This judge—and he is no doubt in some instances typical—saw no difference between the purpose of the mothers' pension law and the old outdoor relief system.

This judge also added that in his opinion the principal objection to the law was that the applicants received money, which they could spend as they pleased; whereas, if the aid were "furnished through the supervisor, as local poor master, they get no money and only the necessary supplies." There undoubtedly are other judges in the State equally unintelligent with regard to the purpose of the pension law. In fact, a letter published two years ago in the *Institution Quarterly* contains a very similar statement. The judge of Z County wrote to the secretary of the State charities commission as follows:

Will say in reply to your inquiry concerning the mothers' pension law that I do not think it is a good one. For this reason, there is a supervisor in each township who is the overseer of the poor, and he is far better acquainted with the mother who lives there about 365 days in the year than the county judge can possibly be, and the supervisor can look after and see that the tax money is being spent for the necessities of life instead of frivolities for which some mothers would use the money.

I think that every supervisor in Z County would see to it that no family would suffer in his township if he were given any notice at all concerning their circumstances. If we have a hearing, the mother wishing to be pensioned comes into court with a few of her friends; and of course if the court listens to the evidence there is nothing left to do except to grant to her a pension, which she may need a part of the year and a part of the year she does not. Many mothers claim a pension under the mistaken idea on their part that they do not become county paupers if they take under this law, and seem to think they

have as much right to a pension as any of our war veterans, while they are just as much county paupers as those residing at our county home.

For counties like our own, where the population is not so numerous, I think the supervisor is well enough acquainted with the families and can deal out better justice to the poor and the taxpayer than can the county judge, and that we are not in need of the mothers' pension law.

In another county, where 11 pensions were being granted, the judge also believed that the families would better be left to the overseer of the poor, and wrote to the secretary of the State charities commission:

In this county we do not have very many who are receiving support under this law, but during the time that it has been on the statute books we have had a large number of applications, considering the population of our county. The most of them could not comply with the strict requirements of the law and the most of them were ones who were not entitled to support under this law. In most cases in our county in which provision is being made in the family under this law, are families who were receiving support from the county through the supervisor or overseer of the poor. And in a county like this one I am of the opinion that the better way to take care of these is through the overseer of the poor in each township. The supervisor who is the overseer of the poor has better opportunity to know of the conditions in these families than has the county court or any agents appointed by it. There is a tendency among a great many people to think that when the term "pension" is used it is a matter of right and they are entitled to ask and receive this pension, no difference as to their physical or financial condition.

There is sometimes, too, confusion not only with respect to the purpose of the law but also with respect to the actual requirements of the law. This is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter from the judge of R County, in reply to a questionnaire sent out by the State charities commission in August, 1914.

When the law was first enacted and was published by the newspapers throughout the State, a number of mothers made application for aid under this law, and I directed the probation officer to make the investigation as required by the law and granted three or four of these pensions. When the orders came to the county clerk, the question was raised as to what fund the money was to be paid from; and on examination of the law I found that the board of supervisors could levy a tax, which should not exceed a certain per cent, and that that money raised by that tax should be placed in a special fund and be used for the mothers' pension. There was no provision in the statute that the board of supervisors might make an appropriation and place it in this fund, so I changed the orders from aid under the aid-to-mothers act to aid under the dependent and neglected children's act, and then I began to observe and study this law.

I am not favorably impressed with this law at all. In the first place, I do not think that there was any necessity whatever for this law. The dependent and neglected children's act covers the whole field, and I believe in a better way than the mothers' pension law does. Of course, I understand that you people who favor the mothers' pension law are making the claim that the mother would be more independent and would not feel that she was receiving

funds from charity so much if it were under the mothers' pension law than if it were under the dependent and neglected children's act, because under the dependent and neglected children's act the probation officer visits the home once in each month and then recommends to the judge how much should be paid to them for the succeeding month, while under the mothers' pension law the money is paid monthly from the county treasury to the mother, and she spends the money as she sees fit.

It is unnecessary to point out the inaccuracies in this letter, which is interesting solely as indicating that some of the judges are very much confused not only as to the purpose but as to the actual provisions of the pension law. It is interesting that a later judge in County R has adopted the same interpretation of the law. A letter from the probation officer of this county, received on July 14, 1916, contained the following statement:

In reply to your letter addressed to Judge ———, of R County, will say that we have not used a dollar from the mothers' pension fund. A number of monthly allowances have been granted. But the children were declared dependent, and an average of \$5 per month for each child was given from the pauper relief fund. These people needed help, but did not comply with the law regulating the mothers' pension fund.

NUMBER OF COUNTIES GRANTING MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

In spite of the opposition of county judges and county supervisors to the law, pensions were being granted in 1916 in 71 out of the 101 down-State counties. The cost of these pensions was, in 1916, approximately \$349,200; and as nearly as can be estimated 1,583 families with 4,850 children were provided for out of this fund. Information is not available as to why the law is not being used in the other 30 counties that are not granting pensions. But, in general, they seem to be the poorer and more backward counties of the State.

During the first year following the enactment of the pension law only 16 counties outside of Cook County made any use of it. No reasons have been found to explain the prompt adoption of the law by these 16 counties, or its neglect by the remaining 85 counties of the State. The counties using the law represent no one geographical section of the State, since they range from the extreme northwestern to the southeastern section; 4 of them are counties in which are found 4 of the 11 large cities of the State; but an equal if not greater number are counties that are rural communities of farms and small towns. Nor can the adoption of the pension law be explained on the ground that these 16 are the communities most progressive in their care of the poor, for the reports of the State board of charities show that some of these 16 counties are extremely backward in their outdoor and even in their indoor relief. The use of the pension law in 1911-1913 in these 16 counties could only be explained separately for each county by a study of special local conditions.

No additional information as to the number of counties using the pension law is available until December, 1914, when 63 counties were granting pensions under the act.

Before the 1st of January, 1916, 10 other counties were using the act; and 5 more counties had indicated an intention of using the law by making an appropriation for this purpose, although no pensions had actually been granted. This increase in the number of counties in which pensions are being granted is shown in the following summary :

	1912	1913	1915
Total.....	101	101	101
Counties using pension law.....	16	63	72
Counties not using.....	85	35	a 29
No report.....		3	

a Five of these counties had made appropriation for a "pension fund."

It is not possible to find any general reasons that explain satisfactorily the failure of 29 counties to make use of the law. The failure is due in some counties to some accidental situation, such as the lack of interest or opposition of a county judge or of some members of the board of supervisors. It should be noted, however, that, although these 29 counties represent no one geographical section exclusively, yet by far the greater number of them are in the southern and poorer portion of the State; while with the exception of a group of 6 counties in the center of the State, they are all counties either on the border or extremely close to it. That is to say, they are in general the outlying districts and river counties.

Another point of interest about these counties is that in all 29 there is only one city of 10,000 inhabitants. It is of interest, too, that these counties which are backward in applying the aid-to-mothers act are in general counties in which the administration of other outdoor relief is relatively worse than in the rest of the State. This is indicated by the fact that only 7 out of these 29 counties required written orders for relief and itemized bills; while in the other 72 counties, 36, or one-half the number, did make these slight requirements.²

With the increase in the number of counties granting pensions there has been of course a corresponding increase in the number of persons receiving aid under the law. Unfortunately there are no figures available that show exactly the growth in the number of beneficiaries. In 1912 there were 50 mothers aided, and more than 150 children pensioned (the exact number could not be obtained). For 1913 no accurate information is available either as to the number of families or the number of children receiving help under the law. The State charities commission estimates the number of children at about 1,200. For the year 1915 the figures are more exact. By August of that year there were 1,042 families getting aid under the pension law; and during that year at least 282 additional families were pensioned, making a total of 1,324 families with approximately 3,700 children pensioned during the year ending August 1, 1915.

The number of families pensioned varies, of course, from county to county. Table XLVIII shows the number of families pensioned in the different counties in a single month in 1915. The number pensioned in a given month is much easier to determine than the number pensioned during the year, since the policy of the counties

² These figures may not be complete. They are compiled from the Institution Quarterly of March, 1916; but as no uniformity was observed in the details reported for the various counties, it is possible that some counties required written orders and itemized bills but did not report this procedure.

varies as to the number of months that individual families are kept on the pension roll.

TABLE XLVIII.—*Number of counties giving aid to specified number of families, August 1, 1915, or nearest date thereto.^a*

Number of families pensioned by county.	Counties granting pensions.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	72	100.0
1- 4 families.....	18	25.0
5- 9 families.....	19	26.4
10-14 families.....	9	12.5
15-19 families.....	7	9.7
20-29 families.....	10	13.9
30-49 families.....	6	8.3
50 families or more.....	3	4.2

^a The figures do not all refer to one date, since they are compiled from two sources, our own schedules from 56 counties giving the figures on August 1, 1915, and the Institution Quarterly of March, 1916, in which the date to which the figures refer falls somewhere between April and December, 1915.

This table shows that most of the counties pensioned very few families. Only 3 counties pensioned as many as 50 families; and in these 3 counties, three of the largest cities of the State are located. Eighteen counties, or 25 per cent of the total number, pensioned fewer than 5 families; and 19 other counties, 26.4 per cent, from 5 to 9 families. That is, 37 counties, or 51.4 per cent, did not have 10 mothers pensioned on the date for which the information was collected.

A comparison between the number of families on the pension roll August 1 and the maximum number of families pensioned at any time during the year was possible for the 58 counties from which schedules were obtained. In the majority of these counties there was no difference between the number on the August pension roll and the maximum number pensioned in any other month.

Only 6 counties reported a maximum number for the year greater by more than 5 families than the number pensioned on August 1. In one county the number dropped from 164 to 5, and in another county from 105 to 70 because the pensions were discontinued during the summer months on account of lack of funds.^b Further study of the administration of the law in these two counties suggests that a more judicious expenditure of funds would have rendered unnecessary any such drastic reduction during the summer months. In H County the difference, which is not so great, is accounted for by a change of probation officers and a consequent "cleaning up." No explanation of the difference in the other 3 counties has been found.

^b See p. 135.

EXPENDITURES OF DIFFERENT COUNTIES.

Further information as to the extent to which the pension law is used may be obtained from a statement of the amount of money spent by the different counties on mothers' pensions. On the schedules sent to the county judges they were asked to state the exact amount spent during the year ending August 1, 1915, or during the last fiscal year. Only 53 of the 58 counties returning schedules answered this question, and some of those answering the question explained that their figure was an estimate. No information is available as to the expenditures of the other counties in which the law was used. The report of the State charities commission does in some instances give the amount of the appropriation for this purpose, but there is no statement as to whether or not this appropriation was actually expended, and the figures given refer in some cases to the year 1914-15, in others to the year 1915-16, and in still others to the current year. It is not possible, therefore, to make any satisfactory estimate of the expenditure of these 14 counties.

The total expenditure for mothers' pensions in one year for the 53 counties for which information is available was \$118,148, which was \$12,000 less than the expenditure in Cook County in the same year. The population of Cook County in 1910 was 2,405,000; the total population of the other 53 counties was 2,110,000. Thus the per capita cost of the pensions in Cook County was \$0.0541, and in the 53 other counties it was \$0.056; that is, the per capita cost of the relief was actually lower by \$0.0019 in Cook County than in the other 53 counties taken as one unit.

The expenditure varied in the different counties just as the number of families varied. Table XLIX shows the amounts expended by the 53 counties sending in definite replies to the schedule question relating to expenditure.

TABLE XLIX.—*Number of counties with specified expenditure for mothers' pensions.*

Expenditure for pensions by county.	Counties providing pensions.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	72	.....
Total reported.....	53	100.0
\$100- \$499.....	9	17.0
500- 999.....	12	22.6
1,000-1,999.....	11	20.8
2,000-2,999.....	7	13.2
3,000-3,999.....	4	7.5
4,000-4,999.....	4	7.6
5,000 or more.....	6	11.3
Not reported.....	19	.....

This table shows that no one of these 53 counties spent very large sums on mothers' pensions. The expenditure depended to some extent upon the size of the counties. The 9 counties spending less than \$500, the 12 counties spending from \$500 to \$1,000, and the 11 counties spending from \$1,000 to \$2,000 are all counties with a population of less than 60,000 persons. The 6 counties reporting an expenditure of \$5,000 and over are all counties with a population of over 60,000. In these counties are found the large industrial centers of the State. The largest sum expended by any one of these counties was \$11,900. The per capita cost in this county was \$0.099, which is considerably higher than the \$0.0560 average per capita cost for the 53 counties, and yet this county was one of those that had almost no pension list during the summer because the funds were exhausted.

Table L, which gives the expenditure together with the population of the counties, shows, however, that expenditure did not always vary with population.

TABLE L.—Number of counties of given population spending specified amounts for mothers' pensions in 1915.

Population of county.	Counties reporting specified expenditure for mothers' pensions.							
	Total.	\$100- 499	\$500- 999	\$1,000- 1,999	\$2,000- 2,999	\$3,000- 3,999	\$4,000- 4,999	\$5,000 & over.
Total.....	53	9	12	11	7	4	4	6
10,000-19,999.....	13	2	7	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
20,000-29,999.....	10	2	2	5	1	.....	.....	.....
30,000-39,999.....	12	3	3	2	3	.....	1	.....
40,000-59,999.....	7	2	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....
60,000-79,999.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	1
80,000-99,999.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4
100,000 or more.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1

USE OF PROBATION OFFICERS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF ACT.

The failure to use the law in more than one-fourth of the counties in the State and the extent to which the law is used in the other counties are perhaps less important than the methods of administration in the counties in which pensions are actually being given. The law definitely requires that, before a pension is granted, an investigation be made by a probation officer; and there seems to be an attempt at an investigation as required by law in all the counties. Information is needed, however, as to the kind of probation officers appointed by the courts, since the character of the investigation and of supervising care given to families depends upon the ability of the officers to render intelligent service.

In very few counties is there a probation officer giving full time to the probation work, which includes not only the pension work but all other forms of probation service. In the other counties there are part-time officers, or there is some one appointed a probation officer to comply with the law; but the so-called probation officer is a judge or sheriff or supervisor of the poor or some one whose chief duties are of another sort. Table LI shows the different types of officers appointed for the mothers' pension work.

TABLE LI.—*Number of counties having specified kind of probation officers.*

Persons acting as probation officers.	Number of counties.
Total.....	72
Probation officer on yearly salary.....	* 30
Full-time officers.....	4
Part-time officers.....	19
Time not given.....	7
Other probation officers.....	17
Officers paid per diem.....	7
Officers paid per case.....	2
Volunteer probation officer.....	5
Salary and time not reported.....	3
Supervisor or overseer of the poor.....	13
Special officer for each family.....	7
States attorney.....	2
Judge.....	1
Sheriff.....	1
Not reported.....	1

* In two of these counties investigations are also made by the supervisor, and in one the judge also investigates.

Some further account of the activities of the persons described in this table as probation officers is probably needed. The table shows that only 4 counties had full-time probation officers. In 19 counties the officers who are classified as regular probation officers on a yearly salary give only part time to the work of the court, variously reporting their other duties as: Probation officer of the circuit court; work for private relief societies; policeman; policewoman; secretary to the judge; county coroner; truant officer; investigator of the applications for outdoor relief; lawyer; school-teacher.

In discussing the Cook County work, it was pointed out that upon the probation officers fell the very difficult work of determining which applicants met the tests of eligibility prescribed by law. This work can probably not be well done by State's attorneys, judges, or even volunteer or occasional probation officers. Nor are officers paid for casual work on a per diem basis likely to render the services needed. Of the two officers paid per case, one is paid \$10 for every case investigated, and one is paid \$10 for every case that gets a pension.

The amount of work carried by some of the officers who are paid a regular yearly salary for part-time work makes it impossible that the officer should have adequate time either for the investigation or for proper supervision of pensioned families. In D County, for example, the probation officer who had 33 families to supervise in 1915 was also secretary of the local charitable society, which handled some 1,500 cases during the year.⁴ Again, in another county, the probation officer, who has 13 pensioned families and all other cases brought before the juvenile court, is supervisor of the poor and truant officer as well. This officer reports that she has so much to do that she can not supervise families as she should, "especially those in the country," and she suggests that the court needs a full-time probation officer and a clerical assistant. Another example of an overworked officer is found in T County. There, the supervisor of the 19 pensioned families is, in addition to the other probation work, supervisor of the poor for the township, which has a population of 17,000; truant officer for the county; and superintendent of the associated charities. She has one paid assistant; but, even so, there is little time available for the pension work.

Not only are the part-time officers so fully occupied as to be unable to do the pension work adequately, but the full-time officers who do all the other probation work are most of them left with little time for the pension service. Thus in K County the probation officer has charge of 36 pensioned families, in addition to all the other juvenile court work of a city of 45,000 inhabitants. She complains

⁴ Since that time she has been relieved of the work in the associated charities, but has added the work of truant officer. She stated that she "tries to visit each family every month" but has no time for the additional services that might be rendered her families.

that she is overworked and is especially in need of clerical assistance. She has tried to supplement her visits to the pensioned families by visits from "friendly visitors," but does not find this system of volunteer assistants entirely satisfactory. In H County there are three probation officers, but its county seat is a large city, and there, too, it has proved necessary to use volunteer visitors for the pensioned families.

The need for an adequate number of regular salaried probation officers is too apparent to need discussion. What is not so apparent, however, is that the regular salaried officer may also be extremely unsatisfactory. This is due chiefly to two circumstances: (1) That the salary is so low that properly qualified persons will not accept the position; (2) that appointments are made by the judge, often for personal or political reasons instead of for merit.

One or both of these situations seem to be found rather generally in the counties of Illinois. Some data as to the salaries of the officers were collected; but, since it was not always clear how much time was being given to the work, the information furnished did not appear to be valuable.

On the subject of the method of appointing probation officers there is much to be said. The appointing power is left in the hands of the county judge; and although, in Cook County, the judge of the juvenile court used the power thus conferred upon him to select the officers by competitive examination, and called on persons of recognized experience in child-caring work to conduct the examination, in all other counties the judge has used his personal discretion in appointing the probation officer. Many of the judges undoubtedly appointed the person whom they believed to be best qualified for the work. In five counties, for example, the person appointed was the secretary of the local charity organization society; in two other counties the officer had had experience in social work; in another county she had had long experience as a probation officer before the aid-to-mothers act was passed. In another county the officer appointed had had training in a professional school of philanthropy.

Although some judges selected persons apparently well qualified for their work as probation officers, other judges have not done so. Attention has already been called to the fact that a county coroner, a policeman, a clerk from the assessor's office, a doctor, a lawyer, and a school teacher are among the persons appointed to act as probation officer in different counties.⁵

⁵ The following item taken from a daily paper of one of the down-State cities indicates the method of appointment. The item is headed "New Probation Officer": "Mrs. X, a widow with one child about 5 years old, was appointed county probation officer for the north portion of N County yesterday by County Judge Z. Judge Z said he believes a mother will have the spirit of maternal love which will enable her to make the best probation officer. Mrs. X succeeds Miss A, who resigned and will engage in religious work with a traveling evangelist."

In 10 counties there were persons acting as probation officers, some on full-time and some on part-time basis, who appeared to have had special training and experience for probation work, or who at any rate appeared to be well qualified for such work. Unfortunately, however, in 6 of these 10 counties the officers had so much to do in addition to the pension work that the latter could not be properly done. That is, there seem to be only four counties in which conditions appear to be such that intelligent aid to the families is possible, and two of these counties have very small pension rolls—one county pensions one family and the other county pensions seven. The other two counties have a larger number of pensioned families. Only one of these four counties was visited by the special investigator, and it was disappointing to find that even in this county, where conditions appeared to make good pension work possible, good work was, nevertheless, not being done. In L County, which was visited, the county was found to be divided into three districts, with a different probation officer for each district. While the officer in one district, who is also a visitor for the associated charities, does give intelligent help to her families, such as finding work for the mother or children, supervising school attendance, etc., the other two officers make no attempt at anything of the kind, and their services stop with a perfunctory monthly visit to the family.

INVESTIGATION OF APPLICANTS' ELIGIBILITY.

The kind of investigation that is made depends largely on the intelligence of the person making the inquiries, and sufficient comment has already been made on this point. Further information as to precisely what is done in the way of investigation has been obtained from the schedules returned by county judges, the 24 schedules returned by social workers, and the visits of the special investigator. The schedules that were returned all reported that, before a pension was granted, it was the practice to have the home visited as required by law. In some counties, however, this represents the intention of the court rather than the uniform practice. Thus the report from one county is, "As to the investigation, the officer calls at the home in almost all cases; in a very few he may not." In another county, one of the two probation officers makes no pretense of visiting the home but interviews the women in his office. In other counties in which it seemed to be the usual practice to visit the home, some families were found who were not visited until after the pension was granted.

A single visit to the home seems to be all that is done in the way of investigating the applicant's eligibility. Most counties report that relatives are visited; but five counties report definitely that they are not "visited," and two more report that they are visited "sometimes" or "not always." The visits to the relatives, if made, seem to be wholly perfunctory ones, since no report has been made from any county and no case could be found by the investigator of any relative who had been either persuaded or compelled to assist an applicant or a pensioner.

In reply to the question as to whether any verification is made of other facts needed to establish eligibility, such as the marriage, death of husband, birth of children, and possession of property, the claim was made in most counties that this was done. In counties visited by the special investigator, however, it appeared that this verification really was not made. Officers when questioned were vague and indefinite and qualified their answers with "usually," "sometimes," "in some cases." No records of any steps in the investigation could be found. The officers' reports usually read "Your officer has investigated and has found"; but it seems to be the practice to consider an investigation complete when the applicant has been visited and interviewed, and the findings of the investigating

officer seem to be based on the unverified statements of the applicant. The testimony of the applicant on oath in open court is held in many counties to furnish sufficient evidence of her eligibility. On the whole, the only general statement that can be made as to the practice of the outlying counties in the matter of the preliminary investigation is that usually the home is visited and that some officers believe that they make an attempt to verify the facts necessary to prove eligibility. The methods of verification are not on record and apparently can not be found, and it is clear that in many places the verification is that offered by the applicant herself in court, while, in other counties, "community knowledge" is accepted. From no county has any evidence been obtained of a uniform practice of verifying by legal records, such as has been adopted in Cook County.

Two results may usually be expected if a careless preliminary investigation is made: (1) A very small number of applications will be rejected or dismissed, since very few will be found by an inadequate investigation to be ineligible; (2) ineligible persons will be found on the pension lists. Each of these points will be discussed.

DISMISSED CASES.

In Cook County in the course of a year a great many more applications are rejected after investigation than are finally granted, notwithstanding the fact that it had been customary from the first to refuse to take applications from persons who are clearly ineligible. In the other counties of the State, about which we have information on this point, this rule does not appear to hold good.

Table LII shows the number of mothers whose applications were rejected or dismissed in a year in 49 counties from which reports could be obtained.

TABLE LII.—*Number of counties in which a specified number of applicants were refused pension grants.*

Number of pension applications rejected.	Number of counties.
Total.....	72
None.....	13
1-4 families.....	19
5-9 families.....	8
10-19 families.....	4
20-29 families.....	3
30-49 families.....	1
50 families or more.....	1
Not reported.....	23

It thus appears that 13 of the pension-granting counties rejected no applicants in a year and a considerable number of other counties rejected very few applications.* A list of reasons for dismissing

* The following table showing the relation between the number of families refused aid and the number in receipt of aid in the various counties may be of interest :

Number of counties refusing pensions to a specified number of families, together with number of families pensioned.

Number of pensions granted.	Applications refused.							
	Total.	None.	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50 or more.
Total.....	49	13	19	8	4	3	1	1
1-4.....	12	5	6	1				
5-9.....	13	6	4	1	1	1		
10-19.....	11	1	8	1		1		
20-29.....	8	1		4	2			1
30-49.....	3		1	1	1			
50 or more.....	2					1	1	

cases was given for the rejected applicants in Cook County. No such reasons could be obtained for the outlying counties. A great majority of the counties keep no record of the reasons for refusal to grant pensions. Officers when questioned could give no more definite reasons than that the applicants were refused "for legal reasons," or "for not complying with the law." There are so many requirements prescribed by the law that these reasons are too indefinite to be satisfactory.

The pensioning of every applicant who applies may be due to one of several reasons: (1) Lack of care in receiving and registering applicants; (2) inadequate investigation of applicant's eligibility; (3) failure to devise other methods of solving problems of family distress; (4) a willingness on the part of the court to disregard the provisions of the law and to grant pensions to ineligible applicants even when this ineligibility has been ascertained.

PENSION GRANTS TO INELIGIBLE FAMILIES.

One result of an inadequate preliminary investigation is the granting of pensions to families who are not legally eligible for this form of relief. In Illinois this condition is made worse by the fact that the county judges not infrequently refuse to be bound by the law and seem to take the position that they may grant pensions to any person whom they consider a suitable applicant. Twelve judges expressly said that they did not observe the requirements that had been added to the old vague law of 1911 by amended laws of 1913 and 1915. The legislature, when it passed the law of 1913, did not repeal the 1911 act by name but merely by the general phrase of "all acts or parts inconsistent herewith." That the new law was intended to replace the old one is not open to doubt; it was so interpreted in Cook County, and, it will be remembered, something like 200 families who did not comply with the new requirements were dropped from the rolls. But in some other counties the judges say that the funds-to-parents act of 1911 was not repealed by the later law; and 12 counties were in 1915 granting funds under that act. The investigator in suggesting to different judges that certain persons on his lists were ineligible under the present law, received more than once such a reply as: "Well, perhaps that is so, but I am operating under the old 1911 law." One judge said that he used the 1911 law instead of the amended law because he considered the earlier law a better one. Another judge told the investigator that he knew that a certain one of his pensioners was not legally entitled to a pension, but it would have "taken a heart of stone," he said, "to refuse what she asked."

In all but three of the counties outside Cook County visited by the investigator, pensions were being granted to persons who were legally ineligible. This may be due to the lawless attitude of the judges or to their lack of intelligence more than to the inability of the probation officer to discover and to report the applicant's ineligibility. But whatever the cause, the evidence clearly shows that, although the law specifically excluded deserted women, divorced women, and women property owners, such persons were frequently granted pensions in the outlying counties.

The requirement of the law most frequently ignored was that which provided that the mother who is the "owner of real property, other

than household goods," shall not be eligible for a pension.⁷ Four counties reported that they were in the habit of granting pensions to property owners, and family visiting by the investigator showed that it was also done in 8 additional counties. That is, in 10 of the 14 counties visited by the investigator it was found that pensions were granted to women property owners, although the schedules sent in by correspondence reported this practice in only 2 of these counties. Had it been possible to visit the other counties in which pensions are granted, there is reason to believe that the practice of ignoring the property disqualification would have been found to be even more widespread than it appears to be from the evidence. The value of the property owned by these pensioners varied greatly—some of the mothers owned only a little home representing a very small investment, but occasionally the property was more valuable.

For example, one such case in B County was that of a woman with two children over 3 and under 14 years of age. She owns property valued at from \$4,000 to \$5,000 with a \$2,200 mortgage on it. Her home was very well furnished with good rugs, piano, etc. Her husband was a saloon keeper and a well known local politician. After his death she ran for town constable but was defeated, and a pension of \$30 a month was almost immediately secured for her in spite of local opposition. The investigator was told that the pensioner was locally known as a financier, and it was charged that her pension was due to political influence. In any event, the ownership of property made her technically ineligible for this particular form of public aid.

Another case in the same county is that of a widow who was granted in October, 1915, a pension of \$10 a month for two children. She owned the house in which she was living, valued at \$800, and an adjoining 3 acres of land, which she sold to pay the mortgage on the two pieces of property. Her ownership of the property was a fact well known in the small community. In May, 1916, one of the pensioned children died. His pension was not stayed and the mother thought that the full pension was continued because the judge wished to help her a little more. In addition to the pension, the supervisors gave her coal and groceries. This is an especially interesting case, since at the time of the visit the woman had only one child under 14 and one child over 14 living with her. She had also three married daughters.

In the same county a pension of \$10 a month was granted in January, 1914, to another widow for her one child. She owned the house in which she was living, valued at \$700, but with a mortgage of \$200. A local minister who has taken great interest in the pension law explained to the investigator that the court granted the pension on the ground that she is "such a deserving woman."

⁷ Illinois Revised Statutes, 1917, ch. 23, sec. 308. This provision has since been altered; see *supra*, p. 15.

Still another case is that of Mrs. G, in C county, a Lithuanian woman, who was receiving a pension of \$5 a month for four children and was buying the property where she was living from a building and loan association. The property was valued at \$1,200, and she had paid more than half its value in monthly installments of \$6.

Again, in F County in October, 1911, a pension of \$6 a month was granted to the B family, consisting of the mother, one boy of 15, who was in a city outside the State, and four children under 14. They owned a small, three-room "box" house, built of bare boards and unplastered, valued at about \$250. The present judge, who has come on the bench since the law of 1913 was passed, intended to discontinue the pension for this family because they owned property; but he said that so much pressure was brought to bear by fellow-townsmen of Mrs. B that he was unable to do this. That the law was being violated did not seem a sufficient reason for action.

Another propertied family was found in L County. A widow received a pension of \$20 a month for six children. She owned property worth \$1,500, which she was buying from a building and loan association and in which her equity was worth about \$700. She was paying \$6.50 a month to cover payments on the property, taxes, and interest.

Whether or not the law should have prohibited the granting of pensions to women who owned or were buying property is not the question here. Doubtless the "homestead" disqualification worked what seemed at any rate to be greater hardships in the country districts than in Chicago, and it is of interest that several down-State judges, in replying to a questionnaire sent out by the State charities commission asking their opinion as to the working of the law, suggested in their reply that ownership of a home should not render a woman ineligible for a pension.⁸

The law has already been amended in this respect and, as has been pointed out, now provides that when the mother is entitled to homestead rights under the exemption laws of the State or holds dower interest, and the value of either interest is not greater than \$1,000, she shall not be thereby disqualified for relief under the mothers' aid provision. The judges who thought that the law should be altered in this respect administered the law as they thought it should be rather than as it was.

But it should be remembered that the law definitely prohibited the granting of such pensions, and every judge who, prior to July 1, 1917, granted a pension to a property owner, violated the law.

The down-State courts appear to be lax also about the enforcement of the provision relating to personal property. The Chicago court has ruled that a woman who has more than \$50 in hand or in the

⁸ Institution Quarterly, December, 1914, pp. 13-15.

bank shall be considered ineligible under this provision. The down-State courts do not seem to have made any definite ruling as to the amount of property that disqualifies, but cases were found of women who were granted pensions when they still had a considerable sum of money. A case in point is that of the X family in N County. This family consisted of the mother and five children between the ages of 1 and 4. The father, who had been a miner earning \$60 a month, died of appendicitis in May, 1915. He left \$1,000 insurance. In October, 1915, the mother was granted a pension of \$10 a month at a time when she still had \$700 of the insurance money left. The county agent, who acts as probation officer, knew of this and the court also knew of it. The county agent is said to have told Mrs. X to use this money to supplement her small pension and to have promised her that when this was used the pension would be increased.

Other women who were pensioned, although they were not eligible, were women whose relatives were able to assist in their support. The law clearly says that a mother shall be eligible for a pension only "if her child or children has or have relatives of sufficient ability, and who shall be obligated by the finding and judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction, to support them." It has already been pointed out as a weakness of the down-State methods of investigation that little if anything is done to determine the liability of relatives for the support of the mother or her children, as is done, for example, in the Chicago court. Nor does any attempt seem to be made by the county judges to enforce such liability if it is known to exist. Thus pensioned families were found down State with relatives who were liable for their support but who had never been forced to comply with the support provisions of the law.⁹

For example, a woman in C County, Mrs. Y, who had been divorced by one husband and deserted by another, had lived in another State for five years, where her last child had been born. Her husband became ill, and was sent to a sanitarium, and in 1915 she was sent back to her former home in Illinois by the public authorities, but probably at her own request. She then sold her piano, and with the proceeds brought her husband to Illinois; but he soon deserted, and she was given a pension of \$6 a month, \$3 for each of her two children. She lived in a house adjoining her mother's, and the mother with the two unmarried sons owns the home. These unmarried brothers were both working, and they and the mother were abundantly able to support the pensioner, who was technically ineligible not only because she was a deserted and divorced woman but also because she had not been in the county for three years previous.

A somewhat similar case is that of Mrs. Z in B County, who had a pension of \$15 a month, one child under 14, one child over 14, two married daughters, and one married son. Mrs. Z lived with one

⁹ See Illinois Revised Statutes, ch. 23, sec. 308.

daughter in a very comfortably furnished house, but the other married daughter and son had given her no help, and had never been asked to do so.

A similar case in M County is that of Mrs. A, a woman with one dependent child. This pensioner was living with her mother and her stepfather, who owned a good house in a good neighborhood. The house was well furnished, and they had a piano and a telephone. There was a cottage at the rear of the lot that was rented. The mother and the stepfather ran a kind of catering business, and the widowed daughter sewed and earned about \$15 or \$20 a month. The woman was technically ineligible for a pension, because she had not lived in the county three years, and it seemed to be clear that in any event the pension of \$6 was not needed in the household. The paternal grandfather and uncles were also able to contribute, should help have been necessary. Incidentally, it may be noted that it is against the practice of the Chicago court to grant a pension to any able-bodied woman with only one dependent child, so that in the case given above the woman would not have received a pension in Chicago even if she had had no relatives able to assist and had met the residence qualifications.

Another group of ineligible pensioners not infrequently found down State were the deserted wives who were eligible under the 1911 law but have been ineligible since 1913. Reports from two counties showed that pensions were granted to deserted wives, and deserted wives were also found receiving pensions in eight of the counties visited.

Another case of the pensioning of a group of women in violation of the law was found in M County. Here the judge had granted pensions to women whose husbands were in the National Guard and had been sent down to the Mexican border with their regiments. The investigator called attention to the fact that these soldiers' dependents were not eligible for pensions under the aid-to-mothers act, but the judge said that he acted in these cases under the clause in the law which provided for the pensioning of women whose husbands were permanently incapacitated for work by reason of mental or physical infirmities. Only two such pensions were granted, and they were discontinued after a G. A. R. fund had been raised to care for soldiers' wives.

Another illegal practice that seems to be countenanced by some of the down-State judges is the pensioning of children who do not live with their mother. The law clearly says that "the child or children for whose benefit the relief is granted must be living with the mother of such child or children." In two counties pensions were granted to grandparents, and in another county to other guardians, but in these three counties the judges claimed that they were operating under the "old 1911 law." In other counties pensions were granted nominally to the mother who then used the money to board out the child or children, a practice clearly illegal. For example, Mrs. B, of C County, with a pension of \$6 for one child only, worked out as housekeeper for a widower and boarded her child with a friend.

Mrs. D, of G County, received a pension for three children, two of whom she placed in a church institution, apparently with the consent of the judge. The boys ran away from this institution and have now been sent to an institution for delinquents; but no change has been made in the pension.

Mrs. E, of P County, with one child, 6 years old, was granted a pension of \$5 a month. Mrs. E is a strong, vigorous woman who works as a domestic, leaving the child with her own parents in another village.

The list of ineligible pensioners is greatly increased by the lack of supervision after the family is pensioned. One result of this lack of supervision is that families who were eligible at the time of the granting of the pension may become ineligible through the remarriage of the mother, or her removal from the county, or because a child has reached the age of 14 and has gone to work, or because of some other change in the family situation. Unless the supervision of the families is thorough enough to insure that the pension will be stopped with the change in circumstances, families who have become ineligible for pensions will be found on the pension rolls.

SUPERVISION.

The importance of proper supervisory care for pensioned families has already been discussed.¹⁰ Supervision is of course necessary, not only that pensions may be stopped when they are no longer needed, but also in order that the court may be assured that the public funds are being wisely expended and that the mothers may be assisted in maintaining a good home for the pensioned children. Proper supervisory care, however, can be provided only by competent, responsible—and this probably means salaried—probation officers. If the probation officer for the pension work is not really a probation officer at all but a supervisor of the poor, deputy sheriff, county judge, State's attorney, or even a volunteer visitor, adequate supervision can hardly be expected. It has already been pointed out that in 25 counties the probation work is carried on by persons who are probation officers in name only.

In reply to the schedule questions relating to supervision, 27 of the 64 counties sending in replies reported that no attempt was made to provide any supervision of pensioned families.

Of the eight counties from which no schedules were returned only two have regular probation officers, and one of these counties pays a salary of \$10 a month, the other, \$40. In three counties the supervisors act as probation officers; in one the officer is paid \$3 per diem; in one a special officer is appointed for each case; while the other is the county which pays the officer for each case pensioned. It seems probable, therefore, that all these counties should be added to the list of those not providing supervision. Nine other counties report that supervision is provided, but the families are not visited in their homes. Thus, in at least 36, and probably 43, of the 72 counties granting pensions there is no visitation of the pensioned families.

Twenty-nine counties, on the other hand, report that their families are visited by the probation officer, but 5 add qualifying statements, such as "at times," "when necessary," "frequently," etc. Thus, G County reports that visits are made "when desirable"; but out of 10 families in this county visited by our special investigator not 1 reported even a single visit of the officer since the grant of the pension. In this county a substitute for visits had been devised. The judge called the pensioned mothers into court "about every six

¹⁰ See *supra*, pp. 27 et seq.

months" and reexamined them as to their need of a pension. Six other counties report that the probation officer visits the families, but the frequency of the visits is not reported. In two of these counties the officer is paid on a per diem basis, in two the officer is not paid for his services, but in the other two there is a regular officer on a salary—in one case of \$360 a year, in the other \$600. It is possible that these last two officers may visit at regular intervals, but it is extremely unlikely that this is done in the other four counties.

Five counties reported that the families were visited three or four times a year. Thirteen reported that families were visited once a month. Five of these 13 counties, however, were visited by our special investigator, and in only 1 were visits actually made regularly every month. In A County there were three probation officers, all volunteers; and while two of them appeared to visit some of their families very frequently, the other was unable to get round more than three or four times in a year. In D County the officer visited only every second or third month but saw her families every month when the pension was drawn. In H County the probation officer herself is unable to visit oftener than two or three times a year, but the family is visited by "friendly visitors" who are supposed to go once a month. In I County the probation officer, a young daughter-in-law of the judge, had not yet made the rounds of her pensioned families, because, as she explained, "it was extremely hot last summer." Two of the counties which reported that visits were made only two or three times a year have these visits supplemented by reports from the mother to the probation officer every month, and a third county has the family visited by volunteers, supposedly monthly.

Such data as are available, then, show that there were nine counties in which the probation officer visited monthly; three in which the probation officer saw the mother every month but visited only every second, third, or fourth month; four in which she visited three or four times yearly, but in two of these the family was nominally visited every month by a volunteer; the practices of the three officers in one county varied; and one county which reported monthly visits was found to be one of those in which the officer visited "when desirable."

The various forms of service that may be rendered by intelligent supervising officers have already been discussed in the section of this report dealing with the work of the Chicago court. It is unnecessary to say that such work can not be done by the probation service provided for in the down-State counties.

The facts about the supervision of pensioned families in the 63 counties for which information was secured are summarized in Table LIII.

TABLE LIII.—*Number of counties providing different degrees of "supervisory care."*

Methods of supervision reported.	Number of counties.
Total.....	61
No supervision.....	57
Supervision without visits.....	2
Visits "when necessary".....	5
Probation officer visits monthly.....	2
Probation officer visits three or four times yearly.....	47
Frequency of visits varies with officers.....	1
Frequency of visits is not reported.....	6

^a In three of these counties the mothers reported to the officer every month, and in two others the families were visited by volunteers every month.

Abundant evidence of the lack of supervision was collected by our special investigator in the 14 counties in which she visited some of the pensioned families. This investigator found, for example, that women were having pension checks forwarded to them through the mail, although no one at the court knew exactly where they were living.

Thus Mrs. I, with four children and a pension of \$10 a month, received her pension at the Z postoffice; but our investigator found that her present address was unknown to any one, that she was pregnant with an illegitimate child, and that she was supposed to have moved to another city.

A similar case in another county was that of Mrs. N. Her name was given to the investigator as receiving a pension of \$5 a month. The investigator was unable to find the woman at the address which was on the county treasurer's list. Neighbors either did not know or would not tell anything of her whereabouts. The landlady was consulted and explained that she had moved about two years ago; that she had said she was going to a city in another State to live with her two older daughters. She was getting her checks forwarded by mail. Neither the adult probation officer nor the overseer of the poor knew anything of this family.

Again, the investigator found it difficult to locate a woman in C County. The neighbors said that they had not seen her for months. They explained that "she moved round a good deal." The woman, who was finally found, had just returned from a six months' stay in a neighboring State; she had returned reluctantly, but she said that she was afraid if she stayed away much longer her pension would be revoked. While out of the State she had worked in a hotel and had boarded one child in an institution for dependent children and two boys in a newsboys' home. These boys, aged 10 and 12 years, sold papers and were allowed to keep what they made after their board was paid. The older of the boys went across the river to his home in Illinois each month and got the

mother's pension check, cashed it, and brought the money back to her. The 10-year-old boy said that he had attended school a few weeks while he was away. This woman had been a widow three times. The pension was granted before any of the children were old enough to work. At the time of the visit the family income was \$55 a month, and the total income with pension \$65. The officer in this county is supposed to visit every pensioned family once a year.

A serious result of the lack of supervision was the finding of a large number of families who had been put on the pension roll and then had not been removed, although family circumstances had changed and the pensions were no longer needed.

Thus, Mrs. M of G County, who was receiving a pension of \$15, was found by our investigator to have been remarried. This was reported back to the court, and she was then taken off the pension roll.

In the same county Mrs. N, with one child, had been receiving a pension of \$10 a month for more than two years. The investigator called at the address given in the county treasurer's book, found that Mrs. N had been a servant in this house; that she had never had the child with her there; and that she had used her pension to board out the baby. No one knew where Mrs. N had gone, but people thought that she was married and that the baby was still boarded somewhere.

When this was reported back to the court by the investigator, a clerk in the office then said that he had seen a notice of the pensioner's marriage in the local newspaper and had expected to tell the judge to discontinue the pension but had forgotten to do so. He added that no more checks would be mailed to her.

Most frequently the change in circumstances is due to the fact that children who were pensioned when they were under 14 years of age have grown old enough to go to work. This is a change that could easily be discovered if there were a responsible person keeping the records, for the exact ages of the children should be on record at the time the pension is granted, and the exact date when the pension should be stayed should also be a matter of record. Some of these families had very good incomes in 1917, but the pensions were still going on.

Thus, in M County, Mrs. O, the widow of a farmer, was granted a pension four years before, when she had living at home four children under 14 and three children over that age. At the time of the visit of the investigator there were only two children under 14, and five children living at home were working and earning \$153 a month. Included in the family, moreover, was the illegitimate child of one of the daughters, born after the pension was granted.¹¹ The children

¹¹ It should be added that the investigator reported that the home was beautifully clean, and that it seemed to be a good one in spite of the older girl's delinquency.

paid \$64 a month board out of their earnings. Although the probation officer was supposed to visit the family once in three months, she had not recommended any change in the pension, in spite of the fact that the family's situation had changed radically. Nothing had been done to compel the father of the illegitimate child to contribute to its support, and nothing had been done to compel a daughter in a neighboring town to contribute to the mother's support, although she is abundantly able to do so if it were necessary.

In K County two families were found in somewhat similar circumstances. In one there were six children over 14, and their earnings were about \$140 a month, but the pension of \$24 was still continued. In the other there was only one child under 14, while there were four children at work, whose earnings were \$163 a month, but the pension of \$5 was still going on. This is an abuse that is bound to increase if something is not done to keep a careful watch of the pension rolls and to compel the withdrawal of pensions for children who have gone to work and are above the age at which pension grants can legally be made.

One result of this lack of supervision on the part of the probation officer and constituted authorities that was noted by the investigator who visited the selected counties in 1916 was the peculiar importance of the county clerks, county treasurers, or whoever in their offices may have had charge of making out the monthly pension checks or of mailing them or handing them to the pensioned mothers. These clerks were sometimes the only persons who were in any way in touch with the pensioned families after the grant had been made, and the investigator found that they were often better informed on the family circumstances and more interested in the pensioners than any other officials in the county. They saw to it, so far as it was done at all, that pensions were stayed when children became 14 or when the mother remarried. In some places there was an attempt to do this systematically, as in B, where the clerk has recently adopted a card catalogue, showing the date on which each pensioned child became 14; more often, however, the families were watched only in haphazard fashion, and pensions were stayed only when something happened to call it to the attention of the clerk. Thus, it was not uncommon for the clerk in going over the records with our investigator to remark, "Why, Johnnie is 14 now, we will have to stay his pension," or "I saw in the papers that that woman is remarried, I guess she won't need a pension any longer." Occasionally also other violations of the law were noticed by members of the office staff. In P County, for example, the sister of the county clerk, who was herself a clerk in the office, learned that one of the pensioners (Mrs. A) had placed her child with its grandparents. The county clerk's sister

thereupon sent for Mrs. A before sending out the pension check, since the law clearly states that the pensioned child must be living with the mother. In this instance the efforts of the clerk proved futile, since the mother appealed to the judge, who continued the pension in defiance of the law. But the clerks in the office can not be expected to carry the sole responsibility for staying pensions, and it is a result of the lax administration that they not infrequently send checks to women who are no longer entitled to them. Cases have been already given from C and G Counties of pensions going to women who had left the State. Similarly, it has been noted that checks went to women who had remarried; for the women are not all so honest as one woman in F County who did not claim her checks after remarriage, so that they were finally returned through the post-office authorities.

Another weakness in the administration of the law discovered by our investigator in the course of her visits to the counties was the lack of responsibility which was felt by one judge or probation officer for the acts of his predecessors. One judge was found who was evidently trying to administer the mothers' pension law strictly according to the terms of the law, and who explained that the ineligible families on his lists had been granted pensions by the former judge. The possibility of staying these illegal pensions either did not occur to him or he did not think that he ought to be required to incur the unpopularity of correcting his predecessor's mistakes. Similarly, in a few counties the probation officer visited the families who had been granted funds since her term of office began, but seemed to feel that she had no responsibility for the families who were on the lists before she began her work.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PENSION POLICY OF THE CHICAGO COURT AND THAT ADOPTED BY THE DOWN-STATE COURTS.

Certain differences in policy are to be found in the different courts and, in particular, differences between the down-State courts and the Chicago court. Certain rules, it will be remembered, have been laid down in the Chicago court that either define more accurately the terms of eligibility or add new requirements. The differences between the Chicago court and the down-State courts may be due to the latter's failure to formulate any policy at all rather than to the adoption of a policy that is unlike that of the Chicago court. But whether due to accident or to design, differences in policy do exist. The most important of these relate to the following points: (1) The pensioning of an able-bodied mother who has only one child under 14 years of age; (2) the refusal to continue pensions for children who have reached the legal working age and who are not "ill or physically incapacitated for work."

1. The Chicago court, as has been explained, holds that an able-bodied mother should be able to support herself and one child; and in Chicago, therefore, pensions are infrequently granted to such women. Only 31 of the 778 families in Cook County for whom this information was secured had but one child. There seems to be no other court which has adopted such a policy. In many counties pensioned families with only one dependent child were found in which there were older brothers and sisters to help to support the family. In the down-State counties 138 of the 690 pensioned families about which data were obtained were families with only one child under 14.

Out of 106 families for whom schedules were obtained by the investigator, 26, or approximately one-fourth, were families with only one child under 14, and in 15 of these 26 families there were also older children, sometimes as many as three or four. Certainly these families should have been self-supporting according to any reasonable standard. For example, a typical case is that of Mrs. P, of B County, who had one child under 14 and a pension of \$10. She had also living at home a daughter, 21 years of age, who worked in a piano factory, and a son, 24 years of age, who was a printer. The mother kept two boarders and four "mealers." The total income without any contribution from the son was about \$142 a month.

A similar case is that of Mrs. Q, of K County, who received a pension of \$15 a month for one child who was under 14. She had two sons, aged 16 and 22, living at home, both of whom were working. Mrs. Q also supplemented the income by doing work at home for the knitting factory. The family income here was \$100 a month, and the pension \$15 a month.

In another family in M County there was one child under 14 and two children above this age, a daughter earning \$5 a week in a tinsel factory and a boy of 15 attending high school. The mother worked, too, and earned from \$20 to \$24 a month. The mother's health was not good, and the investigator discovered that no medical examination had been made. The pension of \$15 a month was granted when there were two children under 14. The probation officer was supposed to visit, as she said, "about a couple of times a year."

Although opinions may differ as to the justice of requiring or expecting under the present standard of women's wages that a woman should provide support for herself and her child when she has no resources except her ability to work, the investigator in her visits to these families felt that the Cook County policy was a reasonable one, and that the "one-child" families might properly have been expected to be self-supporting. When such mothers were working full time, as most of them were, and were not earning enough to support themselves and one child, the court pension might be looked upon as a "subsidy in aid of wages."

2. For children who have reached the legal working age of 14, the Chicago court follows the policy of staying the pension. The court holds that a child who is legally old enough to work must be counted a wage earner and must contribute his share to the family income, provided always that he is not "ill or physically incapacitated for work." A normally strong child in a pensioned family in Chicago is allowed to remain in school after he is 14 only on condition that the amount he would contribute to the family income is forthcoming from some other source. As a result, children leave school and go to work before they are fit for work; but so long as the laws of the State sanction this proceeding, and so long as the vast majority of wage-earning families are obliged to sacrifice their children in this way, public-relief agencies almost inevitably have to follow a similar policy.

Outside of Cook County, however, pensioned children of working age and physically able to work were found still in school. It is not clear whether the outlying courts have adopted the policy of allowing these children to remain in school or whether the continuing of the pension is due to the lack of supervision and the failure to take notice of the fact that the child had become old enough to go to work. The families themselves explained the fact that the children were still

in school as due to the few opportunities for children of that age to find work. If this is true, and there is every reason to think it is, especially in the smaller communities, it constitutes an excellent reason for raising the age at which all children are allowed to leave school; whether it is also a sufficient reason for pensioning a few such children must remain a matter of opinion.

There are certain other questions of policy on which the down-State practice seems to differ from that of the Chicago court, but they are less important since they affect a smaller number of families. Few down-State courts, for example, seem to have formulated any definite policy relating to the presence of an incapacitated father in the house, when his presence is a menace to the children. In most cases the court has not the information on which to decide whether or not the man should be required to go to a sanitarium; and places to which the man might be removed are perhaps less easily found in the down-State counties. In Chicago, again, a man is not considered incapacitated except on the basis of the physician's statement that he is "totally incapacitated for work." In the outlying counties a family may be pensioned even if the man is not totally incapacitated; nor does the degree of the incapacity which entitles a man to ask for a pension for his wife and children appear to have been defined.

Two other classes of down-State pensioners who would be excluded according to the rules of the Chicago court include the woman who has ever had an illegitimate child and the woman who partially supports herself by taking men boarders and roomers. This may, of course, be the only way in which a widow finds it possible to contribute to the support of her family, but the Chicago court takes the position that the woman who earns her living in this way is in morally dangerous surroundings for which the court can not assume the responsibility. In visiting the down-State families, however, the investigator found that this practice was not disapproved of by the courts.

Whether or not the down-State courts have erred in failing to adopt the policies formulated by the Chicago court on the basis of its wider experience is a question on which opinions may not agree. Conditions in Chicago are, of course, very different from conditions in many of the down-State cities and counties. It does not seem probable, however, that these differences in policy are due to any differences in down-State conditions but rather to the failure on the part of the down-State courts to formulate any principles or policies of administration.

ADEQUACY OF PENSION GRANTS.

An attempt was made to collect data relating to the size of the pension grants in the different down-State counties. No published data were available except the figures collected by the State charities commission showing the total amount paid out for pensions and the total number of families pensioned, from which it is impossible to determine the size of the pension granted to any individual family. Further information on this subject has been obtained from the following sources: (1) From material gathered by our special investigator, who reported on the practice of fixing the pension allowances in the counties she visited; (2) from data collected by correspondence showing the pension pay roll totals for 41 counties for a single month; (3) from data, also collected by correspondence, showing the exact pension allowances of 690 families in 53 different counties, together with the size of the families. Such information as was collected indicates that in general the pensions are inadequate and that in some counties they are little more than doles.

The reports of the investigator as well as the schedules collected by correspondence indicate that the practice of granting pensions on an unscientific "flat rate" basis is very common. The most usual flat rate is \$5 per child per month; eight counties make a practice of granting this rate, although in five of the counties the rule is occasionally broken. Two counties pension at the rate of \$2.50 a child; one county gives \$5 for an only child, another county gives \$2 for each child, while still another gives \$2 a week per child. Other counties make a difference between the first and other children. Thus, one county gives \$8 for the first child and \$1.50 for every other child, while another county gives \$8 for the first and adds \$4 for each additional child. U County gives from \$12 to \$15 to families with one child, but \$10 per child to larger families.

Three counties have adopted the unfortunate practice of granting a flat rate per family, which is, of course, even more inequitable than a flat rate per child. Two counties give \$10 a month to every pensioned family, and one county gives \$5 a month to 24 out of 27 families, while to the other 3, which are unusually large families, it gives \$10 each month.¹²

¹² The answer of the clerk of one of these counties to the question whether they found this "sufficient to cover the needs of families of all sizes" was: "This is not looked upon as an entire or independent support but merely as an assistance. Ten dollars is not sufficient for all the needs of any family, nor is \$100 sufficient for all the needs of some families."

While it is apparent from this that there were a few counties which fixed a rate that was fairly liberal, it is also evident that the great majority of counties which granted pensions at a fixed rate established a rate that was obviously too low to insure a desirable standard for living of most of their families.

It should perhaps be noted that the flat rate is due in part to the fact that the court, as a result of the inadequate preliminary investigation, does not know the earnings of supplementary wage earners nor other sources of income.

TABLE LIV.—*Number of counties with average monthly pensions of specified amounts per child and per family.*

Average pension per child.	Number of counties.	Average pension per family.	Number of counties.
Total.....	41	.....	41
Less than \$2.....	3	\$5 to \$9	6
\$2 to \$3.....	6	10 to 14	19
\$4 to \$5.....	13	15 to 19	8
\$6 to \$7.....	10	20 to 24	4
\$8 to \$9.....	6	25 to 29	1
\$10 to \$11.....	2	30 to 34	3
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....

It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that “average pension” is in many respects an unsatisfactory term. In the down-State counties, however, the practice of granting a flat rate per child or per family is so common that the “average pension” is more significant than it would be in Cook County. It is obvious that the practice of granting pensions at a flat rate, without regard to other family circumstances, must result in inadequate relief to some of the families; and a study of Table LIV confirms the report of the investigator in showing that some of the rates are very low. Thus the average pension per child was less than \$2 a month in 3 counties, from \$2 to \$3 in 6 other counties, and \$4 to \$5 in 13 other counties. That is, in 22 of the 41 counties the average pension per child was \$5 or less; and the average pensions per family, it will be noted, were also extremely low.

The data obtained from schedules showing the pension allowances granted to 690 families in 53 counties ¹³ are presented in Table LV, together with similar data from Cook County. The Cook County data are for the families pensioned during the period August 1, 1913, to March 1, 1915, when the officers of the court made their survey of

¹³ The 690 families are not all the families aided by those 53 counties Aug. 1, 1915, nor were all of them on the roll at that date. Thirty-eight counties, with 361 families, give the data for every family pensioned at that date, and no further information; 10 counties give data for only 123 of the 285 families pensioned; 4 counties give data for every family pensioned in the year; while 1 county gives data for some families not on its roll on Aug. 1, but not the total for the year. Since the question of interest is the amount of money each family receives, the fact that they do not relate to the same date is not significant.

the pension work. The Cook County pensions, it will be remembered, were higher at a later date.¹⁴

TABLE LV.—*Number of families receiving pension grants of specified amounts in Cook County and in 53 other counties.*

Amount of pension.	Number of fami- lies.		Per cent distribu- tion.	
	Cook County.	53 other counties.	Cook County.	53 other counties.
Total.....	543	690	100.0	100.0
Less than \$5.....		4		.6
\$5-\$9	4	199	.7	28.8
\$10-\$14.....	39	258	7.2	37.4
\$15-\$19.....	95	126	17.5	18.3
\$20-\$24.....	159	56	29.3	8.1
\$25-\$29.....	55	23	10.1	3.3
\$30-\$39.....	124	21	22.8	3.0
\$40 and over.....	67	3	12.4	.5

TABLE LV-A.—*Cumulative numbers and percentages.*

Amount of pension.	Cook County.		Other counties.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Less than \$5.....			4	0.6
Less than \$10.....	4	0.7	203	29.4
Less than \$15.....	43	7.9	461	66.8
Less than \$20.....	138	25.4	587	85.1
Less than \$25.....	297	54.7	643	93.2
Less than \$30.....	352	64.8	666	93.5
Less than \$40.....	476	87.6	687	93.5
\$40 and over.....	67	12.4	3	.5

Table LV shows very clearly that in comparison with the Cook County standard, the down-State pension policy might be called a niggardly one. There were no pensions of less than \$5 a month granted in Cook County, and only four families, or less than 1 per cent of the total number of families, fell into the \$5 to \$9 group, whereas 28.8 per cent of the down-State families were in this group. The cumulative series shows that whereas only 7.9 per cent of the Cook County families got less than \$15 a month, 66.8 per cent of the down-State families got pensions of less than \$15; 25 per cent of the Cook County families and 85 per cent of the down-State families were getting less than \$20 a month. Again, 12.4 per cent of the Cook County families in comparison with one-half of 1 per cent of the down-State families got pensions of \$40 or more than \$40. No families were found down State who got a pension as high as the old \$50 maximum allowed by law or the \$60 maximum now allowed, although in the discussion of the Cook County pensions, it appeared that a number of families received these maximum grants.

¹⁴ See *supra*, Tables IX and XI, pp. 49, 51.

Differences in pension grants are, of course, more significant if they relate to families of the same size, and Table LVI has therefore been prepared, showing the pension grants only for families with two or three children, both in Cook County and down State.

TABLE LVI.—*Number of families with two or three children receiving pensions of less than specified amounts in Cook County and in 53 other counties cumulative numbers and percentages.*

Amount of pension.	Cook County.		Other counties.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Less than \$5.....			1	0.3
Less than \$10.....	4	1.4	98	26.3
Less than \$15.....	37	12.7	253	67.8
Less than \$20.....	114	39.1	333	89.3
Less than \$25.....	219	75.0	363	97.4
Less than \$30.....	234	80.1	367	98.4
Less than \$35.....	288	98.6	370	99.2
\$35 and over.....	4	1.4	3	.8

This table only serves to confirm what has already been said about the down-State pension grants. The comparison here is a more accurate one since it relates to families of the same size, but it shows again that very much larger percentages of the down-State families get small pensions, and very much smaller percentages get large pensions, when the down-State and the Cook County pensions are compared.

The cost of living is probably somewhat higher in Chicago than it is in the smaller cities and rural communities in which the 690 families live, and it may not be necessary for other counties to give pensions so large as those given by the Cook County juvenile court in order to make their relief adequate. It must be remembered, however, that, if the cost of living is higher in Chicago, industrial opportunities are probably more abundant, and wages higher, so that the income aside from the pension is likely to be greater. Taking everything into consideration there seems to be no reason to doubt that the differences found between the size of the pensions in Cook County and in other parts of the State do represent very real differences in the adequacy of the relief granted.

Another point to be noted is the insecurity or uncertainty of the down-State pension grants. The pensions may be paid regularly each month, or they may be paid for part of the year only.

Serious results sometimes follow from the differences between the pension-granting and pension-appropriating authorities. Thus in one county the total expenditures for mothers' pensions in the fiscal year ending May 1, 1915, exceeded the appropriation for this purpose by \$5,000. This deficit was paid with demoralizing results to the 134 pensioned families, for the deficit had to be made up from

the next year's appropriation, which meant that all pensions were stopped in May and not resumed until the next fall. In C County the appropriation was not adequate to cover the pension grants, more than half of which were suddenly cut off in May, and the families were left to shift for themselves for the remaining four months of the year. In F County all pensions were withheld for one month for the same reason in 1915, and it seemed probable that some such step would have to be taken again in 1916, since the appropriation was \$800 and the amount required to take care of the families pensioned was \$900. Again in L County we learn that "by reason of the insufficient appropriation by the county supervisors no pensions have been paid in the county since April 1, and it is not likely that payments will be resumed before September 1." In this county the families were not allowed to suffer, as private relief agencies substituted their relief, at least "in most pressing cases."

It should not be overlooked, however, that in all these counties the appropriation might have covered the necessary expenditure for pensions if it had been more wisely used. If pension lists are padded by the carrying of ineligible families and families whose pensions ought to have been stayed, appropriations will probably never be adequate. In at least two of these counties, families not infrequently are pensioned who clearly could be self-supporting if all the possible sources of income were utilized. That is, some of the counties seem to have an entirely haphazard pension policy. Almost any person who applies is placed on the pension roll, and the families are allowed to continue on the roll long after their circumstances have so changed as to render them ineligible for pension grants. Then, when the pension appropriation is used up, all the families alike are left without any relief until the new appropriation is made.

Some evidence of the inadequacy of the down-State pensions is indicated by the fact that many mothers continue to do more work than they should after the pension is granted. For example, in one city, out of 11 pensioners selected at random off the pension list and visited, 4 worked all day long six days in the week. The report of the investigator on these families is as follows:

Mrs. R works every day in a factory and is at home only in the evening. One child; \$8 pension.

Mrs. S works every day in a clothing factory; children have dinner in a day nursery. Five children; \$15 pension.

Mrs. T works all day in a factory. One child; \$8 pension.

Mrs. U works all day every day in a laundry as forelady. She has three children, one over 14. The pension is \$12 a month. The house is frightfully untidy, and the small children, aged 9 and 12, look very desolate and uncared for. The mother and the oldest and

youngest children are thought to be tubercular. The probation officer thinks the pension should be large enough to permit the mother to stay at home.

The record seems somewhat similar in A County, thus: Mrs. V works every day in a factory, earns about \$4 a week; gets \$20 pension for two children.

Mrs. W works 10 hours every day in a laundry for \$4 a week. She gets \$20 pension.

In B County Mrs. M works in a factory six days in the week. She has only one child and earns only \$26 a month; but she owns her home, valued at about \$1,000, and received \$2,000 insurance when her husband died six years before. But her mother, and a feeble-minded sister who should be in an institution, live with her; and the pension of \$10, although not legal since she is a property owner, is, nevertheless, useful in supporting this household.

PENSION RECORDS.

The various statutes contain no requirements as to the records to be kept for each pensioned "case," or family, other than to prescribe certain legal papers that must be used, a petition, summons, etc., and to provide that the report of the probation officer, after an investigation has been made, must be submitted in writing to the judge with a recommendation regarding the application. These legal papers are usually filed, and in most cases serve as the only record of the family aside from the entry, in a ledger, of the name of the mother, the number of pensioned children, and the amount of the pension. Such records are quite inadequate even for describing the family situation at the time the grant is made.

The form of such papers is not uniform, but the same points are covered in all counties. The application usually states that the undersigned mother of such and such children under 14 years of age (here follows the exact age of each child) respectfully submits that she is a citizen of the United States; that she has resided in the county for three years past; that her husband is dead or permanently incapacitated for work; that said children are living with her; that she is a person mentally, physically, and morally fit to have the care and custody of said children; that in the absence of such relief she would be required to work regularly away from home, etc. In brief, the applicant fills out a blank form stating in general terms that she complies with each and every provision of the law, but giving little of her individual circumstances except her name, address, and the names and ages of such of her children as are under 14 years of age. No information is given as to her present occupation and earnings, the other wage earners in her family, her income from other sources, or the names and addresses of relatives. The report of the investigating officer is somewhat more detailed, and space is provided for the specific findings of the probation officer with regard to such points as the mother's qualifications and her need of relief, but the points covered are the same as those covered in the application and the omissions are also the same.¹⁵ The petition is in general still more vague, as the petitioner merely states his own qualifications to act in that capacity, with the additional statement that an investigation has been made and aid recommended. The order of the court follows along the same lines as the application, for the court must find that every provision of the law is complied with.

¹⁵ It would probably be possible to fill out one of these reports so as to give all the facts desirable; but there is nothing in the form or the instruction which requires such specific information, and it is obviously easier to fill it out in general terms.

As legal papers, these forms may be entirely satisfactory, but they can not, of course, serve as the basis for constructive work with the family. They are equally useless as a record of what was done during the investigation, since it is impossible to find out from any one of the papers whether or not a real attempt was made to learn the family's need for a pension or its eligibility under the terms of the law. These papers, moreover, contain no record of such changes in the family situation as occur from time to time. Obviously, such facts must be recorded in a supplementary record. It is impossible to say how many counties keep records other than the legal papers. From all the evidence, however, it appears that the great majority of counties keep no record but the ledger and legal papers.

A few counties appear to have devised some kind of supplementary record. The forms used vary from a simple card index, such as has been recently adopted in B County, to the elaborate case record which has been described in connection with the work of the Chicago court. These case records are in use in only four of the down-State counties.

In other counties there is some form of monthly report to be filled in by the mother, as in E County, or by the visitor, as in K County. Although such records as these are more valuable than the legal papers that are filed away and never looked at again, or the meager record that goes on the clerk's ledger, they are still very far from being satisfactory records upon which to base constructive work for the family.

A further objection to the down-State records is that they are often carelessly and incompletely filled out and are put away in such form that they can not be found. In fact, the investigator thought it worthy of comment when she found the court papers and the ledger neatly and accurately kept. The records of families whose pensions have been stayed or withdrawn are especially difficult to find. The books in many instances fail to show even the number of families who have had their pensions stayed, and it was the exceptional county that could give the reasons for the stay of each pension. Even in the four counties in which case records with forms similar to those used in Chicago are kept the actual recording is not uniformly complete—probably because of the lack of clerical assistance, which was complained of by more than one probation officer. The records that were seen by the investigator did not give so much information as was desirable about the work done in investigating, and in some of them the running reports of visits were little more than a note that the family was visited on a given date. It may be said, therefore, of the records kept outside of Cook County that they are uniformly either imperfect in form or poorly kept, or both. Even the records in H County, which are better than those elsewhere, are incomplete as to the investigation.

CONCLUSION.

A study of the Illinois situation reveals grave defects in the administration of the aid-to-mothers law. These evils are inseparable from irresponsible local administration. That a great public relief experiment could be safely left to 102 different local authorities to administer without any centralized supervision or control was inconceivable. In this, its fatal defect, the law copies the old pauper law with its principle of local responsibility rather than the new principle of State control, which has been adopted for the care of the insane and of other special groups.

The experience with the mothers' pension legislation in Illinois followed that of other forms of legislation left to the various counties to support and enforce. Some counties have refused to grant any pensions; other counties have granted pensions illegally; and so diverse are the methods of administration that there may be said to be not one pension system but many different systems in Illinois. There is, for example, the very successful and admirable pension department of the Cook County court; and there are, supposedly established under the same law, pension departments in the down-State counties that are a disgrace to the State. Even in Cook County, the present system rests upon the tenure in office of a single individual, the circuit-court judge, who is annually assigned or reassigned to the juvenile-court bench. The judges who have presided in this court since the pension law has been in operation have followed closely the fine standards set by the man who was responsible for the initial experiment, but there remains each year the possibility of the appointment of a judge who will destroy the merit system. It is a favorable precedent that thus far the merit system has been voluntarily adhered to in the appointment of probation officers.

It may, perhaps, be said briefly that the most important lesson to be learned from the Illinois experiment is merely an old lesson to be learned over again—namely, that all social legislation that is left to 102 different local authorities to enforce without any supervision and without any help from the State must fail. The mothers' pension law can only be administered by good social workers, and in some of the rural counties there is no one within the borders of the county who knows anything about social work; other counties will never be willing to provide money for salaries to pay those who do. If the State wants its mothers' pension law to be properly administered, State aid must be provided in some form, a pooling of social resources so that the rich counties can help the poorer and more backward counties.

PRECEDENTS FOR STATE CONTROL.

There have been precedents in Illinois both for State administration and for State support. The long struggle for a free-school system (1818-1855) was won only by the creation of a State school fund. The rural counties in the southern part of the State claimed they were too poor to raise the necessary taxes for free schools, and the free-school law of 1855 was passed when provision was made for a State fund by which the resources of the wealthy northern counties were shared with the poorer counties of the south.

A precedent for State administration is to be found in the labor code. The compulsory-education law unfortunately has been left to the local authorities to enforce; but when the first child-labor law was passed in 1893, it was not left to 102 different counties to enforce indifferently if they pleased. Instead, a State department of factory inspection was created in order that the same standards of administration might be maintained throughout the State.

More recently the care of the insane has been transferred from the Illinois counties to the State. A shameful standard of provision for the insane was maintained in many of the counties of Illinois until in 1912 the State undertook to provide support and care for all persons legally committed for custodial care. A similar movement is under way for the better care of prisoners. The county jails of the United States have been a national scandal. In 1917 Illinois followed the lead of a few progressive States and passed a law for the establishment of a State farm for misdemeanants. This will ultimately mean that all the misdemeanants now supported in idleness by the separate counties in 102 miserable county jails will be transferred to the custody of the State and be cared for at State expense.

The presiding judge of the Chicago court in an address made before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1912, after a year's experience in Chicago with the first mothers' aid law, said: "All the evils found by experience to be inherent in any plan for public outdoor relief seemed to beset, at the beginning, the successful administration of the act." The evils that beset the administration of the law in Chicago at the beginning of its administration seem still to continue in most of the other counties of the State.

The heaviest responsibility for the maladministration of the law may be said to rest upon the county judges. They have it in their

power to appoint efficient probation officers, and, without such appointments, good administration is impossible; they can also decide all general questions of policy—whether, for example, to use the money appropriated in small doles for many families or for constructive work in fewer families.

The responsibility of the judge is not always apparent; for the judge may seem intelligent and anxious to do his duty, and the responsibility may be shifted upon some one else. For example, a young woman who worked for some time in one of the counties where the pension work is very unsatisfactory has nothing but blame for the probation officer, who is a local politician totally unfit for his work, and nothing but praise for the judge who appointed him. That the judge who had misused his appointing power was really responsible for the maladministration of the law in his county was not apparent.

This criticism of the county judges brings us back once more to the fact that no social legislation which is left to the independent administration of 102 county officials can possibly be successful. That 102 different county judges should have the social intelligence needed for administering, on their sole responsibility, a new form of public outdoor relief is not to be expected. That 102 different county boards can be made socially intelligent enough to appropriate adequate salaries for an adequate number of probation officers and adequate sums for family pensions is also not to be expected. The only solution appears to lie in an amendment to the law providing for State assistance and State control. The probation service should probably be entirely supported by State funds and appointments to the service should be made by the State civil service commission.

A point of great importance that should be raised here is the relation between the juvenile courts and the mothers' pension administration. One reason for suggesting that a divorce between pension work and the juvenile courts may be necessary is that the Illinois Supreme Court¹ has held unconstitutional the section of the juvenile court law which provided for the appointment of probation officers on a merit basis. This decision, defending and upholding the independence of the courts, may stand in the way of any State administrative control of any branch of the court work.

The administration of the pension laws was in most States placed with the juvenile courts for two reasons:

(1) Mothers' pensions were suggested as a means of protecting children from institutional life. The advocates of mothers' pensions wished to have the public funds used to keep children at home with their own mothers instead of being used to subsidize children's insti-

¹ *Witter v. Cook County*, 256 Illinois Reports, 616.

tutions. On this point they were mistaken, since institutional subsidies have not decreased since the pension system began. But they may have been right in thinking that a juvenile-court judge, who, in Illinois, had the power to commit children to institutions, was the proper person to determine which were fit homes and who were fit mothers to be given pension grants.

(2) The profound distrust and dissatisfaction felt with the old outdoor-relief agencies formed another reason for placing the administration of the law with the juvenile court. The county outdoor-relief system appeared so hopeless that it seemed easier to abandon the problem in despair instead of attempting to solve it. But the outdoor-relief problems must sometime be dealt with. The aged and the sick, the deserted wife, and others temporarily destitute who are now left to the incompetent services of the local outdoor-relief authorities, are in need of the kind of competent and intelligent help that is now being given to the pensioners of the Cook County juvenile court under the aid-to-mothers law. Whether a new State-administered public assistance system should be created or whether, under an existing State department, some better form of State aid and State control can be devised, could be discussed satisfactorily only on the basis of a study of the administration of mothers' pension laws in those States in which the law provides for some form of State supervision. Such a discussion obviously leads beyond the scope of this report. It is only possible, as a result of this inquiry, to emphasize the need of State assistance in some form.

The importance of perfecting the mothers' pension law on the administrative side has been insisted on because, in the mothers' pension system, if properly organized and safeguarded, may lie the nucleus of a new form of State aid vastly superior to any form of public assistance which our American States have known, and capable of being very considerably extended. But the problem of a better administration is all important, since it would be obviously unwise to attempt to extend the scope of the law when not 1 of the 102 counties in the State has provided adequate funds for pensions or for the necessary investigations and supervision of mothers eligible under the present law.

Even in Cook County, which for so long has set an admirable standard both as to liberality of pensions and efficiency of administration, hundreds of eligible mothers in dire need of pensions have been thrown back during the past two years on the private societies and on the Cook County agent because the county board has refused to provide the large appropriations needed if all mothers who are eligible to become beneficiaries under the act were actually granted the pensions to which they are legally entitled. It is useless for the legis-

lature solemnly to add alien women or small property owners or any other mothers to the legally eligible list when parsimonious county boards can render such changes ineffectual by refusing to provide the funds necessary for additional pensioners. Legislation increasing the number of beneficiaries must be accompanied by legislation guaranteeing a State subsidy or support from State funds to provide the new pensions, or the statute will remain, in its neglect of provisions for enforcement, an official mockery of the needs of the poor.

Further extensions of the pension law are likely to be asked in behalf of women whose husbands are temporarily incapacitated. For example, the family of the tubercular man who is not certified as permanently incapacitated must depend for help on the joint assistance of private charity and public outdoor relief. Unless a system of health insurance should in the near future make provision for sick benefits, mothers' pensions would seem to be as necessary here, while the man is slowly recovering his health, as in the case of families in which the chief wage earner is permanently incapacitated. Such extensions of the scope of the act, however, should not be made until adequate funds can be assured, and such extensions can not be safely made until an efficient system of administration, including intelligent investigations and supervision, can be devised. Neither of these conditions can be secured except on the basis of State control and State aid.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

BREAST FEEDING

CARE OF CHILDREN SERIES No. 5

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,

Washington, May 2, 1921.

SIR: The following monograph on Breast Feeding has been prepared by Ella Oppenheimer, M. D., for the Children's Bureau, for the purpose of aiding the efforts of doctors and nurses to encourage maternal nursing. It is offered in the belief that the degree of maternal nursing in the United States may be increased and that such increase offers the hope of saving life in many cases and of improving infant vigor.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

BREAST FEEDING.

To the notable reduction in infant mortality during the past decade the encouragement of breast feeding, improved economic conditions, purification of milk supplies, advancement of scientific knowledge of the nutritional needs of infants, education of mothers in the artificial feeding of infants, have all contributed. It is unnecessary to minimize the value of any of these other factors in order to emphasize the point that breast feeding has been the most important single factor.

The experience of centuries, as well as scientific laboratory studies, has demonstrated that in nutritional properties, in purity and cleanliness, in warmth, in protective powers against infection, and in the assurance it gives a child of a mother's care, human milk can never be replaced adequately by artificial food. The nourishment of an infant with anything other than the secretion of the human breast is properly termed "artificial feeding," or "substitute feeding." The problem is often one of the most difficult which the physician encounters. The fact that the diet is other than the natural one renders an absolute solution of the problem impossible, since science has as yet been unable to construct a food which is exactly like human milk, and each child is an individual to whom general rules can apply only in a general way.

That successful maternal nursing is possible for the vast majority of women has been amply proved. It was brought out strikingly by the experience of the European countries during the recent war, of France in 1870-71, of England during the cotton famine of 1861-1865, when maternal nursing was universally resorted to because of the scarcity of food. In this country the possibilities of breast feeding have been demonstrated by the increase in natural feeding under the encouragement of physicians and infant-welfare centers in many cities, and particularly by the recent breast-feeding campaign in Minnesota, which reached practically every mother in a given area and resulted in a per cent of breast feeding ranging from 96 at the end of the second month to 72 at the end of the ninth month.

In Boston the Baby Hygiene Association met with such success that of 6,000 infants under its supervision only 196 babies less than 6 months old were entirely artificially fed. The statistics of the Starr Center in Philadelphia are equally notable. In 1912-13 only 48 per cent of the babies under its care were breast fed. After six years of insistence on breast feeding, of 92 infants whose mothers had been cared for by the prenatal department, 90 were entirely breast fed at 1 month of age, 1 was partially breast fed, and only 1 was bottle fed.

The problem of breast feeding must be viewed in all its aspects. In our complicated modern society there must be widespread emphasis among *all* classes not only on the importance of breast feeding but also on the ways and means of making it successful. There are many false opinions to be overcome, such as the statement frequently made that modern woman has lost the ability to suckle her young, and the feeling created as a result of the emphasis on the importance of pure milk and pasteurization in infant feeding that this is at least as good and often better than breast feeding.

The problem of insuring breast feeding for babies includes economic, educational, and health aspects of far-reaching importance, for the possibility of every mother nursing her child implies an economic level which will make it unnecessary for the mother to go into industry while she is bearing children; it implies a training for motherhood which emphasizes not only the importance, but also the reasons for breast feeding; and its fulfillment demands sound physical and mental health of the mothers, based upon adequate prenatal, obstetrical, and general health care.

MORTALITY STATISTICS OF BREAST VERSUS ARTIFICIAL FEEDING.

Studies made in many different countries have demonstrated that the death rate among the artificially fed is at all times higher than among the breast fed; that where for any reason breast feeding is the custom, the mortality rate is low in spite of other unfavorable factors; and that when for any cause breast feeding is increased in a community the infant mortality rate is lowered. The studies of the Children's Bureau in New Bedford, Mass., Akron, Ohio, Manchester, N. H., and Brockton, Mass., have demonstrated that in these cities the mortality rate for the artificially fed is about three or four times as great as for the breast fed—the rate varying according to hygienic, economic, and industrial conditions. Again, in rural communities studied by the Children's Bureau, breast feeding is almost universal. In these communities, even with a very high mortality rate during the first month of life because of inadequate maternal care, the death rate from diarrheal diseases and the total infant mortality rate is low because of the prevalence of maternal nursing. A lowland county of North Carolina had an infant mortality rate of 56.3; a mountain county of North Carolina, 80.4; a rural county in Kansas, 55; and the town of Saginaw, Mich., 84.6.

In studies made in overcrowded and poverty-stricken districts of London, New York, Chicago, and other large cities the fact is very clearly brought out that where by race or custom it is the practice to feed infants at the breast the infant mortality rate is lower, even though the environment be highly insanitary. There is the instance of the low infant death rate obtaining among Jews, Italians, Scotch, and Irish when these races continue even under adverse circumstances to feed their infants at the breast.

OTHER FACTS INDICATING THE SUPERIORITY OF BREAST OVER ARTIFICIAL FEEDING.

Mortality figures alone, impressive though they are, do not tell the whole story. An extensive study of school children and military recruits in Germany pointed out that the good effect of breast feeding was manifested in later childhood and even in adult life. Nutritional disorders, not necessarily fatal but which permanently handicap the individual, occur much more frequently among the artificially than among the breast fed. These disorders render the infant much more susceptible to infection and may produce deformities of a permanent nature (rickets). Again, the chance for the survival of the premature, delicate, or syphilitic infant is almost entirely dependent upon the availability of breast milk as a food.

THE PRODUCTION OF HUMAN MILK.

Changes in the breasts preparatory to lactation make their appearance early in pregnancy. These changes are gradual, manifest themselves in enlargement of the breast tissue, especially of the nipples, and in the secretion of a small amount of fluid, clear and watery during the earlier months of pregnancy but toward the end of pregnancy and for the first few days after labor creamy in character. On the third or fourth day after labor the secretion of true milk begins. So closely correlated and so interdependent are the functions of childbearing and suckling that the act of nursing hastens the return of the pelvic organs to normal size and function.

Many efforts have been made to discover the factors which stimulate the breast to the secretion of milk, but as yet these are undetermined. All that can be said is that the removal of the child from the uterus probably releases into the blood stream a substance which stimulates the breast glands to an activity for which they were prepared by pregnancy. The glands once having secreted milk, their continued secretion is largely a matter of the demand made upon them. If a child does not suckle at the breast the secretion of milk quickly subsides. If a child is feeble and fails to empty the breast at each nursing the supply of milk may fail unless other means of emptying are used. On the other hand, the complete emptying of the breast by a strong child will not only maintain a good supply but will increase what was originally a poor supply. In other words, the greater the demand the greater the supply. It therefore follows that all factors in the child which lead to a diminution in the force of suckling and the remedies therefor need consideration in any campaign for promoting breast feeding. Such factors are:

1. Maturity and general development of the child: The premature and the puny child born at term frequently do not possess strength enough for forceful suckling.

2. General hygiene and technique of nursing.

Adequate quiet and sleep between feedings: Nursing by the clock, preferably at three or four hour intervals. The importance of this can hardly be overestimated. Too frequent feeding of the baby results in a failure of appetite, so that he takes a little milk often and never completely empties the breast.

Nursing where there is a minimum amount of distraction for the child: This factor is very important especially for the nervous type of infant and for all infants as they grow older. Distraction at the time of nursing tends to make a child cease before the meal is complete, resulting in failure to empty the breasts, and crying and restlessness before the next nursing time.

Position of the child when nursing: It is important that the child be held in such a manner that breathing is not interfered with.

3. Physical abnormalities in the child, either local or general: Such conditions as adenoids, harelip, cleft palate, and disturbances of the central nervous system.

The remedy for these conditions is two-fold: The education of the mother in the care of her child, preferably during pregnancy or earlier, and the proper care of the mother during pregnancy and labor. Such care will eliminate in large part the premature and weak infant, and those physical abnormalities which are the result of injuries at birth.

Fortunately, however, though this is the ultimate solution of the problem, there are very satisfactory methods of emptying the breast on which a weak or physically defective child fails. This matter is especially important because the weak child needs, above all, breast milk, and his very condition tends to diminish not only the amount he takes but also the amount of milk available. A very valuable technique has been worked out. This consists in instructing the mother or nurse to express milk from the breast after each nursing by the following method:

Scrub the hands and nails with soap, warm water, and a nailbrush for at least one full minute. Wash the nipple with fresh absorbent cotton and boiled water or a freshly made boric solution. Dry the hands thoroughly on a clean towel and keep them dry. Have a sterilized graduate glass tumbler or large-mouthed bottle to receive the milk.

1. Grasp the breast gently but firmly between the thumb placed in front and the remainder of the fingers on the under surface of the breast. The thumb in front and the first finger beneath should rest just outside of the pigmented area of the breast.

2. With the thumb a downward pressing motion is made on the front against the fingers on the back of the breast, and the thumb in front and fingers behind are carried downward to the base of the nipple.

3. This second act should end with a slight forward pull with gentle pressure at the back of the nipple, which causes the milk to flow out.

The combination of these three movements may be described as "Back-down-out."

It is not necessary to touch the nipple.

This act can be repeated 30 to 60 times a minute after some practice.

Both breasts may be emptied if necessary, or they may be used alternately.

The milk should be covered at once by a sterile cloth held in place by a rubber band and kept on ice until used.

It is to be given to the baby at the end of the next nursing. By this method not only does the child get the nourishment which he needs, but the complete emptying of the breasts increases the supply of milk.

If at first sufficient milk is not available by suckling and expression, as determined by weighing the child before and after feeding, artificial food can be given temporarily after each nursing. Experience with many thousands of cases both in Minnesota and elsewhere has demonstrated the value of this method. It has been shown to be possible, too, by this means to reestablish the secretion of milk in the breast after as long as six weeks' inactivity. It is possible to express milk from the breasts by other methods, such as by massage or the breast pump, but the method described is probably the best way of stripping the breasts.

As far as the mother herself is concerned, though the demand of a strong suckling child or a substitute is the most important consideration in maintaining an adequate milk supply, there are many others to be taken into account in our modern life.

1. Adequate prenatal care and instruction for the mother.

(a) General:

Adequate nutritious diet, including a good supply of vitamins. This will not only maintain the nutrition of the mother, but is a potent factor in the development of a strong child.

Freedom from *overwork* either without or within the home.

Instruction during this period concerning the importance of breast feeding for the child and the means of procuring it.

Medical care, to prevent such conditions as eclampsia, which is likely to interdict breast feeding; to promote general hygiene and physical well-being, particularly to remove foci of infection, such as in teeth, which have been demonstrated to be factors in the unsatisfactory production of breast milk; to prepare for labor.

(b) Special:

Emphasis on care of the breasts to prepare them for lactation. Where the nipples are small, attempts to lengthen them may be made by slight traction and molding, night and morning.

2. Lying-in period.

Good obstetrical care will eliminate birth injuries in both mother and child, severe hemorrhage, and puerperal fever, conditions likely to inhibit breast feeding.

3. Postnatal period.

Sufficient rest, freedom from anxiety, good general hygiene with special emphasis on a nutritious diet are the factors likely to insure a good milk supply.

4. Lactation period.

Good mental and physical hygiene during the period of lactation with all that this implies. This means adequate but not *too much* food, and an abundance of fluids in the diet—at least two quarts. The diet should be a good, mixed, easily digested one, containing animal protein and foods rich in vitamins, notably milk, eggs, butter, and fresh vegetables.

Daily exercise, fresh air, and rest, but not indolence.

Freedom from worry and emotional excitement.

THE QUALITY OF BREAST MILK.

Chemical analysis was early resorted to as a means of determining the quality of breast milk. Wide and varied application of this method has shown that it has very marked limitations. It has been found that the composition of milk varies in the same woman from day to day, from nursing to nursing, and at different periods of the same nursing. Any analysis, therefore, to be valid, must be made on *all* the milk from the breast at a given time, or on samples taken at the beginning, middle, and end of nursing, and the same result must be obtained at least twice. It has also been found that the quality of milk can not be gauged by its analysis alone. There are marked variations in chemical composition, entirely compatible with growth and good digestion in the child; on the other hand a presumably normal chemical analysis may occur in a milk which is indigestible and does not provide adequate stimulus for growth.

The average composition of breast milk is generally given as follows:¹

Composition.	Normal average (mature milk).	Common healthy variations.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Fat.....	3.50	2.00 to 5.00
Sugar.....	7.50	6.50 to 8.00
Protein.....	1.25	1.00 to 2.00
Ash.....	.20	.18 to .25
Water.....	87.55	80.22 to 84.75

In general, variations in quality determined by analysis fall into three types:

- 1. All elements too high.
This type is most frequently found in women who do too little and eat too much and too rich food.
- 2. Fat and sugar low, proteins high.
This type is usually found in women of the poorer classes who are overworked and underfed.
- 3. Fat and sugar very low, proteins very high.
This type is usually found in the highly strung, overeducated, and highly civilized women of the larger cities, but may be found in neurotic women of any class or community.

In recent years variations in the nutritional properties of human milk have been shown to be due also to its vitamine content. The vitamins of human milk are concentrated from the food taken by the mother; if they are not present in sufficient quantities in her food, the milk suffers. The effect of an insufficient amount or absence of these substances in the milk is exhibited in the child. Scurvy, for example, in the breast fed has been shown to develop because of the deficiency of the antiscorbutic factor in the mother's food. The development of rickets in the breast fed has also been shown to be due to a deficiency in the mother's diet, reflected in the quality of her milk.

DIFFICULTIES OF BREAST FEEDING.

Trouble with the breast itself may interfere with satisfactory breast feeding. The presence of depressed nipples is a distinct handicap; it may be remedied at times by the employment of a nipple shield. Cracks or fissures in the nipples sometimes occur. These render nursing very painful, and offer a convenient portal of entry for infection. They may usually be prevented by the proper care of the breasts during pregnancy, and during lactation by carefully

¹ Holt, The Diseases of Infancy and Childhood, p. 137. New York and London, 1919.

washing the nipples with fresh boric acid solution before and after each nursing. If fissures occur, compound tincture of benzoin should be applied to them, and a nipple shield should be used for nursing until the cracks heal. After nursing, the nipples should be washed and dried. The shield should be carefully cleaned and boiled before using. Mastitis, or infection of the breast, is another complication. This can be prevented usually by the methods just described for preventing and treating fissures. Its occurrence, however, is an indication for rest to the breast involved, by nursing the child at the other breast exclusively, emptying the infected breast, if it becomes distended, by means of expression or a breast pump, cold applications and incision when indicated. After the breast has healed the child should be nursed at it again.

A normal breast-fed baby gains steadily from 4 to 8 ounces a week, presents no symptoms of indigestion in the form of vomiting or diarrhea, and has as a rule from 2 to 4 soft yellow movements a day. There are, however, many deviations from such a course. The baby may be constipated or its stools may be too frequent and green; it may fail to increase in weight normally. Such symptoms are frequently interpreted by the mother and often by the physician to indicate unsuccessful breast feeding and the necessity for resorting to artificial feeding. This conclusion is drawn from false premise, for symptoms which would be alarming in an artificially fed baby may be viewed with equanimity in the breast fed, so great is the factor of safety in mother's milk. Under such circumstances a careful study of both mother and child, and, if indicated, of the milk, will reveal causes which may be remedied. Overwork and underfeeding, underwork and overfeeding, sometimes the absorption of poisons from foci of infection and worry on the part of the mother, may change the quality of the milk so that it will produce one or another type of symptom in the child. The discovery of the cause and its removal will often yield fruitful results.

A study of the child as well as of the mother may point the way to the difficulty. Is his failure to gain due to the fact that he is not getting all of the available milk, or to the fact that the milk is "weak"? Is he vomiting because he overflows from too full a stomach or is the milk too rich or is there an obstruction of some kind? Are his frequent stools the effect of an overrich milk on a sensitive intestine; are they the expression of some excitement on the part of the mother or the baby; or are they "starvation stools"? Is his constipation a reflection of the same condition in the mother; are his own intestinal and abdominal muscles flabby; is the volume of his food too small for the intestines to contract on satisfactorily; or is there spasm of the anal sphincter? From a consideration of the factors influencing the quality of milk it is obvious that the problem

is social and economic as well as medical, and that for its understanding and solution all these forces in the community must work together, just as they must cooperate to prevent the occurrence of the difficult case of breast feeding.

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN PROMOTING MATERNAL NURSING.

1. Educational.

Mothers:

All mothers should be instructed during pregnancy and after the baby comes by means of literature, public health nurses, and consultations. They should be instructed among other things in the importance of breast feeding and in the means of promoting it, in which matters the prenatal nurse can be of great assistance.

Community:

The community in general should be interested through lectures, newspaper propaganda, etc., in the fundamental necessity of this phase of child welfare, so that—

- (a) It will be possible for every mother who is able to do so to nurse her child.
- (b) There will be provision by the establishment of properly supervised wet-nurse directories and institutions for collecting and distributing bottled breast milk for the child who needs breast milk and can not get it from its mother.

2. Economic and social.

Adequate income for the nursing mother and her family:

To provide adequate nourishment for the mother.

To eliminate the necessity for outside industrial work.

To provide for home help when necessary.

To eliminate strain and worry attached to inadequate living conditions.

Aid in the adjustment of individual problems.

3. Medical. -

High standards of care during pregnancy, labor, puerperium, and period of lactation.

Careful study of both mother and child to discover and remedy any causes of difficulty in breast feeding.



U. S. CHILD WELFARE
JUL 14 1921
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

AVERAGE HEIGHTS AND WEIGHTS OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE

COMMUNITY CHILD-WELFARE SERIES No. 2

Bureau Publication No. 84



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1921

AVERAGE HEIGHTS AND WEIGHTS OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE.

During Children's Year, the second year of the participation of the United States in the World War, the Children's Bureau conducted a series of campaigns designed to focus public attention upon the welfare of children. Among these campaigns was the "weighing and measuring test." During the period devoted to this test great numbers of children—for the most part under 6 years of age—in all parts of the United States, were weighed and measured. Record blanks were furnished by the bureau, and when the children were brought for examination entries were made of height, weight, age, sex, and race, besides particulars of country of birth of father and mother, and physical condition of the child.

As a result of this campaign the bureau received over 2,000,000 records, and was thus in possession of a larger mass of anthropometric material relating to children of these ages than was ever before available. Consultations were held with anthropologists, statisticians, and pediatricists, and plans of tabulation were prepared in accordance with recommendations made by the authorities consulted.

A careful selection was made of approximately one-twelfth of the cards which had been received. The basis of selection was fourfold: (1) The record card must have been signed by a physician; (2) no serious defects should have been noted; (3) the child must have been weighed and measured without clothing, as verified by the physician signing the card; and (4) all essential items must have been answered.

On the basis of these selected records, tables have been made showing average weights and heights for children of different ages and average weights for children of different heights. They are based upon measurements of 167,024 white children.

The children included in the tabulation were 70 per cent of native parentage; 6 per cent with one parent native and one foreign born; 4 per cent of British and Irish parentage; and the remainder of Scandinavian, Italian, and other racial stocks. They represent children from every part of the country. The averages for white children of native parentage agree very closely with these averages for all white children.

Table 1 shows average heights and weights of boys and girls from birth to 72 months of age, and Table 2 shows average weights of boys and girls for different heights from 20 to 47 inches.

These averages represent, so far as the original material permits, averages based upon children without defects or diseases.

TABLE 1.—*Height and weight of white children from birth to 6 years of age.*¹

Age.	White boys.		White girls.	
	Height (inches).	Weight (pounds). ²	Height (inches).	Weight (pounds). ²
Under 1 month.....	21½	9½	20½	8½
1 month, under 2.....	22½	10½	21½	10½
2 months, under 3.....	23½	12½	23½	11½
3 months, under 4.....	24½	14½	24½	13½
4 months, under 5.....	25½	15½	24½	14½
5 months, under 6.....	26½	16½	25½	15½
6 months, under 7.....	26½	17½	26½	16½
7 months, under 8.....	27½	18½	26½	17½
8 months, under 9.....	27½	19½	27½	17½
9 months, under 10.....	28½	19½	27½	18½
10 months, under 11.....	28½	20½	28½	19½
11 months, under 12.....	29½	20½	28½	19½
12 months, under 13.....	29½	21½	28½	20½
13 months, under 14.....	29½	21½	29½	20½
14 months, under 15.....	30½	22½	29½	21½
15 months, under 16.....	30½	22½	30½	21½
16 months, under 17.....	31½	23½	30½	21½
17 months, under 18.....	31½	23½	30½	22½
18 months, under 19.....	31½	24½	31½	22½
19 months, under 20.....	32½	24½	31½	23½
20 months, under 21.....	32½	25½	31½	23½
21 months, under 22.....	32½	25½	32½	24½
22 months, under 23.....	33½	25½	32½	24½
23 months, under 24.....	33½	26½	32½	24½
24 months, under 25.....	33½	26½	33½	25½
25 months, under 26.....	33½	27½	33½	25½
26 months, under 27.....	34½	27½	33½	25½
27 months, under 28.....	34½	27½	34½	26½
28 months, under 29.....	34½	28½	34½	26½
29 months, under 30.....	35½	28½	34½	27½
30 months, under 31.....	35½	28½	35½	27½
31 months, under 32.....	35½	29½	35½	27½
32 months, under 33.....	35½	29½	35½	28½
33 months, under 34.....	36½	29½	35½	28½
34 months, under 35.....	36½	30½	35½	28½
35 months, under 36.....	36½	30½	36½	29½
36 months, under 37.....	36½	30½	36½	29½
37 months, under 38.....	36½	31½	36½	29½
38 months, under 39.....	37½	31½	36½	30½
39 months, under 40.....	37½	31½	37½	30½
40 months, under 41.....	37½	32½	37½	30½
41 months, under 42.....	37½	32½	37½	31½
42 months, under 43.....	38½	32½	37½	31½
43 months, under 44.....	38½	33½	38½	31½
44 months, under 45.....	38½	33½	38½	32½
45 months, under 46.....	38½	33½	38½	32½
46 months, under 47.....	39½	34½	38½	32½
47 months, under 48.....	39½	34½	38½	32½
48 months, under 49.....	39½	34½	38½	33½
49 months, under 50.....	39½	34½	39½	33½
50 months, under 51.....	39½	35½	39½	33½
51 months, under 52.....	39½	35½	39½	34½
52 months, under 53.....	40½	35½	39½	34½
53 months, under 54.....	40½	35½	40½	34½
54 months, under 55.....	40½	36½	40½	35½
55 months, under 56.....	40½	36½	40½	35½
56 months, under 57.....	40½	36½	40½	35½
57 months, under 58.....	41½	37½	40½	36½
58 months, under 59.....	41½	37½	41½	36½
59 months, under 60.....	41½	37½	41½	36½
60 months, under 61.....	41½	38½	41½	36½
61 months, under 62.....	41½	38½	41½	37½
62 months, under 63.....	42½	38½	41½	37½
63 months, under 64.....	42½	39½	41½	37½
64 months, under 65.....	42½	39½	42½	38½
65 months, under 66.....	42½	39½	42½	38½
66 months, under 67.....	42½	39½	42½	38½
67 months, under 68.....	43½	40½	42½	39½
68 months, under 69.....	43½	40½	42½	39½
69 months, under 70.....	43½	40½	43½	39½
70 months, under 71.....	43½	41½	43½	40½
71 months, under 72.....	43½	41½	43½	40½

¹ These figures are based upon measurements of 167,024 white boys and girls for whom no serious defects were reported. The averages as calculated have been smoothed and corrected to allow for the inclusion in the basic figures of children with adenoids, diseased or enlarged tonsils or carious teeth, and they represent, therefore, so far as the material permits, average heights and weights of children without defects.

² Weights do not include clothing.

TABLE 2.—Average weights, by height

Height (inches). ²	White boys, average weight (pounds). ³	White girls, average weight (pounds). ⁴	
20.....	8½	8½	3
21.....	9½	9½	3
22.....	10½	10½	3
23.....	12	11½	3
24.....	13½	13½	3
25.....	15	14½	3
26.....	16½	16½	4
27.....	18	17½	4
28.....	19½	19	4
29.....	20½	20½	4
30.....	22	21½	4
31.....	23½	23½	4
32.....	24½	23½	4
33.....	25½	25	4

¹ These figures are based upon measurements of 167,071 or less than 100 cases.

² Heights are classified to the nearest inch.

³ Weights do not include clothing.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. B. WILSON, *Secretary*

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief*

ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD-LABOR
LAWS

PART 4
EMPLOYMENT-CERTIFICATE SYSTEM
WISCONSIN

By
ETHEL E. HANKS

Q

INDUSTRIAL SERIES No. 2, PART 4
Bureau Publication No. 85



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, December 15, 1919.

SIR: I transmit herewith a study of the administration of the child-labor laws of Wisconsin with especial reference to the employment-permit system and its enforcement.

This study is the fourth in the series of inquiries into the administration of child-labor laws which have been carried on under the direction of Mrs. Helen Sumner Woodbury, formerly assistant chief of the bureau. The study was made by Miss Ethel E. Hanks, who made the field inquiries for two of the preceding studies—those in Connecticut and New York. Valuable assistance in the preparation of this report for publication was rendered by Miss Ella A. Merritt, who was one of the two authors of the report on the administration of the child-labor laws of Maryland, and by Mr. Howard C. Jenness, whose unusual abilities as editor and critic have contributed much to each of the preceding reports of this series, and whose last work before his sudden death was upon this study. The foreword was prepared by Mrs. Helen Sumner Woodbury.

Acknowledgment should also be made of the cordial cooperation of the officials of the industrial commission and of the vocational-school system of Wisconsin both in facilitating the field inquiries and in criticizing the report.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATIROP, *Chief.*

Hon. W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.



ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT-CERTIFICATE SYSTEM IN WISCONSIN.

FOREWORD.

The administration of child-labor laws in Wisconsin differs from that in most other States chiefly in eight points:

First. The State industrial commission has control over the issuance of employment certificates as well as over the inspection of industrial establishments. It not only has general supervision over, but has power to appoint and dismiss, all issuing officers.

Second. Children between 14 and 17 years of age, instead of only those between 14 and 16, must have employment certificates and are subject to most of the other legal regulations applying to certificated children.

Third. The maintenance by all important cities and towns in the State of vocational schools—at which part-time attendance of all employed children between 14 and 17 years of age is compulsory—creates both an educational system and a special method of keeping track of children of working ages not found in other States. Furthermore, the industrial commission is represented on the State board of vocational education and thus has a certain degree of control over the school attendance and education of employed children.

Fourth. The apprentice laws constitute an attempt to adapt the apprenticeship system to modern industrial conditions which, though not affecting large numbers of children, involves where used an essential modification of ordinary child-labor conditions and combines with the vocational-school system to place Wisconsin in a unique position in the vocational-training movement.

Fifth. Both the vocational-school and apprentice laws create some degree of control over certain employed minors between 17 and 21 years of age, for all illiterate minors employed in cities which have vocational schools must attend such schools for not less than four hours a week; and the apprentice law, which applies to all children between 16 and 21 who are being taught trades or businesses, requires school attendance for not less than five hours a week at least until 18 years of age, and all indentures made since July 1, 1919, require two years such attendance, regardless of age.

Sixth. The entire machinery of enforcement is greatly strengthened by the fact that civil, instead of only criminal, action may be brought for nearly all violations of child-labor laws. This means not only that the employer may be made to testify as an adverse witness and produce his records but that the State as prosecutor, as well as the employer as defendant, may appeal against an adverse decision.

Seventh. In addition to the usual means of preventing illegal employment, the possibility of a child's working without a permit is reduced to a minimum by an exceptional provision in the workmen's compensation law. If a child of permit age is injured while working without a permit or at a prohibited occupation, his employer is liable to treble compensation, of which the insurance carrier can assume liability for only one-third.

Eighth. Under the minimum-wage law, which applies to all women and minor employees, the industrial commission has adopted a wage order which fixes a minimum rate of 18 cents an hour for children between 14 and 16 and of 20 cents an hour for children between 16 and 17 years of age who have had at least three months' experience in the industry. In part because of this order and in part because of fear of the treble compensation clause of the workmen's compensation act, the industrial commission reports a falling off in the number of child-labor permits granted.

The effects of all these eight points of difference between the administration of the child-labor laws in Wisconsin and in most other States, except the last, are brought out in the following report. Although the minimum-wage law had been upon the statute books since 1913, no wage order was adopted under it until June 29, 1919, nearly 15 months after the field studies for the main body of this report had been completed. Three of the other principal features of the Wisconsin law, moreover, had been in effect for only seven months at the date, April 1, 1918, to which the greater part of the description of methods of administration here given refers. These three were: (1) The centralization of control over the issuance of permits in the industrial commission; (2) the raising of the permit age from 16 to 17; and (3) the treble compensation clause in the workmen's compensation act. So far as these provisions are concerned, therefore, the study was made during a period of transition, and specifically before the full effects of supervision by the industrial commission and of the treble compensation clause were evident.

In order to remedy this defect and to bring the report, in its most essential features, up to date, a brief survey was made of the principal changes effected prior to December, 1920. These changes were mainly in the administration of the laws by the industrial commission. No attempt was made to inquire into the details of procedure in the

various cities which had been visited earlier, or into such purely local matters as methods of enforcement of school attendance. Except for the gradual enlargement and improvement of the vocational schools, there was no reason to believe that any great change had taken place in these local matters.

In only two respects had alterations of great importance been made in the law. First, the requirement that apprentices must attend vocational school at least five hours a week until they are 18 years of age had been changed to a requirement that they must attend during the first two years of their apprenticeship, regardless of their ages when indentured.¹ Second, the fifth-grade requirement for a permit to work had been raised to a sixth, and after July 1, 1920, to a seventh-grade requirement. At the same time, the indefinite first alternative to the grade requirement mentioned on page 64 was abolished; and the standard of seven years' school attendance, the other alternative, was raised to eight years' school attendance.² Thus Wisconsin had remedied, in part, the unfavorable situation created by its low educational standard for employment.

Control by the industrial commission over the issuing of permits had been greatly strengthened by December, 1920. In the first place, the 1919 legislature very nearly doubled the total appropriation of the commission, and a considerable part of this increase was devoted to the enforcement of the child-labor laws. The expenditures of the woman and child-labor department in 1919-20 were \$24,195.17, as against \$10,515.62 in 1917-18. Meanwhile the staff of women deputies, who are primarily responsible for inspections for woman and child labor, had been increased to six, as against two in April, 1918. This has made it possible to have much more frequent inspections. At the same time \$12,724.09 was spent for the issuance of child-labor permits in 1919-20, and it was estimated that \$17,315 would be spent in 1920-21. In December, 1920, one deputy was devoting her whole time, a large part of it in the field, to supervision over the issuance of permits. Moreover, it was stated that every permit issued by other than paid deputies of the commission was being carefully examined, together with the statement as to the evidence of age upon which it was based, as soon as it was received at the Madison office, and that whenever any irregularity was discovered the matter was being taken up promptly with the issuing officer. It was also stated that the commission was receiving more prompt, regular, and better filled-in reports than formerly.

The principal new features introduced by the commission in its administration of the permit system between April, 1918, and December, 1920, were: (1) The requirement that issuing officers report, upon a blank specially devised and furnished for that purpose, all

¹ Laws of 1919, ch. 221.

² Laws of 1919, ch. 432.

reissued permits, instead of only original permits; (2) the prompt transferring of statistical data from the reports received from permit officers to punch cards for the tabulating machine and their periodical tabulation; (3) the requirement that the promise of employment state specifically the kind of work at which the child is to be employed; (4) the circulation, principally in Milwaukee, but to some extent also in other cities, of a small card issued by the commission giving instruction to children as to how to secure permits; (5) the requirement that before any evidence of age other than a birth or baptismal certificate is accepted, the parent must sign a statement, the form for which is furnished by the commission, certifying that he is unable to secure the preferred evidence; (6) the waiving of the requirement that children between 14 and 16 shall apply in person, accompanied by a parent or guardian, in case the child lives outside the home city of any permit officer, and the permission given the permit officer having jurisdiction to issue the permit by mail; (7) the modification of the rules regarding evidence of age so that a baptismal certificate which bears a date at least 10 years prior to the date of application for a labor permit and which shows the date of birth and place of baptism, shall be equally as acceptable as a birth certificate; and (8) the requirement which went into effect on February 6, 1919, that every applicant for a regular child-labor permit in Milwaukee present a physician's report giving detailed information as to the results of a medical examination.

The first six of these new features require no comment. As for the change in the evidence of age, it should be noted both that the public birth records in Wisconsin are often based upon church records of baptism and sometimes upon parents' statements, and that there has been a great increase in the last three years in the demand for birth certificates for child-labor permits. Wisconsin has only recently been admitted into the birth-registration area and, in order to secure admission, the State board of health made every effort to register children who had failed to be recorded at the time of birth. In this work it made much use of church records of baptism. As a result of this practice it was held in a court case that a baptismal certificate was more trustworthy evidence of age than a birth certificate. Moreover, in 1919 the legislature passed a new law specifically authorizing the registration of birth at any time "upon the affidavit of the attending physician, midwife, parent, or other person who has actual knowledge of the time of such birth and of his [sic] parentage."³ Owing to the pressure exercised by the industrial commission to secure birth or baptismal certificates as evidence of age, most of the births being registered under this law up to December, 1920, were those of children who wished to secure work permits.

³ Laws of 1919, ch. 111.

It seems safe to say, however, that few such irregularities in the matter of age evidence as were common in 1918 could be found in Wisconsin in December, 1920. One of the methods used by the industrial commission to bring about greater uniformity has been to look up in the records of the State board of health at Madison the births of children for whom other evidence had been accepted and to call the attention of issuing officers to the frequent cases in which these births were found to have been recorded. In its instructions to issuing officers, moreover, the commission places special emphasis upon the fact that the possession of a permit, even though unlawfully issued, is a complete defense to an employer in any suit under the treble compensation clause of the workmen's compensation act,⁴ and that, therefore, an issuing officer who accepts inadequate evidence may be doing great injustice to the child in case he is injured. Special emphasis is placed upon the fact that it is not sufficient to make sure that a child is over 14 years of age, because in case a question arises as to whether, when injured, the child was employed in a prohibited occupation, the exact date of birth becomes of prime importance. For example, if the date of birth given on the permit indicates that a child is 16 years old when he is only 15, the employer is authorized and protected in putting that child to work, for example, on a mangle, or operating a steam boiler, both occupations prohibited as dangerous to children under 16 and the latter dangerous also to others. That false evidence is not often actually accepted appears to be indicated by the fact that in no accident case settled prior to December, 1920, had the employer submitted in defense an illegally issued permit. During the year ended July 1, 1919, over 85 per cent of all permits issued outside Milwaukee appear to have been based on birth or baptismal certificates.

The physical examination required of Milwaukee children who are applying for regular permits must be given by a public-health, public-school, or other certified physician. The bureau of school hygiene, however, has been transferred from the education to the health department, so that the school physicians are also public-health physicians. All examinations, therefore, for both public and parochial school children are now given by the same physicians. Recommendations that permits be granted can be accepted from private physicians, but they are practically never offered or insisted upon by the children who readily accept the suggestion of the issuing officer that they go to the office which the public-health department maintains near by in connection with the vocational school. Two physicians and a nurse are assigned to the examination of applicants for permits and of the children in the vocational school. One of the

⁴ Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-2399.

physicians is a man and one a woman who has had considerable industrial experience. One is in the office in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

The records of the examinations which the child may have had while still in school are consulted by the physician who examines him for a permit.

The physician's recommendation as to whether or not a permit should be granted, or whether it should be limited either as to time or as to occupation, is accepted by the industrial commission. Few permits are permanently refused, but many are temporarily withheld pending the correction of minor defects. An even larger number are granted temporarily, their continuance being dependent upon the correction of defects. Thus the children are enabled to earn at least part of the money required for treatment. They are assisted, however, by various dispensaries. When such a "provisional" permit, as it is called, is granted, a form letter is sent to the employer stapled to the permit. This letter states the nature of the child's defect and the time allowed for its correction.⁵ Provisional permits are often extended, in special cases more than once, but when a reasonable time has been allowed for the correction of the defect, if it is still uncorrected, the permit is first suspended and later, if this does not bring results, it is revoked.

During the eight months from April 1 to November 30, 1920, 35 children were permanently refused permits, 1,026 were refused temporarily, 24 were limited as to occupations, and 1,382 were granted "provisional" permits and allowed to work for a time on condition that they got defects corrected. Only 1,383 children, about one-third of all who applied, were found to be physically sound in every respect and were recommended for "unreserved" permits. This does not represent, however, the total number of cases acted upon, which was 5,237. In 176 cases children who had been refused temporarily returned with their defects corrected and were given permits, and in 434 cases provisional permits were for the same reason made unlimited. Moreover, 39 provisional refusals were made temporary and 8 provisional or temporary refusals were made permanent. On the other hand, the provisional time was extended in 440 cases and revocation of permits was recommended in 15 cases. In addition, 126 children were reexamined, and 149 were given examinations for vacation permits.

⁵ The system of following up these cases, as described by the industrial commission, is as follows: Chronological and alphabetical follow-up files are maintained and at the given date a postal-card notice to return for reexamination is sent, either to the child or to the employer. If the child fails to appear after two such notices his permit is recalled or, if he is unemployed, a note is attached to his index card warning that his permit must not be renewed without reexamination. If the child appears a postal card is sent to his employer stating the disposition of his case.

Mentally defective children are not always refused permits. Occasionally one is committed to an institution, but most of those applying for permits are comparatively high grade and in many cases, upon recommendation of the examining physician and of the Juvenile Protective Association, which cooperates in finding suitable employment for and in supervising such children, they are allowed to work for employers who know the circumstances and are willing to assume the responsibility. Usually it is stipulated that the child must be associated only with his [or her] own sex, that he must not work with, and sometimes not even near, machinery, and that he must be closely supervised.

About one-half of all the permits in Wisconsin are issued in Milwaukee. About one-half of all the children granted regular permits in the State, therefore, are given physical examinations. On November 16, 1920, moreover, the industrial commission issued to all permit officers throughout the State a special bulletin of instructions in which it directed them, whenever the physical or mental condition of a child was in question, to require the child to bring "a certificate of health from a reputable physician in general practice showing that the health of the child is such as to warrant the issuing of the permit."

During the year which ended June 30, 1919, there were issued outside Milwaukee 10,418 permits, of which 2,982 were issued in the seven other cities studied during this inquiry. The accompanying table gives, by the ages of the children, the figures for regular, vacation, and after-school and Saturday permits issued in these cities and in the remainder of the State. (See p. 14.)

Outside Milwaukee the permits were practically all being issued in December, 1920, by officers specially appointed by the industrial commission for that purpose. The former plan of having them issued in Superior by the branch office of the commission had been abandoned. The Madison office of the industrial commission, however, occasionally issued by mail a permit to a child who lived where there was no issuing officer. In addition to the officials of the industrial commission in Milwaukee and Madison, there were 210 issuing officers in 195 different cities and towns. Each of the 71 counties and each incorporated city of over 2,000 population (except South Milwaukee, where children get their permits at the Milwaukee office) had at least one issuing officer. In most of the places where there were two issuing officers, one of them, usually the county judge, issued only to children from outside the city. In a number of cities, however, special officers had been appointed to issue permits to children during the summer vacation when the regular issuing officer was away, and in Manitowoc two officers still had coordinate jurisdiction.

Original permits issued in Wisconsin from July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1919.

Places.	Total permits issued to children.				Regular permits issued to children.		
	All.	12-14 years of age.	14-16 years of age.	16-17 years of age.	All.	14-16 years of age.	16-17 years of age.
Entire State.....	20,093	.....	.....	.....	10,873	.....	.....
Milwaukee.....	9,675	.....	.....	.....	5,428	.....	.....
Outside Milwaukee.....	10,418	202	7,062	3,154	5,445	3,346	2,099
The seven cities studied:							
Madison.....	390	12	229	149	154	93	61
Kenosha.....	470	10	372	88	429	343	86
Sheboygan.....	574	13	490	71	279	230	49
Green Bay.....	427	9	276	142	394	299	135
Marinette.....	154	.....	101	53	89	49	40
Oshkosh.....	434	3	322	109	288	198	85
La Crosse.....	533	11	351	171	282	168	114
All other places.....	7,436	144	4,921	2,371	3,535	2,066	1,469

Places.	Vacation permits issued to children.				After-school and Saturday permits issued to children.		
	All.	12-14 years of age.	14-16 years of age.	16-17 years of age.	All.	14-16 years of age.	16-17 years of age.
Entire State.....	8,077	406	7,671		1,143	.....	.....
Milwaukee.....	3,709	204	3,505		538	.....	.....
Outside Milwaukee.....	4,368	202	3,247	919	605	469	136
The seven cities studied:							
Madison.....	168	12	91	65	63	45	23
Kenosha.....	14	10	4	.....	27	25	2
Sheboygan.....	272	13	243	16	23	17	6
Green Bay.....	32	9	16	7	1	1	.....
Marinette.....	50	.....	39	11	15	13	2
Oshkosh.....	125	3	102	20	26	22	4
La Crosse.....	143	11	100	32	106	63	25
All other places.....	3,364	144	2,652	768	337	263	74

The tendency to appoint school officials as issuing officers appears to have increased, in spite of complaint that they go away in the summer and temporary officers have to be secured. In December, 1920, about one-half of the issuing officers were school officials of some sort, nearly one-fourth of them being superintendents of schools and the rest principals of high schools, teachers, truant officers, clerks of school boards, or directors of vocational schools. In 18 of the 48 cities and towns which had vocational schools the director of that school was issuing permits. Although the desirability of designating as permit officers the directors of vocational schools has sometimes been questioned on the ground that they are interested in having children secure permits in order to build up their own schools, this policy appears to work well in practice. In all cases, however, the regular school authorities have been given first opportunity to do this work and the directors of vocational schools have been appointed with

their approval. Of the other issuing officers, 33 were county and 11 were municipal judges. In 12 counties the only issuing officer was the county judge. Various other public officials, such as justice of the peace, mayor, village president, city clerk, treasurer, and attorney, were serving as issuing officers. And in some places private individuals, such as bank official, editor, doctor, attorney, real-estate agent, insurance agent, or representative of the Red Cross, were performing this function. It should be remembered, however, that in many of these small places very few children apply for permits. During the year ended June 30, 1919, less than 10 permits were issued in each of 15 counties.

Vocational schools were maintained, as already mentioned, in 48 cities and towns of Wisconsin in December, 1920, as compared with 31 in April, 1918. Only three cities which in 1920 had over 5,000 population had failed by the latter date to establish such schools. On the other hand, six towns of less than 5,000 population had vocational schools. The attendance for the entire State during the year ended June 30, 1920, was approximately 43,000. From 85 to 90 per cent of the children who held permits in Wisconsin in December, 1920, are estimated to have lived in places which had vocational schools, which they were therefore obliged to attend. Outside Milwaukee all children were attending eight hours a week, but in Milwaukee they were still attending only four hours, owing to lack of facilities. However, a well-equipped building occupying nearly half a block of ground had been completed and was in use in Milwaukee for the boys' classes, and a similar building for girls, to occupy the other half of the block, was planned. In December, 1920, there were in all 116 teachers in the Milwaukee vocational school, and the average weekly attendance was about 9,200 in all departments. Since the completion of the new building all permit children, it is said, have been assigned promptly to their classes.

In Milwaukee the industrial commission, as well as the vocational school, has recently made some efforts to assist children in finding work. For a time the director of the women's department of the commission, who is the permit issuing officer in Milwaukee, was in charge of a juvenile division of the United States Employment Service, and juvenile placement was closely associated with the issuance of permits. Although this work had to be discontinued because of lack of appropriations for the United States Employment Service, the commission has continued the effort to secure work out of school hours for children who would otherwise be obliged to leave school. Employers have been canvassed by circular letters and personal calls, and a considerable number of children have been furnished with work out of school hours and on Saturdays. Most of those placed have

been from the high schools, but some have come from the grades. As in the case of all other permits, of course, the principal of the school must recommend that the child be given a permit; and this recommendation is believed to mean that the principal considers the child able to keep up with his studies and still work out of school hours. Permits are not given for work both before and after school hours.

At the time this study was made the treble-compensation clause of the workmen's compensation act had been in effect for too short a period to have shown its full value as a deterrent to the employment of children without permits or in illegal occupations. This clause was adopted as the result of a situation which arose under the old provision of the compensation act, one found in many other such acts, including within its scope only minors "legally permitted to work under the laws of the State." In one case⁶ the supreme court had held, not only that a child of permit age who had been injured while employed without a permit was not a minor legally permitted to work under the laws of the State and, consequently, was not included in the scope of the compensation act, but that, even though the child had lied about his age, such employment was gross negligence. By this decision, therefore, employers who employed children without permits were thrown back, in case of injury, upon the hazards of liability actions under the common law, with no defense whatever left to them. On the other hand, in another case⁷ the court had held that a child injured while employed in a prohibited occupation, but employed with the authority of a permit, came within the scope of the compensation act, and consequently could recover only the regular compensation. The employers were not satisfied with the first of these decisions and the labor unions were not satisfied with the second. A conference was therefore held during the legislative session of 1917, and this conference recommended the treble-compensation plan which had been suggested by a representative of one of the leading employers' associations.

The essential features of the treble compensation plan are that children of permit age who are injured while employed without permits or in prohibited occupations shall receive in compensation three times the amounts to which they would be entitled if they had been lawfully employed; that the entire increased compensation, two-thirds of the total, shall be paid by the employer who can not insure against this risk, but that the insurance company shall be liable in case the employer is insolvent; and, on the other hand, that if an employer has secured a permit which was illegally issued by a regularly appointed permit officer or which has been altered, pro-

⁶ *Stetz v. Mayer Boot & Shoe Co.*, 163 Wis., 151 (1916).

⁷ *Foth v. Macomber & Whythe Rope Co.*, 161 Wis., 549 (1915).

vided the alteration was made without fraud on the employer's part, such a permit shall afford him the same protection as if it had been legally issued.

When this study was made the constitutionality of the treble-compensation clause had not been determined by court decision, and it had not been in effect long enough for any large number of cases under it to have arisen. In three comparatively recent cases,⁸ however, the Wisconsin Supreme Court has upheld its constitutionality. Meanwhile, too, the 1919 legislature has amended the law to permit the child, in case the treble compensation amounts to less than the wages he has lost, to recover his full wage loss plus doctors' bills.⁹

Since the enactment of the treble-compensation clause the industrial commission has made a special study of every accident report involving a minor with a view to determining his actual age and the occupation in which he was engaged at the time of the accident. In case its study has disclosed a violation of the child-labor law, it has notified the parties of their rights under the treble-compensation clause, and has then followed up the case until the amount of damages was paid. In case of dispute as to the facts, the commission has conducted a hearing and made an award. Compromise settlements have never been sanctioned.

As a result of this work, from September 1, 1917, when the clause first went into effect, to June 30, 1920, 222 children who had been injured while employed without permits or at prohibited occupations had received treble compensation, drawing altogether \$21,903.22 in regular compensation and \$43,806.44 in increased compensation, as well as the necessary surgical, hospital, and medical treatment and medicine. The average increased compensation was \$197.33, but in 11 cases it amounted to \$1,000 or more. For 1 case settled after June 30, 1920, it amounted to \$6,000. Although all minors who have been injured while illegally employed have been notified of their rights in the matter, a few of them have made no claim for increased compensation. On the other hand, in a few cases in which the injured minor was not entitled to any compensation because he was not disabled for more than seven days, the commission has induced or compelled the employer to pay the entire wage loss which the minor sustained. On June 30, 1920, 55 cases were pending.

The most important test of this provision for treble compensation to children who are injured while illegally employed is not, however, the adequacy of the amounts paid the children, but the prevention of illegal employment and consequently of accidents. Concerning this no exact statistical statement can be made, but the industrial

⁸ *Brenner v. Heruben*, 176 N. W., 228 (February, 1920) ; *Mueller & Sons Co. v. Gothard & Faust Lumber Co. v. Gaudette*, decided on Oct. 18, 1920.

⁹ *Laws of 1919*, ch. 680, sec. 2.

commission states that treble compensation has been the most effective measure for the enforcement of the child-labor law which has ever been used in Wisconsin. Practically all large employers and many small ones have had to pay increased compensation, and one such experience has served as a warning, not only to the employer directly concerned but also to others. In many cases centralized employment departments have been organized to prevent carelessness on the part of subordinates from causing a violation of the child-labor laws, and employers generally have exercised greater care in hiring children.

At the same time the payment of treble compensation is said to rouse less resentment than would a fine, because the compensation is considered a contractual obligation assumed when the employer accepted voluntarily the compensation act. This payment does not, as the industrial commission is careful to remind the employer, exempt him from prosecution for the violation. But, in fact, few employers who have paid treble compensation have actually been prosecuted for violating the child-labor law, for the treble compensation is believed to be a sufficiently severe lesson.

Another result of the treble-compensation clause has been the conversion of the activities of the compensation insurance companies of Wisconsin from channels which hindered to others which help in the enforcement of the child-labor law. Before the adoption of this plan some of these companies made a special point of advertising that their insurance covered minors who were illegally employed and that if such a minor were injured, the employer would not have to pay the damages. These companies, moreover, made this point so important a part of their competition with others that it threatened to become the general policy of all companies. This, of course, made employers feel that they were entirely relieved from the possibility of having to pay the most severe penalty likely to be imposed for a violation of the child-labor law—damages to an injured child. Since the enactment of the treble compensation clause, however, insurance companies have been unable to take this risk, and they have gradually learned that the greatest service they can render their policy holders in the matter is to keep them out of trouble by persuading them to observe strictly the child-labor law. As a result these companies have distributed quantities of literature prepared by the industrial commission calling the attention of employers to the risks they run in violating the child-labor laws, and many of them have carried on similar campaigns of their own among their policy holders.

Another feature which makes this plan especially effective as a means of preventing the illegal employment of children is its certain and uniform application. All cases are followed up; the employer

has to deal with the industrial commission and not merely with the child and his parents; and in no case can there be a settlement for little or nothing. Its very certainty and uniformity in giving fair compensation to the injured child makes it a strong weapon for his protection from illegal employment.

Throughout the following discussion the present tense, it should be remembered, refers to the date of the main body of the report, April 1, 1918. Although it is probable that few important changes had been made up to December, 1920, to which attention has not been called, either in this Foreword or in footnotes, no attempt has been made to insure that minor details were handled at the latter date in precisely the manner here described. This report, like the others of this series, is intended to throw light upon the methods of administration of child-labor laws which, not alone in Wisconsin but in any State, not at a fixed date but at any time, are calculated to produce the best results.



INTRODUCTION.

The employment-certificate or "child-labor permit" law of Wisconsin affects to a greater or less degree practically all regularly and gainfully employed children in the State under 17 years of age except those engaged in domestic service in places where there are no vocational schools or at work in agricultural pursuits. Children from 14 to 17 may secure regular labor permits for all occupations not specifically prohibited; those from 12 to 14 may secure "vacation permits" for a comparatively short list of occupations; and those under 12 are excluded from "any gainful occupation or employment,"¹⁰ except agricultural pursuits. No uniform minimum age for the employment of all children at all times and in all occupations, however, exists in Wisconsin.

A child-labor permit is required for the employment, directly or indirectly, of a child between 14 and 17 years of age, except an indentured apprentice, in any of the following occupations and establishments, agricultural pursuits alone being specifically exempt:¹¹

Factory.

Workshop.

Store.

Hotel.

Restaurant.

Bakery.

Mercantile establishment.

Laundry.

Telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service.

Delivery of merchandise.

Domestic service in cities where vocational schools are maintained, other than casual employment in such service.

Any gainful occupation or employment.

The phrase "any gainful occupation or employment" has never been interpreted to include domestic service; and, although it was already in the list of employments for which permits were necessary, the legislature in 1917, in order to make the permit law cover certain

¹⁰ Employment in street trades is not included in this report.

¹¹ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728a.1, 1728c4. For the text of these sections, see pp. 135 and 140.

children in domestic service, added to the statute the words, "or, in cities where a vocational school is maintained, in domestic service."

In many occupations, however, which are considered dangerous, injurious, or morally hazardous to children under certain ages—over 100 such occupations are specified in the law—the employment of a child under the given age (21, 18, and 16 for different occupations) is prohibited absolutely. And to the occupations thus prohibited to a child under 16 the so-called "blanket" provision adds, "any other employment dangerous to life or limb, injurious to the health, or depraving to the morals." Furthermore, the industrial commission has power to determine employments or places of employment that are dangerous or injurious to the life, health, safety, or welfare of any minor and to prohibit the work of a minor of any age at those employments.¹² A resolution adopted by the industrial commission on March 11, 1918, under its authority to refuse to grant a permit if the best interests of the child will be served by such refusal, prohibited the issuance of permits to minors of specified ages in the following occupations: (1) Under 17, in any bowling alley or in any of certain specified places where strong, spirituous, or malt liquors are manufactured, bottled, sold, served, or given away; (2) under 16, in any drug store having a Government license to sell strong, spirituous, or malt liquors; (3) girls under 17, in any hotel, restaurant, or boarding or rooming house; (4) boys under 16, in any hotel.¹³

A child between 12 and 14 years of age may also secure a child-labor permit, but it permits him to work only during school vacation,¹⁴ in the place where he resides, and in one of the following:¹⁵

Store.¹⁶

Office.

Mercantile establishment.

Warehouse (except a tobacco warehouse).¹⁷

Telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service.

Another section of the law requires that the permit be filed by the employer of any child under 17 years of age at work in a certain list of establishments and occupations, a list identical with the first one given except that it adds "office" and omits "delivery of merchan-

¹² Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1718a.2. For the text of this section, see p. 136.

¹³ See p. 159. Since the date of this report, the commission has ruled that no permits shall be granted to (1) children under 16 in lumbering and logging operations; (2) children under 17 in pool rooms or billiard halls; (3) any child to work in any place of employment in which an active strike or lockout is in progress; (4) any child for employment upon work given out by factories to be done in homes.

¹⁴ A decision of the attorney general in 1911 limits the application of this provision to the regular Christmas, Easter, and summer vacations of school.

¹⁵ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.4. For the text of this section, see p. 136.

¹⁶ A resolution adopted by the industrial commission, March 11, 1918, prohibited the granting of a permit to any child under 14 years of age to work in a drug store. See p. 159.

¹⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.2.

"dise" and "any gainful occupation or employment." Every such employer must keep a register showing the name, age, date of birth, and place of residence of every child under 17 years of age whom he employs, this register to be open at all times to the inspection of the industrial commission or of any truant officer.¹⁸

Furthermore, every employer of this latter group, except one employing a child in a bakery, a restaurant, or in domestic service, is required by law to send to the issuing office a statement that the child's permit has been received and filed, together with the fact and date of the child's actual employment.¹⁹ To meet this requirement, the industrial commission in 1912 provided a special form²⁰ to be signed by the employer, which states that the permit has been filed and gives the name and occupation of the child and the date upon which he began work. This form was usually sent to the employer with the permit. But employers seldom returned these notices, and the attempt to enforce the provision was abandoned in October, 1917, by special ruling of the commission.²¹ Every such employer must post near the principal entrance to his establishment a list containing the name of every child employed by him. And when a child leaves his employ he must, within 24 hours thereafter, return the permit to the officer who issued it, with a statement of the reason for the termination of the child's employment.²²

A permit must be issued by the industrial commission or some person designated by it and is good only in the hands of the specific employer to whom it is made out.²³ Every permit must give the name, the date and place of birth, and the height and weight of the child to whom it is issued; must describe the color of his hair and eyes and any distinguishing facial marks; must state that the papers required by law for the issuance of the permit have been examined, approved, and filed; and must contain the signature of the director of the vocational school which the child is to attend.²⁴

Certain children between 16 and 17 years of age employed in Wisconsin are not required to have permits but are subject to the provisions of the apprenticeship law. According to this law, when any minor over 16 years of age²⁵ enters "into any contract of service, expressed or implied, whereby he is to receive from or through his employer in consideration for his services, in whole or in part, in-

¹⁸ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728b.1, 1728b.2. For the text of these sections, see pp. 133-139.

¹⁹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.1. For the text of this section, see p. 137.

²⁰ Form 1, p. 151.

²¹ See p. 158.

²² Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.1. For the text of this section, see p. 137.

²³ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728a.1, 1728a.4, 1728a-3.2. For the text of these sections, see pp. 135, 136-137.

²⁴ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.1. For the text of this section, see p. 136.

²⁵ The apprenticeship law applies to minors between the ages of 16 and 21, but for the purposes of this study only children between 16 and 17 will be considered.

struction in any trade, craft or business," he becomes an apprentice, and the contract must be entered into in writing. This contract is called an indenture and must contain the names of the parties, the date of birth of the child, the schedule of the child's pay, the amount and kind of training he is to receive, the time when his apprenticeship shall begin and end, and the number of hours to be spent in work and the number in instruction. The indenture must be signed by the employer, by the minor, and by one of his parents or his guardian or certain designated officials. It must be made out in triplicate, one copy to be given to the child, one to the employer, and the third to be filed with the industrial commission. Such an indenture must be binding for at least a year, but may be annulled by the industrial commission for good cause.²⁶

The apprenticeship law is strengthened by certain provisions of the minimum-wage law. This law provides that all minors working in an occupation for which a living wage has been established for minors, and who shall have no trade, must, if employed in an occupation which is a trade industry, be indentured under the provisions of the apprenticeship law. A "trade" or a "trade industry" must involve physical labor and be characterized "by mechanical skill and training such as render a period of instruction reasonably necessary." Furthermore, the industrial commission must investigate, determine, and declare what occupations and industries are included within the phrase a "trade" or a "trade industry."²⁷

Closely related to the permit provisions of the law are those requiring attendance at the common schools²⁸ and at vocational schools. With certain exceptions, every child between 7 and 16 years of age in cities of the first class²⁹ must attend regularly some public, parochial, or private school for the entire session; in all other cities³⁰ he must attend for at least eight school months, and in towns and villages for a minimum of six school months. For this attendance "substantially equivalent" instruction elsewhere during the required period may be substituted. Any child between 14 and 16 who is "regularly and lawfully employed in any useful employment or service at home or otherwise" is exempt from further attendance, as is also any child who has completed the course of a study for the

²⁶ Statutes, ch. 110, secs. 2377.1 to 2377.11. For the text of these sections, see pp. 142 to 144.

²⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1729s-8.1, 1729s-8.2. For the text of these sections, see p. 142.

²⁸ The term "common school" is used throughout this report to mean any public, parochial, or private school which gives elementary instruction in various branches for eight years, in contradistinction to the public vocational or continuation schools established primarily for employed children. Though the latter schools are, in one sense of the term, a part of the common-school system, this distinction affords a simple and easily understood method of referring to the two classes of educational institutions.

²⁹ Cities of 150,000 inhabitants or over—Milwaukee only.

³⁰ Cities of less than 150,000 inhabitants.

common schools, i. e., the first eight grades. The term "any useful employment or service at home or elsewhere," apparently covers some cases in which the children, because not engaged in any "gainful" occupation, are not required to have permits—for example, children staying at home to help in housework or in the care of younger children. Exemption is also granted to a child who is physically or mentally incapacitated, or who lives at too great a distance from the nearest school in his district.³¹

In cities, towns, or villages where vocational schools are maintained,³² a child between 14 and 16 years of age who has been exempted from the school attendance required by the law just given, except one who is physically incapacitated or who is attending high school, must attend regularly either a common school or a vocational school for eight hours a week for at least eight months and for as many more months as the other public schools of the locality are in session.³³ A child between 16 and 17 years of age not indentured as an apprentice and not regularly attending any other recognized school must attend a vocational school during the same period for four hours a week, and after September 1, 1918, for the same number of hours as the younger child—that is, eight hours a week. Equivalent attendance, however, as determined by the local board of industrial education, may be substituted in the case of children of both age groups.³⁴

This attendance at vocational school is obligatory only if one is maintained either in the place where the child resides or where he is employed.³⁵ It is thus required in such places of every child between 14 and 17 years of age, whether working or not, who is not attending a common school or a high school. Such attendance, moreover, must be in the daytime; and the number of hours required of an employed child must be deducted from his legal maximum hours of work—such reduction in hours to be allowed at the time the classes the minor is

³¹ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(1). For the text of this section, see pp. 129–130.

³² At the time of this study—April, 1918—such schools had been established in 31 towns and cities. For the names of these places, see footnote 61, p. 36.

³³ The law states that he "must either attend some public, private, or parochial school, or attend for at least eight hours a week for at least eight months a vocational school." This has been interpreted by the industrial commission and the State board of vocational education to require only the eight hours a week attendance at either a common school or a vocational school. Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(3). For the text of this section, see p. 130.

³⁴ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728c–1.1, 1728o–2.1, 1728o–2.2. For the text of these sections, see pp. 139 and 141–142.

³⁵ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(3); ch. 83, secs. 1728c–1.1, 1728o–2.1, 1728o–2.2. For the text of these sections, see pp. 130, 139, 141–142. These sections state that the attendance requirements shall apply only to persons "living in towns, villages, and cities maintaining" vocational schools. But the first part of subsection 3, section 40.73, states also that the requirements shall apply to any person "living within 2 miles of the school of any town or within the corporate limits of any city or village" maintaining vocational schools. This apparent contradiction has never been explained. The practice varies with the community and the ease with which the individual child can attend.

required to attend are in session, if the working time and the class time coincide.³⁵

An indentured apprentice, although exempted from the requirements of attendance at vocational school that apply to a child with a permit, must attend school for not less than five hours a week, or the equivalent, until he becomes 18 years of age; and the total number of hours of instruction and of work must not exceed 55 a week. This attendance may be either at day or evening school. The employer must pay for the time the apprentice is receiving instruction at the same rate as for the time he is working, and the teacher must certify to his school attendance.³⁶

In any place where a public evening school or vocational school is maintained, a minor between 17 and 21 years of age who can not read and write simple English sentences must not be employed unless he regularly attends such a school for at least four hours a week. He must give his attendance record to his employer weekly, and his employer must keep it on file, but if the minor presents a physician's certificate that attendance in addition to his work would be prejudicial to his health, the industrial commission may authorize his employment without such attendance for such time as it may determine.³⁷

Closely connected with the permit laws are the laws regulating the hours of labor of a child between 14 and 17, because the required hours of attendance at vocational school must be deducted from these hours of labor. No child under 16 years of age may be employed at any gainful occupation other than domestic service or farm labor for more than 8 hours a day or 48 a week, or between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m., or for more than 6 days per week; and a dinner period of not less than 30 minutes must be allowed each day.³⁸ The hours of labor for a girl over 16 are minutely regulated by the women's work law, which prohibits the employment of any woman at day work for more than 10 hours a day or 55 hours a week, or at night work for more than 8 hours a night or 48 hours a week. In either case 1 hour must be allowed for meals.³⁹ For a boy over 16 the only regulations of hours of labor at the time of this study, except those applying to apprentices, were: (1) The prohibition of employment of a minor under 21 years of age in first, second, and third class cities between

³⁵ See footnote 35 on p. 25.

³⁶ Statutes, ch. 110, secs. 2377.5, 2377.6. For the text of these sections, see p. 143.

³⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728a-11, 1728a-13, 1728a-14. For the text of these sections, see pp. 137-138.

³⁸ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c.1. For the text of this section, see p. 130.

³⁹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728-2. For the text of this section, see p. 134. These hours of labor established by statute have been materially modified by orders of the industrial commission, under its authority to fix other schedules of hours necessary to protect the life, health, safety, or welfare of any female. Special orders and regulations as to hours of labor and night work have been issued for women employed in factories, laundries, condenseries, pea canneries, restaurants, and several other industries.

8 p. m. and 6 a. m. as messenger for a telegraph or messenger company in the distribution, transmission, or delivery of messages or goods; and (2) the prohibition of employment of a minor under 18 years of age in a cigar shop or cigar factory at manufacturing cigars for more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week.⁴⁰ But on September 1, 1918, there went into effect the further regulation that for any employed boy between 16 and 17 who is also attending vocational school the total number of hours at work and at school must not exceed 55 a week.⁴¹

Another law, certain provisions of which have a direct bearing on the enforcement of the permit law, is the workmen's compensation act. This law applies, not only to all direct employees, but to "all helpers and assistants of employees, whether paid by the employers or employee, if employed with the knowledge, actual or constructive, of the employer," and also to all "minors of permit age or over."⁴² By its provisions a minor of permit age injured while working without a permit, or a minor of permit age or over working at a prohibited employment, is entitled to treble compensation. The additional two-thirds, moreover, must be paid by the employer, the insurance carrier being required to pay it only if judgment can not be satisfied by the employer. Neither employer nor carrier may insure himself against this liability.⁴³ Because the law specifically includes any minor "of permit age or over," the inference is that, as the employed minor under permit age is not included, the employer of such a child is liable to a damage suit if the child is injured.

According to the Federal census there were in 1910 at work in Wisconsin 19,638 children (13,559 boys and 6,079 girls) 14 and 15 years of age. If we deduct from this total the number of children in occupations for which no permits are required—i. e., the 8,490 engaged in agricultural pursuits, the 181 newsboys, and some of the 2,505 in domestic service—i. e., those employed in places where no vocational schools are maintained—there remain some 10,000 children 14 and 15 years of age at work in 1910 in occupations for which they would be required to have permits under the law here discussed.⁴⁴

During the year ended June 30, 1917, 12,503 child labor permits were issued in the State of Wisconsin, of which 4,277 were vacation permits and 491 after-school and Saturday permits. The 4,277 vacation permits include those issued to children 12 and 13 years of age; otherwise the figures show the number of permits issued to children

⁴⁰ Statutes, ch. 73a, sec. 1636-106; ch. 83, sec. 1728a.2. For the text of these sections, see pp. 133 and 136.

⁴¹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-2.2. For the text of this section, see p. 142.

⁴² Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-7. For the text of this section, see p. 144.

⁴³ Statutes, ch. 110a, secs. 2394-7, 2394-9. For the text of these sections, see pp. 144.

⁴⁴ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. IV, Population, pp. 531-533.

of 14 and 15.⁴⁵ Most of these were original permits. The figures, however, overstate the number of children starting to work in that year, because the same child may have secured more than one permit. On the other hand, they understate the actual number of children at work in that year, because many of the children who had received permits during the preceding year were still under 16 years of age.

During the year ended December 31, 1917, the number of applications for permits of all kinds, both original and subsequent, made at the Milwaukee office of the industrial commission was 20,032, and 372 of these were refused. The accompanying table gives certain information as to the 19,660 permits issued.⁴⁶

Child labor permits, Milwaukee, year ended December 31, 1917.

Type of permit.	Number of permits.		
	Total.	Original.	Subsequent.
All permits.....	19,660	(a)	(a)
Total regular.....	15,964	8,244	7,720
To children 14-16.....	11,320	4,476	6,844
To children 16-17.....	^b 4,644	^b 3,768	^b 876
Total vacation.....	3,314	2,880	434
To children 12-14.....	(a)	147	(a)
To children 14-16.....	(a)	2,733	(a)
After-school.....	382	(a)	(a)

^a Separate statistics not available.

^b These figures are for the four months—September to December, inclusive—during which children between 16 and 17 years of age were required to have permits.

Some figures are also available concerning the children who enrolled in the vocational school in Milwaukee. Out of 8,190 children who had enrolled from September, 1917, to January, 1918, 4,579 were from public schools and 3,611 from parochial schools. The enrollment in public schools was approximately 52,000, and that in parochial schools 25,000. Thus only a little less than 9 per cent of the total number enrolled in public schools left to enter vocational schools, whereas over 14 per cent of those enrolled in parochial schools left for this purpose.⁴⁷

The administration of the permit law was studied in eight different cities so that the conditions described might be considered fairly typical of those for the entire State. The cities chosen had the largest number of children attending vocational schools, and it is highly probable that they had also the largest number of working children. The employment of children in small and rural communities was not

⁴⁵ Report on Allied Functions for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1917, p. 87, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin. Issued September 1, 1917. This total does not include 20 theatrical permits issued during the year.

⁴⁶ Figures collected from records in the issuing office by the deputy of the industrial commission in Milwaukee.

⁴⁷ Figures secured from records in the Milwaukee vocational school.

studied because of the comparatively small number of children regularly at work in such places; but it should be pointed out that children in these districts are employed in the canning and a few other seasonal industries, for short periods, and that their employment gives rise to difficult problems in supervision and administration of the law, as the seasons are short, the industries few, and the communities scattered.

The cities chosen were: Milwaukee, the largest city in the State, where nearly half the children at work in Wisconsin are employed; Madison, the capital city; Kenosha, in the southeastern, and Sheboygan and Green Bay in the northeastern section of the State; Marinette, north of Green Bay and just across the line from Menominee, Mich.; Oshkosh, in the east central part of the State on Lake Winnebago; and La Crosse in the western part of the State near the Minnesota line.

A summary of the officers issuing permits and of the chief child-employing industries in these cities, together with their estimated population, will be found in the accompanying table.

Population, issuing officers, and child-employing industries in selected cities.

City.	Population estimated July 1, 1917. ^a	Issuing officers. ^b	Chief industries employing children. ^c
Milwaukee.....	445,008	Deputy of industrial commission	Candy, knitting, and shoe factories; department stores.
Madison.....	31,315	Director of vocational school....	Stores and shops.
Sheboygan.....	28,907	.....do.....	Enameling works and seed mills.
Green Bay.....	30,017	.....do.....	Canneries and machine shops.
Marinette.....	^d 14,610	County judge.....	Department stores; foundries (in Michigan).
Oshkosh.....	36,549	Attendance officer.....	Clothing and match factories.
Kenosha.....	32,833	Superintendent of schools, municipal judge.	Machine shops and knitting mills.
La Crosse.....	31,833	Director of vocational school....	Railroad shops and rubber works.

^a Estimates obtained from the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

^b All officials are those deputized by the industrial commission.

^c Excluding domestic service.

^d Population according to the 1910 census. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, vol. 1, Population, p. 97. Estimate of population in 1917 is not available.

This study describes the laws relating to child-labor permits in effect on April 1, 1918, and the system of administration existing at that time, unless otherwise indicated. The methods employed in the Milwaukee office of the industrial commission are used as the basis of comparison in discussing the methods used in the other places.

It should be noted that, at the time this study was made, certain features of the law described in the preceding pages had been in effect for only a few months. Of the eight principal points in which the child-labor laws of Wisconsin differed from those of most other

States, three had become effective on September 1, 1917, only seven months before the date to which the information here given relates. These three are: (1) The centralization in the industrial commission of control over the issuance of permits; (2) the raising of the permit age from 16 to 17; and (3) the treble compensation clause in the workmen's compensation act. The full effect of these provisions probably was not felt until after they had been in force for more than seven months. To a certain extent, therefore, this is a study of a transition period in the child-labor laws of Wisconsin and their administration. It should be kept in mind, however, that the information does not relate to what was being done during the period between September 1, 1917, and April 1, 1918, but as nearly as possible to what was actually the practice at the latter date, after all these new provisions of law had been in force seven months.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

In Wisconsin the administration of the child-labor permit system, as well as that of other features of the child-labor law, is centralized in the State industrial commission. There are, however, other administrative agents that may be grouped in three classes: (1) The local issuing officers, that is, the persons designated by the industrial commission to issue permits; (2) the local school authorities, who pass upon the educational fitness and school attendance of children and issue certificates—called school certificates—to those wishing to obtain work permits, and who enforce school attendance through truant officers and by means of a school census; and (3) the boards of vocational education, both State and local, which supervise the industrial education of employed children throughout the State.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

The industrial commission was created by the legislature of 1911. It consists of three members, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, to serve for six years each. The commission has authority to supervise every employment and place of employment in the State, except private domestic service or agricultural pursuits which do not involve the use of mechanical power, and to enforce and administer all laws relating to employment. In addition, it is authorized to make "regulations relative to the exercise of its powers," these regulations to have the force of law.⁴⁸ It has its headquarters in the State capitol at Madison and branch offices at Milwaukee and Superior.

⁴⁸ Statutes, ch. 110a, secs. 2394-41 to 2394-70. For the text of certain of these sections, see pp. 145 to 146.

The commission administers laws relating mainly to safety and sanitation, private employment agencies, free employment offices, woman and child labor, truancy, apprenticeship, workmen's compensation, sweatshop inspection, boiler inspection, fire prevention, minimum wage, arbitration, and the regulation of building. One deputy has general supervision over the issuance of child-labor permits, truancy, and private employment offices. The commission conducts investigations constantly and also collects statistics showing the status of its work, both of administration and investigation. Any order of the commission made as a result of these investigations has the force of law and a violation of such an order is subject to the same penalty as a violation of the law.

The commission has 66 paid employees, including assistants, inspectors and clerks, all of whom, except the secretary and the two examiners under the compensation act, are selected by competitive civil-service examinations. With few exceptions the 10 deputy field inspectors are transferred from one kind of inspection to another, but certain assistants are often placed in charge of particular lines of work and are not transferred to other lines.

In addition to its regular paid employees the commission deputizes local officials throughout the State to act as its agents in enforcing some specific law or laws. An official so deputized receives no compensation from the State for his services, as the law empowers the industrial commission to pay only those persons who are appointed under State civil-service regulations and are giving full time to the work of the commission. The position of the local official, however, is strengthened by his connection with a State department.

In the administration of the child-labor laws, the industrial commission through its designated officials has, by law, specific duties and rights. It has authority to issue or to designate who shall issue child-labor permits; it must "formulate and publish rules and regulations governing the proof of age of minors who apply for labor permits," such rules to be "binding upon all persons authorized by law to issue such permits"; and it has the right to revoke any permit whenever it determines that such permit has been "improperly or illegally issued, or that the physical or moral welfare of such child would be best served by the revocation of the permit." The commission has an additional means of supervision over the issuing of all permits in that the law requires local issuing officials to send to it a duplicate of each permit issued together with a "detailed statement of the character and substance of the evidence offered prior to the issue of such permit."⁴⁹ Prior to September, 1917, the commis-

⁴⁹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.1, 1728a-3.2, 1728c.2, 1728e.3. For the text of these sections, see pp. 135, 136-137, and 140.

sion required these reports monthly; after that date it has endeavored, with a fair degree of success, to secure them twice a month.

During the year beginning August 1, 1915, the industrial commission requested two additional monthly reports from the local officers. One of these reports gave the name and occupation of each child receiving an original or a subsequent permit, the number of years he had spent in school and the grade he had completed, his reasons for working, and the occupation of his father. The other report gave the name of each child whose permit had been returned during the month, the date of the return, and the name of the employer. From these returns the commission published a report which showed something of the status of child labor in the State.⁵⁰

The industrial commission has by law, to a limited extent, supervision also over the enforcement of compulsory school attendance. Its power to enforce school attendance exists, however, only so far as no other provision has been made by statute. Deputies of the commission have the power of truant officers in enforcing school attendance.⁵¹

The apprenticeship law, which requires that when an employee between 16 and 21 is being taught a trade or business as payment in whole or in part for his services he must be indentured and his employer must guarantee him a course of training for a definite time, is also administered by the industrial commission. This commission has "the power, jurisdiction, and authority to ascertain, determine, and fix such reasonable classifications and to issue rules and regulations, and general or special orders" necessary to enforce the apprenticeship law. On the one hand no employer has a legal right to teach a minor progressively any part or parts of an industry, in consideration for service, without indenturing him under the State law, and the commission has the power and duty to decide when the condition of an apprenticeship exists. On the other hand, the commission must classify occupations and make rules governing the courses of instruction and the exact procedure of training apprentices.⁵² The provisions of the minimum-wage law summarized on page 24 emphasize this power of the industrial commission to make investigations of the work in which minors are employed in order to determine when a child is really employed as a "learner" and what trades or occupations are "trade industries" and therefore need a period of apprenticeship.

⁵⁰ Some Statistics on Child Labor in Wisconsin. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin. Issued August, 1917.

⁵¹ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(6); ch. 83, sec. 1728d.1; ch. 110a, sec. 2394-52. For the text of these sections, see pp. 132-133, 140, and 146. See also p. 82.

⁵² Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.1 to 2377.11. For the text of these sections, see pp. 142 to 144.

Inspectors of the industrial commission inspect establishments for the purpose of enforcing regulations relating to hours of labor, to sanitary and suitable working conditions, to child-labor permits, and to employments designated as dangerous for children. All the inspectors in their rounds inspect, incidentally, for violations of the laws relating to the work of women and children. But to one division, called the woman's department—consisting of a woman director, an assistant, and clerical help—is especially assigned the work of inspecting establishments employing women and children and investigating reports of violations of the woman and child-labor laws. This division has made several investigations of the conditions of work and welfare of women and child workers.

All blank forms necessary and required by law for issuing child-labor permits are furnished by the industrial commission to local issuing officers and are uniform throughout the State. The contents of the permit⁵³ are specified in the law, and a permit issued on a form other than that furnished by the commission is not legal. The form for the "detailed statement of the character and substance of the evidence offered," which must be sent to the commission with each duplicate permit, is prescribed by the commission, as is also the school-certificate form.⁵⁴ The latter is not usually distributed among the schools because a child is apt to regard a school certificate as a license to leave school and is much less likely to be persuaded to return to school once he has obtained it. The fact that the form is available only at the issuing office gives the issuing officer, as well as the school principal, an opportunity to persuade the child not to go to work.

At frequent intervals the industrial commission sends out printed instructions to issuing officers and to employers regarding the provisions of the child-labor law and the penalties for violation.

LOCAL ISSUING OFFICERS.

As has been stated, permits must be issued either by the paid deputies of the industrial commission or by other persons designated by the commission. The officers thus designated in different places throughout the State do not always themselves perform the actual work of issuance but frequently choose some one else to do it. By a former provision of the law⁵⁵ such delegation of authority to "any subordinate officer or person" was prohibited. But the provision was constantly violated and was repealed by the legislature of 1917.

⁵³ For the form of the regular permit, see Form 2, p. 151; for description of vacation permit, see pp. 48-49.

⁵⁴ Form 3, p. 152.

⁵⁵ Statutes, 1913, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.1.

The commission has designated 129 officers to issue permits. In Milwaukee and Superior the paid deputies of the commission issue permits. In 10 cities the directors of the vocational schools issue them and in others various officials, such as judges, school superintendents, teachers, and truant officers. In one city an attorney is the issuing officer and in another a clerk of the court. One city (Manitowoc) has two officers, both of whom issue permits to children in the city, and one of whom issues also to children in the county. One of the city issuing officers in each county is designated to issue permits to children in the county outside the larger cities. Nowhere, except in Milwaukee and Superior, do issuing officers receive compensation from the State for their services, and the industrial commission has therefore required the nonpaid officers to do only the most necessary work. Issuing officers are usually, however, either city or county employees, and frequently they receive special fees from the city or county for each child-labor permit issued.

In Milwaukee permits are issued to all children living in the city no matter where they work, and also to those living or working in South Milwaukee and in the small outlying towns. But to children residing in the near-by cities of West Allis, North Milwaukee, and Cudahy, and working in Milwaukee, permits are issued by the officers in their home towns. In Kenosha they are issued by the superintendent of schools and to children in Kenosha County by the municipal judge; in Sheboygan, Green Bay, Madison, and La Crosse, by the vocational school director; in Oshkosh, by the truant officer, and in Marinette, by the county judge. In all the cities visited outside Milwaukee, except Kenosha, permits for the county also are issued by the regular city issuing officers.

LOCAL SCHOOL AUTHORITIES.

The local school authorities perform several functions which relate directly to the administration of the child-labor laws. First, they pass upon the educational fitness and school attendance of a child who wishes to go to work and issue a school certificate for a child-labor permit to any child under 16 who is found entitled to one. Second, they enforce attendance at the common schools of children up to the age of 16 who are not working; and at vocational schools, in communities with such schools, of children between 14 and 17 who are either working or attending no other school.

A school certificate must be issued by the superintendent of schools or the principal of the school last attended by the child, or, in the absence of both these persons, by the clerk of the school board.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137.

School attendance is enforced mainly through local truant and police officers, and county sheriffs. In cities of the first class the board of education must appoint 10 or more truant officers, and in second- and third-class cities, one or more truant officers. In fourth-class cities the chief of police and police officers may be truant officers, and in all towns and villages the sheriff of the county and his deputies are the truant officers and must enforce school attendance.⁵⁷ Both common and vocational schools may call upon the truant officers. However, of the cities visited, in Kenosha, Green Bay, La Crosse, and Marionette the vocational schools for the most part enforce their own attendance.

To a limited extent attendance is enforced also through the school census, which is under the supervision of the local public school authorities. This census is taken annually, in the spring, in every school district of the State.⁵⁸

In Milwaukee the activities which affect the public-school child desiring to go to work are distributed through three departments of the board of school directors. The superintendent's department has direct control of the principals and teachers who issue school certificates; the attendance department enforces school attendance; the department of school hygiene sometimes gives a physical examination to a child who applies for a school certificate.

The Milwaukee attendance department has one supervisor of attendance and nine assistants. All the attendance officers work under city civil-service regulations, and a few have been selected by a merit examination. No regular office force is provided, but when necessary a clerk assists in sending out notices and in writing letters.

In each of the other cities visited one truant officer is employed. Except in Kenosha and Madison, he has no assistance. In Kenosha he receives some assistance in special cases from the issuing clerk, and in Madison he is given voluntary assistance by university students and by one of the instructors in the vocational school. Outside Milwaukee, truant officers are not under civil-service regulations.

BOARDS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

All vocational education of employed children in the State is under the supervision of the State board of vocational education and of the several local boards of industrial education. In addition the State board is empowered to cooperate with the Federal Board of Voca-

⁵⁷ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(1). For the text of this section, see p. 130. First-class cities are those of 150,000 inhabitants or over (Milwaukee only); second- and third-class cities are those of between 10,000 and 150,000 inhabitants; fourth-class cities are those of less than 10,000 inhabitants.

⁵⁸ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.21(1). For the text of this section, see p. 133.

tional Education for the promotion of education in agriculture and in the trades and industries. It has control also of State aid for industrial schools and may refuse to certify for such aid a school not maintained in a manner satisfactory to it. The board may employ assistants for the development of industrial education. The State director of vocational schools—an employee of the board—has general supervision over all vocational schools and is responsible for their development.⁵⁹ The immediate direction of such schools, however, is in the hands of the local boards of industrial education.

The State board consists of nine members, appointed by the governor, three of whom must be employers of labor; three, skilled employees; and three, farmers. The State superintendent of public instruction and a member of the industrial commission are ex officio members of this board. Each local board of industrial education must consist of two employers and two employees, appointed by the local public-school board. The city superintendent of schools or the principal of the high school, or, if the city has neither of the above-mentioned officers, the president of the local school board, is ex officio member of the local board.

A board of industrial education may be established in any town, village, or city of the State and must be established in every town, village, or city of over 5,000 inhabitants. It is the duty of these boards, according to law, to "establish, foster, and maintain vocational schools for instruction in trades and industries, commerce and household arts in part-time-day, all-day, and evening classes." Although the law does not specifically state that these schools must be established in every city where such a board exists, it does provide that whenever 25 persons qualified to attend a vocational school shall petition the local board, this board must establish the school or provide other facilities for vocational education.⁶⁰ In January, 1918, there were in Wisconsin 37 cities of over 5,000 population, and of this number all but seven had the required board. In April, 1918, vocational schools were maintained in 31 cities of the State,⁶¹ one of which was Cudahy, a city of only about 4,000 inhabitants.

The total number of persons employed by the vocational schools in the State is not known, but in April, 1918, there were 31 directors and 839 teachers. Of the teachers, 602 were employed in evening schools, and 228 were employed full time and 35 part time in day vocational

⁵⁹ Statutes, ch. 20, sec. 20.33; ch. 41, sec. 41.13(3). For the text of these sections, see pp. 150 and 147.

⁶⁰ Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(9). For the text of this section, see p. 148.

⁶¹ These cities were Appleton, Beaver Dam, Beloit, Chippewa Falls, Cudahy, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Grand Rapids, Green Bay, Janesville, Kenosha, La Crosse, Madison, Manitowoc, Marinette, Marshfield, Menasha, Menominee, Milwaukee, Neenah, Oshkosh, Racine, Rhinclander, Sheboygan, South Milwaukee, Stevens Point, Superior, Two Rivers, Waukesha, Wausau, and West Allis.

schools.⁶² In Milwaukee, in the day vocational school, 1 director, 1 principal, 42 teachers, and 6 clerks were employed. Each board selects the local director. The law of 1917 provides that in future all positions, except that of director, must be filled by civil-service examination.⁶³ In the Milwaukee school the clerks in the office have always been under city civil-service regulations.

METHODS OF SECURING PERMITS.

Two different kinds of child-labor permits are provided for in the Wisconsin law: (1) Regular permits, and (2) vacation permits. Regular permits are provided by law for children from 14 to 17 and vacation permits for children from 12 to 14 years of age. In practice, however, limited regular permits, which are practically vacation permits, are issued to the older children, so that vacation permits are really issued to both groups. Before a child can secure a permit of either kind the law requires that he obtain a promise of employment from his prospective employer and thus indirectly provides for a new permit for each new employer.⁶⁴ Regular and vacation permits, therefore, are of two kinds, original and subsequent. There are also issued (1) after-school permits and (2) temporary permits. An after-school permit is issued for work after school hours and on Saturdays; a temporary permit is occasionally granted to a child who is waiting for documentary evidence of age or who wishes to work during a temporary absence from school. Both of these are regular permits. The same kind of permit is issued for work in domestic service as for work in an industrial occupation.

No systematic plan of instructing children how to secure permits is followed by school authorities or issuing officials anywhere in the State. Some principals in Milwaukee, however, do instruct children as to the proper method before giving them school certificates, and a few local issuing officers have printed and distributed simple instructions regarding the procedure which should be followed.

The securing of a school certificate during the summer vacation is not a problem in Wisconsin, as it is in many States, because any child between 12 and 16 years of age can secure a permit to work during vacation without meeting any educational requirements. For a regular vacation permit the law does not require the child from 12 to 14 years of age to bring a school certificate, and the child from 14 to 16 is given during vacation the permit above mentioned, which, though regular in form, expires at the end of the vacation, and for this

⁶² Information obtained from State board of vocational education.

⁶³ Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.14(2). For the text of this section, see p. 147.

⁶⁴ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see p. 130-137.

limited permit is not required to prove his educational qualifications. A child of 16 never has to bring a school certificate for a permit as he is not subject to the compulsory school-attendance law.

In Milwaukee permits are issued at the branch office of the State industrial commission. A special deputy is in charge of the entire office and four clerks act as assistants. Two of the clerks are assigned to the work of issuing child-labor permits, and the deputy spends about one-third of her time directing this work. The office is centrally located in the heart of the business section of the city and in the same building with the main office of the vocational school where a child must register before he can secure a permit.

In all the other cities visited the offices at which permits are issued are centrally located, and in all except Kenosha and Marinette they are near the vocational schools. In these two cities the distance between the issuing offices and the vocational schools causes considerable inconvenience to children applying for permits.

The issuing office in Milwaukee is open on week days from 8.30 to 5 p. m., and on Saturdays until 12 m. As a rule the issuing offices in the other cities also are open all day, but in some places the issuing officer has stated hours, as in Oshkosh, for instance, where he is on duty from 8 to 9 a. m. and from 1 to 2 p. m. In every place visited the office of the vocational school is open during the entire day while school is in session, so that communication between it and the issuing office is easy at any time.

ORIGINAL REGULAR PERMITS.

The legal requisites for a child-labor permit are uniform throughout the State.

A child between 14 and 16 years of age who applies for an original regular permit must (1) apply in person, (2) be accompanied by his parent,⁶⁵ (3) bring a written promise of employment, (4) present satisfactory evidence of age, and (5) bring a school certificate showing fulfillment of the legal educational requirements. The first two of these requisites are fixed by rulings of the industrial commission relating to evidence of age. These rulings also prescribe the order in which the different kinds of evidence of age are to be accepted. The other three requisites are fixed by law.⁶⁶

A child between 16 and 17 years of age must meet only two of the foregoing requirements—the presentation of a written promise of employment and of satisfactory evidence of age. The ruling as to

⁶⁵ The rules stipulate that he must be accompanied by his "parent, guardian or custodian." Wherever the term "parent" is used in this report it includes the phrase used in the rules.

⁶⁶ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137. For commission rulings, see p. 157.

the child's application in person and the appearance of the parent applies only to a child under 16, the older child being permitted to apply either in person or by mail; and, furthermore, the commission has ruled that since a child over 16 years of age can not be required to attend school even if he has not fulfilled the educational requirements for a school certificate it was not the intent of the law that he should be obliged to comply with those requirements.⁶⁶

The issuing officer is empowered to refuse to grant a permit to any child who seems physically unable to perform the work at which he is to be employed;⁶⁷ but in none of the cities visited does the officer ask any questions as to the child's physical condition, and an examination for physical fitness is practically never given in connection with issuing a permit. In Milwaukee, however, even at the time of this study, such an examination was sometimes given a child applying for a school certificate,⁶⁸ and occasionally resulted in the permit's being refused; and in both Milwaukee and Madison children might be sent to a public-health office for examination if the issuing officer deemed it desirable.

In spite of these uniform rules and requisites the procedure varies in different communities. In some offices the presence of an older relative or of an intimate friend suffices in place of the parent; in others the presence of the parent himself is always required. In some places the rules for evidence of age are strictly adhered to, but in others at the time of this study they were only very loosely observed. Issuing officers, however, must report to the industrial commission the kind of evidence accepted, and the commission thus has an opportunity to take up with them any glaring irregularities shown in their reports.⁶⁹

Procedure—Milwaukee.—In Milwaukee a child between 14 and 16 years of age, on his first visit to the office, usually brings a promise of employment but no evidence of age, and he usually appears without his parent. If the promise of employment does not appear to be genuine the child may be required to bring another one, or the clerk may telephone the employer to find out whether he wishes to employ the child. If the promise appears to be genuine, as is usually the case, the child's name is taken and the procedure is started. It is never started until the promise of employment is obtained. If the employment specified is illegal, the child is told that he can not have

⁶⁶ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137. For commission rulings, see p. 157.

⁶⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.1. For the text of this section, see p. 140.

⁶⁸ See p. 60.

⁶⁹ According to information furnished by the industrial commission in December, 1919, the permits were at that time promptly examined to discover irregularities in regard to evidence of age accepted, which they might reveal.

a certificate for this position but should secure a promise for legal occupation.

The parent is required to appear only once, no matter at what stage of the proceedings he comes, unless he appears before the child has a promise of employment. If a child states that his parents are both sick or unable to come he is required to bring some older sister, brother, or relative, who is interviewed regarding the advisability of sending him to work. Sometimes when an older relative or intimate friend comes with the child this relative or friend is interviewed and the parent is not required to appear even though he could come without difficulty.

The clerk always questions the child, if alone, or the child and his parent, regarding his reasons for going to work, the amount of schooling he has received, and the family income. The information obtained is noted on the school-certificate blank or on the promise of employment and later is recorded permanently in the office. The clerk tries in every possible way to persuade the child to remain in school, and if he decides that the applicant should not be permitted to leave he goes no further with the procedure, but refuses to give the child a school-certificate blank and sends him back to school. If the child has not finished the eighth grade and the need of the family does not appear urgent the clerk usually decides against his leaving school. He does this under the power given to the issuing officer to refuse to grant a permit if in his judgment "the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal."⁶⁷ If, on the other hand, the clerk decides that the permit should be granted, he gives the child a school-certificate blank⁶⁸ to take to his principal⁷⁰ to be filled in.

If the child was born in Milwaukee County he is also given a blank form to take to the office of the county register of deeds to secure the date of his birth. If his birth is not recorded he returns to the issuing officer with a note to that effect and is then instructed to bring other satisfactory documentary evidence. If he was born outside Milwaukee County, he is not usually required to secure his birth certificate but is told that he must submit other evidence acceptable under the law. A child who has difficulty in proving his age to the clerk is interviewed by the deputy in charge. If he satisfies her that he can secure none of the required documents, or if the documents he submits are not acceptable, he is sent to the city department of health with a note requesting that he be physically examined to determine whether he is at least 14 years of age. A refusal rarely occurs for

⁶⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.1. For the text of this section, see p. 140.

⁶⁸ Form 3, p. 152.

⁷⁰ The law specifies certain other school officials who may issue the school certificate (see p. 66), but since it is usually issued by the principal, it is so referred to throughout this report.

lack of proper evidence of age alone, since this resort to a physician's certificate of age is always possible, and up to the time of this study no child applying for such a certificate had been adjudged under 14 years of age. A child who brings documents showing that he is under the legal age or who admits that fact is refused outright.

Every applicant for an original regular permit must evidently make at least two trips to the issuing office, because he must come there for a school-certificate blank and for certain necessary instructions as to evidence of age and must later return with the blank filled in and with the evidence. He may have to make other visits because he has presented an improperly filled-in school certificate, because he has difficulty in securing proper evidence of age, or because he has submitted documents that are unsatisfactory. For example, even though the child brings evidence of a kind mentioned in the regulations, it may have been tampered with and, therefore, made unacceptable. If he brings a school certificate improperly made out, or if the principal has failed to fill in the space recommending the issuance of a permit, he is sent back to his school to have the certificate corrected;⁷¹ but if it is completely filled in except for his height and weight the clerk asks him what they are and enters them himself on the certificate. If the principal recommends that it be not granted, the issuing officer almost always refuses the permit.

After each unsuccessful trip to the office, if the permit is not refused outright, the child is given back all the documents he has brought with him and is told to bring them again on his return with the other requisites. Usually no record of the different visits is kept except in the case of a child who brings back the registrar's notice showing that his birth is not recorded.

When all the required documents are satisfactory to the clerk, he checks the promise of employment to indicate that the permit is to be issued. The child then takes all his papers across the hall to the office of the vocational school, where he registers and makes arrangements for class assignment and where his promise of employment is stamped with the date of registration. Thus the vocational school officials are informed of the pending issuance of the permit, even though the director's signature, required by law on the permit form, has been stamped on it in advance. The child then goes back to the office of the industrial commission, where his preliminary papers are filed. A record is made on an index card⁷² of such essential points as the date of his birth, the name of his employer, the occupation of his father, and the reasons he gave for going to work. The child

⁷¹ The principal is supposed to put his recommendation regarding the issuance of a permit on the school certificate blank.

⁷² Form 4, p. 153.

signs the permit form and is told finally that he may go to work the next day.

The permit is not given to the child but is mailed to the employer. While not forbidding the issuing officer to give it to the child, the law provides an opportunity for mailing it to the employer by requiring the child to bring a promise of employment.

A child-labor permit, according to law, must be made out in duplicate, and one copy must be sent to the industrial commission with a detailed statement of the character of the evidence upon which it was issued.⁷³ At the Milwaukee office, as in the other branch office of the commission, this duplicate copy is kept and filed together with the evidence.

A child may be refused a permit for failure to comply with any one of the requirements, but records of refusals are not kept in all cases. The only child concerning whom such a record is kept and a report made to the school authorities is one who presents a school certificate which is "illegal" or on which the principal has either failed or refused to fill in the space providing for the recommendation of the permit or has recommended that one be not granted. A school certificate is called "illegal" if it (1) shows that the child is under age, or gives his age as over 14 though other documentary evidence proves that he is under that age, or if it (2) states or shows that the child has not complied with the educational requirements of the law. When a child with such a certificate is refused, all his papers are kept in the issuing office and he is told to return to school, and a report is sent to the school authorities. Otherwise refusals, no matter for what reason, are not reported to the school authorities.⁷⁴

The procedure for a child between 16 and 17 years of age who applies in person for a regular permit is similar to that for one between 14 and 16; but the parent does not need to appear and no evidence of educational qualifications is required. Except for a child born in Milwaukee County, who is usually sent to the registrar's office for a memorandum of the date of his birth before other evidence of age is accepted, such evidence does not need to be submitted in any preferred order. No case has arisen in which a child of this age has been obliged to secure a physician's certificate of age. Occasionally a child sends all his documents by mail and is granted a permit and registered in the vocational school without appearing at the issuing office.

At the Milwaukee office during the year ended December 31, 1917, there were issued 8,244 original regular permits—4,476 to children 14 and 15 and 3,768 to children 16 years of age. The latter were issued

⁷³ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 172Se.2. For the text of this section, see p. 140.

⁷⁴ In December, 1920, and for some time prior to that date, all refusals were reported to the school authorities.

only during the last four months of the year. During the same year, 372 children were recorded as having been refused permits, 123 of them between September 1 and December 31.⁴⁶

Procedure—Other cities.—In the issuing offices in other places visited the procedure is similar to, but simpler than, that in Milwaukee; and the requisites are fairly uniform. For several reasons a child in most cases is not inconvenienced as much as in Milwaukee. Applicants can secure satisfactory evidence of age with less trouble; the parent can come more easily to the issuing office; and a more personal relation usually exists between the issuing officer and the applicants, so that a clearer understanding of each child's case is possible.

The parent of a child between 14 and 16 years of age is nearly always required to appear, though in La Crosse the presence of an older relative is sufficient and occasionally the parent is interviewed over the telephone. In Sheboygan, in many cases, the parent must appear also with a child over 16, though this is not required by the rules of the industrial commission.

Children are not held uniformly to the legal requirements regarding the kind of evidence of age or the order in which it should be accepted, though in Madison, Sheboygan, and Green Bay a child is held more rigidly to them than in any of the other cities visited.

Except in Kenosha, school-certificate blanks are kept only in the issuing office, so that a child must come there and get one, take it to his school principal to be filled in, and return with it. In Kenosha the school history of every child attending school in the city has been kept for years in the office of the superintendent of schools where permits are issued. School-certificate blanks, therefore, are not needed and are not used for Kenosha children. This arrangement, however, gives the principal, who is much more likely to be acquainted with the individual child and his needs than is the superintendent, no opportunity to exert his influence to keep the child in school and no chance to refuse to recommend the issuance of a permit.

Issuing officers are not uniformly careful to see that the principal makes a recommendation on the school certificate as to whether the child shall receive a permit; but gradually the importance of this recommendation is being appreciated and in some cities, if it is omitted, the child must return to his principal to have the proper space filled in before a permit is issued. In Madison, indeed, in addition to securing the principal's recommendation, the child must go to the office of the city truant officer and have his school certificate approved before the issuing officer will accept it. The issuance of a permit contrary to the principal's recommendation is extremely rare.

⁴⁶ Figures collected from records in the issuing office by the deputy of the industrial commission in Milwaukee.

In every city visited the vocational school is informed in some way of the issuance of a permit, and the director's signature is attached to each one before issuance. In those cities where the vocational school director is the issuing officer—as is the case in Sheboygan, Green Bay, La Crosse, and Madison—no special procedure is necessary to secure his signature. In Kenosha and Oshkosh the child must take the permit to the vocational school—in Kenosha to have it signed by the director; in Oshkosh, where it already bears the director's stamped signature, to have it stamped with the date of registration. In both cities the child (with the exception in Kenosha of a child over 16 years of age) must bring the certificate back to the issuing officer to be mailed to the employer. In Marinette the judge usually mails the permit to the vocational school to be signed; and later, when the child goes there to register, the permit is given him to take to his employer.

The issuing officers in Madison, Oshkosh, and Green Bay, and in Kenosha if the applicant is under 16 years of age, mail the permit to the employer.⁷⁵ In Green Bay instructions regarding legal employment and school attendance are also sent to the employer along with the permit. On the other hand, in Sheboygan and La Crosse as well as in Marinette, and in Kenosha if the applicant is over 16 years of age, the permit is given to the child to take to his employer.

In all these cities the evidence submitted is filed; and the duplicate copy of the permit, together with the statement of the character of the evidence, is sent to the main office of the industrial commission at Madison.

Except Sheboygan and Green Bay, a card is kept relating to each child to whom a permit is granted; and on this card entries in regard to his subsequent permit history are made from time to time.

In each of these places the officer who issues permits to children living in the city issues them also to children living in the surrounding county. In the case of a county child, however, the procedure may differ somewhat; he is not always required to appear in person, nor is the parent required to come to the issuing office. In fact, though the requisites are the same as for the city child, the entire procedure may be conducted through the mails, and this is often done for a child over 16 years of age. If the child is to work in a city where there is a vocational school he is required to register and to attend while at work as is the child living in such a city. In Kenosha, Oshkosh, and Marinette, where permits are not issued by the vocational school director, the issuing officer notifies the school of the granting of a permit to a child who applies by mail.

Form of permits.—Four different forms for permits were in use at the time of this study: (1) The old form in general use prior to

⁷⁵ This is the practice in all the branch offices of the industrial commission.

September, 1917; (2) and (3) two forms—one for children between 14 and 16 and the other for children between 16 and 17—first devised for use under the law which went into effect in September, 1917; and (4) a new form devised in December, 1917. The old form contains a statement authorizing employment for eight and one-half hours a day, whereas, under the new law, a child is not allowed to work more than eight hours a day. The two forms first used under the new law proved unsatisfactory from the very fact that different forms were employed for the two age groups. As soon as a child became 16 he had to return to the issuing office, re-register in the vocational school, and wait for another permit. Moreover, if he did not make this exchange he would be working illegally even though his first permit were on file with his employer, and the employer would be liable to treble compensation under the compensation act in case the child were injured. In spite of this danger, employers frequently neglected to send children for new permits when they became 16. A new form was therefore prepared, which has been used since December, 1917, for all children between 14 and 17 years of age who apply for either original or subsequent permits.

This new form,⁷⁶ which is gradually replacing all others, gives the name, address, date and place of birth of the child, the character of proof of his age, the color of his eyes and hair, his height and weight, which are taken usually from the principal's record on the school certificate, and any distinguishing facial marks. At the top is a notice in bold type, telling the employer to read the permit. The permit authorizes the child to be employed by the specific employer whose name is inserted in the space provided for that purpose; and the gist of the laws relating to hours of labor of children, to the filing of permits, to attendance at vocational school, and to the penalty for violation of the child-labor law is printed on the face, together with instructions to the issuing officer. On the back of the permit is a list of employments forbidden to children under 21, under 18, and under 16. In Milwaukee the permit bears the stamped signature of the deputy in charge and of the director of the vocational school, the blank forms being stamped in bulk before use. A similar procedure is followed in Oshkosh, but in other cities officers and directors sign permits as they are issued.

SUBSEQUENT REGULAR PERMITS.

When a child leaves a position his employer is required by law to return the permit, together with a statement of the reasons for the child's leaving, to the issuing officer within 24 hours.⁷⁷ As a rule

⁷⁶ Form 2, p. 151.

⁷⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.1. For the text of this section, see p. 137.

employers throughout the State return permits, though not always so promptly as specified, but in no place except La Crosse are they required in actual practice to give the reasons for the child's leaving.

To secure a new permit a child must present a new promise of employment, but he is seldom required to present any other document or to bring one of his parents to the office.

In Milwaukee, a child must usually apply in person for a subsequent permit so as to arrange his class assignment in the vocational school. Occasionally, however, if an older person applied for him, the permit has been granted. When a child applies with a new promise of employment, the files are searched to see if his original permit has been returned. If not, he is told that he must come again and bring the promise of employment. As he has to wait for his former employer to return his permit a child frequently has to come back three or four times; but as soon as the old permit is returned the promise of employment is checked, and the child takes it to the office of the vocational school, just as he does in securing an original permit.

The fact that the child came to the vocational school with only a promise of employment indicates to the interviewing officer that he is already registered. He is immediately asked on what day he is supposed to attend the school and whether he has been regular in attendance. His record of attendance is consulted to verify his statement. If he has attended regularly, his promise of employment is stamped with the date of reassignment; and he takes it back to the office of the industrial commission and is ready to go to work. If, on the other hand, he has missed any days of required attendance he is obliged, before he can take his new position, to make up these absences. If, as frequently happens, he has come to the office during the half day that his attendance at school is required, he must go to his class at once. His promise of employment is retained in the office until he has made up the absences, when it is stamped and returned to him.

A temporary note of the date on his new promise of employment and the name of his new employer is made on a printed slip and later transcribed to a permanent record⁷⁸ in the vocational school.

The original permit is converted into a subsequent permit in Milwaukee by crossing out the name of the preceding employer and inserting that of the new employer on the line provided for that purpose. It is then mailed to the new employer. The name of the employer, the date of issuance of the subsequent permit, and the new occupation are recorded on the child's index card in the issuing office.

In the other places visited the return of the original permit is not uniformly required. In Green Bay, La Crosse, Oshkosh, Madison,

⁷⁸ Form 5, p. 153.

and Marinette the new permit is not issued until the former one has been received at the issuing office; but in Sheboygan and Kenosha it is granted without regard to whether the old one has been returned or not. In Kenosha, if the old permit does not come in shortly after a child leaves an establishment, the issuing officer assumes that the employer has lost it, but in Sheboygan a fairly successful attempt is made to secure the return of obsolete permits.

Where the return of the old permit is required before the new one is issued—which is the case in all the cities visited except Sheboygan and Kenosha—a child usually loses at least one day of work, and in many cases more than one, while waiting for the old permit.

In Green Bay, Madison, and La Crosse, as in Milwaukee, the original permit is used for the subsequent one. On the other hand, in Sheboygan, Kenosha, Oshkosh, and Marinette a new permit is made out for each new employer. The issuing officers in Oshkosh and Marinette state that they prefer to do this and to have employers understand that this is the practice because upon a few occasions a child has crossed out the name of the first employer, added that of another, and presented it to the latter, who naturally assumed that the change had been made at the issuing office. In the cities where a new permit is issued it must be signed by the vocational school director, whose signature is obtained in the same way as for the original permit. The subsequent permit is given to the child to take to his new employer in all the places visited except Milwaukee, Green Bay, and Madison, where it is mailed to the employer as was the original. In the smaller cities studied, except Sheboygan and Green Bay, a record of the granting of the subsequent permit is made, as in Milwaukee, on the child's index card.

In La Crosse, if a child whose permit was issued prior to September, 1917—at which time the vocational school director was designated as issuing officer—desires a new one, he must bring new evidence of age and go through almost the same procedure as a child who applies for an original permit, except that the school certificate previously submitted is accepted.

Since the industrial commission is not notified of their issuance, there is no method of determining the number of subsequent regular permits granted in the State. The Milwaukee records, however, show that in the year 1917 there were issued in that office 6,844 such permits to children between 14 and 16 years of age, and 876 to children between 16 and 17. In some cases, more than one of these permits were doubtless issued to a single child.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Figures collected from records in the issuing office by the deputy of the industrial commission in Milwaukee. Permits were issued to children between 16 and 17 years of age only during the last four months of the year.

VACATION PERMITS.

Vacation permits were not being issued at the time to which the main body of this report refers—April 1, 1918. Accordingly information upon this subject was secured for the summer of 1917. The law in force at that time differed in several important ways from that in force in the spring of 1918 and during the summer of that year. The information relating to vacation permits is not, therefore, comparable with the rest of the report and must be considered as representing former conditions in Wisconsin and not those existing under the law in effect at the date of the main body of the report. This information, however, is of more than mere historical value, for a number of other States still have laws similar to that under which vacation permits were issued in Wisconsin during the summer of 1917.

At that time the permit law affected children only up to the age of 16. The evidence of age for a regular permit might be a choice of several documents without regard to any rigid order of preference. County and municipal judges, as well as the industrial commission, had authority to issue permits; and the only control by the industrial commission was that provided by the report sent to it (consisting of a copy of the permit and a statement of the evidence accepted before it was issued) and in its power to prescribe the forms for both the permit and the statement of evidence accepted.

Vacation permits were issued for work during the summer of 1917 to children between the ages of 12 and 16, although, as stated above, for the issuance of a vacation permit to a child between 14 and 16 years of age the law made no provision⁸⁰ aside from giving the issuing officer authority to fix the period of employment for a child of this age who was legally entitled to a regular permit.⁸¹ According to law, therefore, such a child, in order to work in summer, should have presented the school certificate required for a regular permit along with his other papers. The requirement, however, was believed to be absurd, for if it had been enforced a child between 12 and 14 could have secured a vacation permit with less trouble than could one between 14 and 16. The custom had therefore been established of issuing a permit, limited to the vacation period, to children from 14 to 16 years of age without regard to educational qualifications. In fact, therefore, vacation permits were issued to all children between 12 and 16 on exactly the same terms.

With such a permit a child between 12 and 14 might be employed only in the place where he lived and only in a store, office, mercantile

⁸⁰ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.4. For the text of this section, see p. 136. This section was not amended in 1917.

⁸¹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.1. For the text of this section, see p. 135. This section was amended in 1917, but the clause referred to was not changed.

establishment, warehouse (except tobacco warehouse), or in the telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service. A child between 14 and 16, on the other hand, could be employed, as with a regular permit, in occupations and employments which, with the exception of specified prohibited dangerous occupations, included work in all industrial establishments.

The method of securing either an original or a subsequent vacation permit was the same for any child regardless of age. He had to produce only evidence of age and a promise of employment and was not required to attend vocational school.

The evidence of age accepted for a vacation permit differed in the several cities visited. In those cities where a school certificate was at that time often accepted as proof of age^a for a regular permit, the child occasionally had to secure it as evidence of age for a vacation permit. In Milwaukee, Kenosha, Green Bay, and Sheboygan the same evidence of age was demanded as for a regular permit, though it was not always as carefully examined to determine its validity. In Oshkosh, if a child could not find his school principal to get a school certificate his age could be secured from the records in the office of the superintendent of schools. In La Crosse a child's statement as to his age was usually accepted and inserted on the school certificate by the superintendent of schools unless the child appeared to him small for the age he stated. In Marinette, during the summer, vacation permits only were issued and the child's statement of his age was accepted by the issuing officer.

For a child between 14 and 16 years of age the regular permit form was used for a vacation permit. For a child between 12 and 14 years of age a special form was provided. On the face of this form the essential points of the law relating to the child between 12 and 14 were printed, the law relating to vocational school attendance and the list of prohibited employments being omitted. Every vacation permit was stamped with the date of expiration, as "Void after September 2, 1917."

If a child between 14 and 16 wished to continue working after the opening of the school year, he could apply for a regular permit, but a child between 12 and 14 had to return to school.

Vacation permits were not always returned by employers upon their expiration. In Milwaukee the issuing officer telephoned the employer who failed to do so and requested the return of the permit, but no persistent effort was made to secure them. In the smaller cities visited no effort to have vacation permits returned was made by any issuing officer.

^a Before Sept. 1, 1917, school certificates could be accepted as proof of age according to law.

During 1917, 2,880 original vacation permits were issued in Milwaukee, only 147 of which were to children under 14 years; 434 subsequent vacation permits were issued.⁴⁶

AFTER-SCHOOL PERMITS.

The only provision made by law for a child who desires to work after school hours or on Saturdays is the regular permit. Such work is not covered by a vacation permit, which is issued in summer or during the Christmas or Easter vacations when the schools are closed. Only children from 14 to 17 years of age, therefore, are permitted to work outside school hours while attending school.

Throughout the State, however, a permit to work after school is granted to a child whether or not he has all the qualifications for a regular permit. For this special permit a child must present to the officer a promise of employment, evidence that he is over 14 years of age, and a letter of recommendation from his school principal.⁴⁷ The educational requirements of the law do not need to be fulfilled. The regular permit form is used and marked "After-School Hours Only" or with some similar caption.

In Oshkosh at the time of this study such a permit was issued also to a child between 12 and 14 years of age, and the issuing officer regarded it as a vacation permit.⁴⁸ He often required only the school certificate as evidence of age in such cases.

During the year 1917, 382 permits were issued in Milwaukee for work outside of school hours, only 68 of which were issued prior to September, 1917.⁴⁹ This increase after September is thought to indicate, not that a larger number of children were working after school, but that the permit requirement for children between 16 and 17 years of age had increased the number of applicants at the office. Many children of this age had undoubtedly been working after school hours during previous years when they were not required to have permits.

TEMPORARY PERMITS.

Specific provision for temporary permits is lacking in the Wisconsin child-labor law, but a child may be granted a regular permit to expire at a specified date. In Milwaukee and Sheboygan a temporary permit was formerly issued to a child who had not complied with all the requisites for a regular permit but had applied for one—

⁴⁶ Figures collected from records in the issuing office by the deputy of the industrial commission in Milwaukee.

⁴⁷ Form 6, p. 153.

⁴⁸ These permits were not authorized by the industrial commission and were subject to revocation as soon as they were sent in and examined by the agents of the commission at Madison.

usually to a child who had to wait for his proof of age, though occasionally to one who had to send away for his school certificate. This practice has been discontinued in these cities. Nevertheless, occasionally since September, 1917, a temporary permit has been issued in case the need seemed urgent or there was reason to believe a child would return to school after having worked for a brief period. In Sheboygan a child was once given a permit who had fulfilled all the requirements except the presentation of a promise of employment. His request that he be given the permit to show employers that he was entitled to one was granted for a stated period of time. When he secured a position he returned with the promise of employment.

In all such cases the regular permit form is used, but, like the vacation permit, it is marked with the date of expiration. If a child is granted a temporary permit while waiting for a document necessary to obtain a regular one, and if the document is sent in before the temporary permit expires, the latter is extended and becomes a regular permit. If the document is not sent in or if the child does not appear at the issuing office at the end of the period for which the temporary permit was issued, the employer is instructed to return it to the issuing office, the vocational school which the child has been obliged to attend is notified, and the child is instructed to return to regular school.

STATEMENTS OF AGE.

A child who is over 17 years of age and is therefore not required to have a permit often has to prove his age to an employer who suspects that he may be younger than he states. No provision is made in the law for the issuance of a permit to such a child, but in every city visited except La Crosse the officer frequently makes out a statement of age for a child who has once had a regular permit. In most cities, however, such a statement is not made out for a child who has not had a permit because it is believed that he can as easily submit evidence of his age to an employer as to an issuing officer. In Marinette any child may obtain from the judge a statement of his age based on a school certificate, parent's sworn statement, or any other proof the judge may demand.

DUPLICATES OF LOST PERMITS.

A permit is sometimes lost or destroyed by an employer or by a child, but no specific provision exists in the law for making good such loss or destruction. At the offices which give the permit to the child it is stated, however, that few instances of loss have occurred.

When one does occur a child is granted another permit without being required to prove that he has lost his original one, and he is not required to pay a fee. This second permit is marked "Duplicate."

PROMISE OF EMPLOYMENT.

The promise of employment required by law before a child can secure a permit consists in the employer's written statement of intention to employ the child, signed by the employer or by some one authorized by him. This promise of employment should be written, according to law, on the regular letterhead or other business paper of the prospective employer,⁵⁶ but, as small employers usually have no letterhead or business paper, a note written on any kind of paper is often accepted if it appears to be authentic.

Milwaukee.—Some firms in Milwaukee which employ many children use a form letter in requesting permits. A common form is the following:

We desire to employ ——— as an errand boy. Please let him have his permit.

(Signed) ———.

On the other hand many promises of employment far less regular in form are accepted. Some employers send only a business card, with or without an accompanying note. Others scrawl their notes on pieces of soiled paper. And occasionally, if a child appears without any written promise, but stating that he has a job in a certain establishment, and if the establishment is a considerable distance away, the issuing officer telephones the employer, to be sure that he intends to employ the child, and accepts his statement, asking him to send the written promise to the office later.

To prevent violation of the legal provisions prohibiting the employment of minors of specified ages in certain occupations and industries, the issuing officer usually requires the employer to state the specific kind of work which the child is to do. Sometimes, however, if a child submits a promise stating that he is to be employed by a certain man but not giving the character of the industry, the child is questioned concerning the industry and the work he is to do, and his statement is accepted and noted on the promise of employment.

Other cities.—In the other cities the issuing officer is familiar with the establishments where children work and is, therefore, not so careful about securing a written statement of the character of the industry or of the occupation. A child is uniformly required, however, to submit some kind of assurance that he is actually to be employed.

⁵⁶ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137.

EVIDENCE OF AGE.

A child applying for a regular permit must present as proof that he is at least 14 years of age "such evidence as is required by the industrial commission." The commission is directed by law to formulate regulations on the subject, which are binding on all persons authorized to issue permits.⁵⁶ In these regulations a distinction is made between the evidence required for a child between 14 and 16 years of age and that for one between 16 and 17.

CHILDREN BETWEEN 14 AND 16 YEARS OF AGE.

In August, 1917, as soon as the rules and regulations for the enforcement of the United States child-labor act⁵⁴ were published, the industrial commission adopted bodily, so far as children between 14 and 16 years of age were concerned, that part relating to evidence of age. In order of preference the kinds of evidence to be accepted by issuing officers are as follows:

- (a) A birth certificate or attested transcript thereof.
- (b) A record of baptism or a certificate or attested transcript thereof.
- (c) Other specified documentary evidence.
- (d) A certificate signed by a public-health or public-school physician.⁵⁵

The order of preference is more strictly adhered to in the Madison, Green Bay, and Sheboygan offices, and in the Milwaukee office for a child born in Milwaukee County, than it is in the other offices visited. Although a child born elsewhere who applies at the Milwaukee office is seldom required to secure a birth certificate, he must submit other documentary evidence in the preferred order. In Kenosha, Oshkosh, and La Crosse the baptismal certificate is accepted for any child who can procure one, and only rarely is a birth certificate required when a baptismal certificate has been presented, but the order specified in the regulations is carefully followed for the remaining kinds of evidence. In Marinette no order of preference is followed.

When evidence other than a birth certificate is accepted the issuing officer is required by the regulations to receive and file proof that none of the preferred kinds of evidence can be obtained. The procedure followed in these cases differs in different offices. Only in Madison and Sheboygan is the ruling strictly observed. In these

⁵⁶ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137.

⁵⁴ "An act to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor and for other purposes," approved September 1, 1916. 39 U. S. Stat. L., p. 675. This act went into effect September 1, 1917, and was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court June 3, 1918.

⁵⁵ For the regulations governing proof of age, see p. 157.

cities, before any evidence other than a birth certificate is considered, the parent must sign a statement that none of the preferred evidence is available. This action is taken even if the child brings a note, as he frequently does, from a registrar or a church official stating that the desired evidence is not obtainable. In Milwaukee, for a child born in Milwaukee County, no subsequent evidence is accepted until written proof is submitted that a birth certificate can not be secured. The proof usually consists of a note from the registrar stating that the child's birth is not recorded. If the applicant was born outside Milwaukee County, his statement that he can not secure a birth certificate is accepted. If, however, a child who can not get a birth certificate says that he has been baptized, the issuing officer does not accept other documentary evidence until assured by a letter from the church that the baptismal certificate can not be obtained. The child's or parent's statement is accepted regarding the availability of other evidence. In Green Bay a child born in the city or surrounding county must bring a note from the registrar that his birth is not recorded before other evidence is examined, but in no other case is proof required that the preferred evidence can not be obtained. In the remaining cities visited no such proof is demanded, but in most of them the issuing officer questions a child closely before accepting other than the preferred evidence.

Birth certificate—Native-born children.—Birth registration has been compulsory in Wisconsin since 1854, but until 1905 it was enforced through the office of the secretary of state. At that time it was put under the control of the State board of health. In 1904, the year in which were born many of the children who applied for permits in 1918, only 60 or 65 per cent of the births, it is estimated, were recorded, but in 1918 birth registration was said to be 90 per cent complete. Most of the children who apply for permits in Wisconsin are native born, the great majority having been born in the county in which they make their application.

The regulations of the industrial commission require a birth certificate or an attested transcript of such a certificate, and the commission has instructed issuing officers to have children secure certified copies of their birth certificates whenever possible. Only in Madison and Green Bay, however, is a certified copy of the entire certificate always demanded. In Milwaukee and Sheboygan a memorandum showing the date of the child's birth, or that his birth is not recorded, is given by the registrar. Slips for this purpose are provided by the issuing office. In Kenosha, Oshkosh, and La Crosse little effort has been made to secure birth certificates or transcripts in preference to baptismal certificates. In Marinette a child who brings other evidence of age is never sent to secure a record of his

birth from the local registrar, although the registrar's office is in the same building as that of the issuing officer.

The State board of health has on file in its office at Madison duplicate copies of all birth certificates in the State and charges no fee for a certified copy. Any child born in the State may, therefore, write to that office and secure a certified copy of his birth certificate. Local registrars usually charge a fee of 50 cents for a certified copy, but some of them give a child a signed memorandum of the date of his birth without charge. In Madison the child obtains his certified copy directly from the State board of health and therefore does not have to pay a fee, and in Milwaukee and Sheboygan no fee is charged for the signed memorandum furnished. Most of the registrars, however, claim that it is nearly as much effort to furnish a memorandum as a certified copy, and, as their offices are in many cases sustained on a fee basis, they prefer to furnish the certified copy for which a fee can be charged. In Green Bay, although the registrar is unwilling to search the records without giving a certified copy, he charges only 25 cents.

In Kenosha, Oshkosh, and La Crosse no attempt has been made to influence the registrar to lower or dispense with the fee. The issuing officer in Kenosha states that a fee of 50 cents is always charged unless she writes a note to the registrar stating that the record is wanted for a child applying for a child-labor permit; instead of doing this she usually asks for a baptismal certificate and, if this is not obtainable, accepts other evidence. The issuing officer in Oshkosh insists that a baptismal certificate is a birth certificate because, he says, the registrar secures his information from church records whenever they exist; for this reason he accepts a baptismal certificate as primary evidence of age and, because of the fee, does not even send a child who can not produce a baptismal certificate to the registrar but requires him to bring other evidence; moreover, whenever a child brings a baptismal certificate, the issuing officer's report to the industrial commission states that a birth certificate was accepted as evidence of age.⁸⁰ In La Crosse also a baptismal certificate is considered as acceptable as a birth certificate and, to avoid the fee for the latter, a child who presents the former is not sent to the registrar.

Because issuing officers throughout the State were not uniformly demanding copies of birth certificates but, contrary to the instructions of the commission, were accepting other evidence, such as school certificates, parents' affidavits, school census records, and "child's evidence" (child's statements) when birth records were available for many of the children, the industrial commission in January, 1918,

⁸⁰ This mistake was corrected soon after Apr. 1, 1918. For reference to a court case in Oshkosh in which a baptismal certificate was declared to be truer proof of age than a birth certificate, see p. 10.

sent out further instructions to issuing officers requesting special care as to evidence of age and informing them that the State board of health would furnish transcripts of birth certificates free of charge.

A birth certificate is seldom required of a native child born outside of the city (or, in Milwaukee, outside the county) where the application for a permit is made. When it is required in Milwaukee the address of the office to which the child should write is sometimes furnished; but if the child comes in later with other evidence and states that he can not secure a birth certificate, he is not always asked to produce his reply. In Madison, Sheboygan, and Green Bay, where the child is frequently required to write for a certificate, the officer gives fairly complete instructions. Sometimes in Green Bay the officer writes for the child or revises his letter.

Birth certificate—Foreign-born children.—A foreign-born child is very rarely required to send abroad for a birth certificate. In Milwaukee he was not required to do so at the time of this study, but until the outbreak of the war, it is stated, a child born in a European country was occasionally instructed to send for a record of his birth. No proof was required, however, that the parent or child had sent for it, and if the child presented a baptismal certificate from a priest, even though from a country where birth certificates were available, it was accepted. In Madison, Green Bay, and Sheboygan a birth certificate is occasionally submitted, though baptismal certificates or passports are commonly accepted. In Kenosha the school record is the usual evidence accepted for a foreign-born child, but if the parent questions the age on this record at the superintendent's office, he may be required to send abroad for other evidence. In Oshkosh a child born in a foreign country is required to bring a passport, if obtainable, but has never been required to send for a birth certificate.

At no issuing office visited is the official in charge familiar with European systems of birth registration or able to instruct intelligently a foreign-born child as to the proper person to write to, the fee to send, or the necessary steps to take. The parent, it is said, usually knows the proper procedure.

Few foreign-born children, however, apply for permits in Wisconsin.

Baptismal certificate.—A baptismal certificate, bearing the seal of the church or written on the church letterhead, is the usually accepted evidence of age in Kenosha and Oshkosh, and if a child in one of these cities submits such a certificate as evidence upon his first visit to the issuing office it is accepted without any attempt to secure a birth certificate. It is also so accepted in Milwaukee when presented by a child born outside Milwaukee County if he says he can not get a birth certificate. In Marinette it is accepted whenever submitted by a child but is not required.

Usually no difficulty is experienced in securing a baptismal certificate, and most priests and pastors charge no fee for furnishing such evidence of age. But occasionally a fee of 50 cents or \$1 is charged.

Other documentary evidence.—Concerning other documentary evidence the regulations specify that an issuing officer may accept a bona fide contemporary record of the date and place of a child's birth as kept in the family Bible, or, if satisfactory, other documentary evidence showing his age, such as a passport, a certificate of arrival issued by United States immigration officers, or a life-insurance policy. Any documentary evidence to be accepted must have been in existence for at least one year prior to the date when it is submitted.

Although issuing officers have the right to accept such other evidence as they may consider satisfactory, they have limited themselves to the specified documents. The usual document offered is a life-insurance policy or Bible record. Considerable doubt was expressed by some officers as to the validity of the ages given on life-insurance policies, largely because parents often assert that they are incorrect and that children are older than the policies state. In Green Bay, in fact, it has become so common for a parent to object to the age on a policy that whenever such objection is made the policy is rejected as evidence and, if no other document can be obtained, the child is sent for a physician's certificate of age. On the other hand, most issuing officers believe that a life-insurance policy is particularly satisfactory evidence of age for the very reason that, in applying for such a policy, the parent is far more likely to give the child's age as lower than it actually is than he is to give it as higher, because the younger the child the lower the premiums.

Although the regulations permit issuing officers to accept, in general, any satisfactory documentary evidence, they specify that certain documents can be accepted only in connection with a physician's certificate of age. These are school records of all kinds, and parents' affidavits, certificates, and other written statements of age. Nevertheless, in Oshkosh and Marinette the school certificate or school-census record is sometimes used alone. In Marinette, indeed, the child's or parent's statement unsupported by any corroborative evidence has been accepted. The judge said that in such a case he carefully questioned the child or the parent, if present, regarding the ages of other children in the family, and when he thought he had the facts he issued a permit on the strength of the statements made.

Physician's certificate of age.—The physician's certificate of age is the final resort as evidence. This certificate must be signed by a public-health or a public-school physician and must specify what he considers to be the physical age of the child. It must give also the

child's height and weight and any other facts about his physical development, as shown by a physical examination, upon which the physician has based his opinion. Both the parent's certificate of age and a record of the child's age as given on the register of the school which he first attended, or in the school census, if obtainable, must accompany the physician's certificate.

Resort to this kind of evidence has been most frequent in Madison and Milwaukee. In Marinette and Oshkosh, on the other hand, the issuing officers never send a child for a physician's certificate of age, partly, it is said, because they think a fee may be charged, and partly because they do not believe the evidence is satisfactory. They have, however, made no attempt to secure the cooperation of the public-health officers in granting these certificates. No fee has been charged by any public-health or public-school physician for a certificate of age. In every city visited the physician's certificate is always accompanied by either a school certificate or a school-census record as corroboratory evidence.

The industrial commission has adopted the standards for determining physical age which were used by the Children's Bureau in enforcing the U. S. Child Labor Law of 1916, and these standards are printed on the form ⁸⁷ used.

In Milwaukee the child is usually given an examination similar to that given school children. When the physician makes the examination in a private room, as he occasionally does, the child is stripped to the waist and given a thorough examination, particularly if he has not had one at school during the previous year. In all cases the eyes are tested, using Snellen's chart; the oral cavity is examined; and the general appearance of the child is noted, especially for points relating to undernourishment and malnutrition. If the child appears well developed for the age claimed and if he has no physical defects incapacitating him for work, the physician signs a statement certifying to his approximate age.

In the other cities the physician usually accepts the age as given on the school certificate and, unless the child appears undernourished, writes a statement to the effect that he believes the child is over 14 years of age. In Madison, however, the physician examines the oral cavity and the eyes, and if he finds any serious defect does not certify the child.

CHILDREN BETWEEN 16 AND 17 YEARS OF AGE.

The regulations of the industrial commission in force at the time of this study did not require a child between 16 and 17 years of age to furnish evidence of age in any specified order, but permitted

⁸⁷ Form 7, p. 154.

him to present any one of the kinds of evidence required for a child between 14 and 16 years of age without regard to order. This, however, was a transitional measure designed to facilitate the granting of permits to children who were already at work. In April, 1918, a new rule was made requiring the same order of preference for the older as for the younger child. Even before that date, moreover, a certain degree of preference in documents was observed in some offices.

The older child is seldom asked to present a birth certificate unless it seems easy to obtain but usually is permitted to prove his age by a baptismal certificate. In Milwaukee, Sheboygan, or Madison, however, before a baptismal certificate is accepted for an applicant born in the city, he is required to go to the local registrar's office to see whether his birth is there recorded.

Other documentary evidence is frequently accepted, but in most places not until the issuing officer is assured from talking with the child that a baptismal certificate can not be secured. A school certificate alone is accepted, except in Milwaukee and Sheboygan, where it must be supported by a physician's certificate of age. But as a child of 16 does not have to have a school certificate to prove educational qualifications it is not always easily available and is not, therefore, commonly used.

The physician's certificate of age is rarely used for a child between 16 and 17 years of age, and then only if he evidently can bring no other acceptable evidence.

DISPOSITION OF DOCUMENTS.

No uniformity prevails among the different issuing officers in the State about the disposition of the documents submitted as evidence of age. In Milwaukee any kind of original evidence of age is given back to the child, but when a record of birth from the registrar's office is submitted a copy is filed with the other evidence. A copy of this record is also kept for a child who has once had a vacation permit so that when he applies for a regular permit no new record will have to be secured. The physician's certificate of age is also filed. When a baptismal certificate or other document is accepted a notation stating the kind of document is made on the school certificate. In the other offices visited all original evidence that is convenient for filing is kept on file, as is always the physician's certificate of age. In Green Bay, Marinette, and La Crosse a special form is used for transcribing the evidence from a baptismal certificate, but in the other cities, if the original is not kept on file, notation of the kind of document is made on the school certificate as in Milwaukee.

Returned evidence of age, except in Marinette, is not marked or stamped in any way to prevent subsequent use by another child. In

that city the judge marks the evidence with the date of issuance of the permit and with his initials.

PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS.

The issuing officer may refuse "to grant permits in the case of children who may seem physically unable to perform the labor at which they may be employed."⁶⁷ The law thus leaves the determination of whether a child is physically fit to go to work entirely in the hands of the issuing officer. The industrial commission has issued no regulations or instructions to issuing officers relating to the matter, nor has it established any standard of physical fitness to work. Each issuing officer, therefore, acts independently.

Though the issuing officer alone has power to refuse a permit because of a child's physical condition, the requirement by the industrial commission that the school principal recommend on the school certificate whether or not a child be granted a permit allows the latter also a certain degree of authority over this matter, for the principal may refuse to recommend a child who is not in good physical condition, and in order to be informed on this point may require all applicants for school certificates to have a physical examination. Thus the power to keep from going to work a child between 14 and 16 years of age who is physically unfit is given the school principals so far as issuing officers comply with their recommendations. This does not apply, however, to the child between 16 and 17 years of age, because he is not required to bring a school certificate when he applies for a permit.

Milwaukee.—Definite action regarding physical requirements for a child between 14 and 16 years of age leaving school to go to work was first taken by the Milwaukee public-school authorities. The department of school hygiene has a large force of school physicians and nurses who visit every public school in the city on alternate days of the week. At each visit of the physician thorough physical examinations are made of some children and cursory inspections of many others who may be slightly ill.

In the fall of 1917 this department attempted to secure the co-operation of school principals in refusing to recommend that a permit be granted unless the child had been examined previously by the school physician. Printed instructions were issued by the superintendent of schools to all the public-school principals asking them to require such an examination before they recommended the granting of a permit. Up to the time of this study, however, comparatively few children had been required by their principals to be examined by physicians before being granted school certificates.

⁶⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c.1. For the text of this section, see p. 139.

Early in September, 1917, also, the Milwaukee health department started medical inspection of the parochial schools of the city. Its inspectors and nurses visit every one of these schools twice a week and make physical examinations and inspections similar to those made by public school physicians. The health department, it is true, has the authority, in connection with the suppression of contagious diseases, to exclude children from any school and to quarantine, but these regular examinations and inspections of school children are being carried on not by virtue of this authority but with the voluntary cooperation of the parochial schools.

At the same time that it started medical inspection of parochial-school children, the health department, in order to cooperate with the department of school hygiene, requested the parochial-school principals to refuse to recommend the issuing of a permit until its school physician had examined the applicant for a school certificate. But this effort has not been very successful, partly because the department has no power to enforce its request.

Because of this lack of power, the health department has secured the cooperation of the industrial commission in a further effort to safeguard the health of these children. On his regular visits to the various parochial schools the health inspector frequently checks over the names of children who have been granted school certificates. If he finds among them a child who had some physical defect at the time of the last examination and can find no record of the correction of the defect, the name is reported to the physician of the health department who is in charge of parochial-school inspection. The health department then sends the name to the industrial commission in Milwaukee, stating that the child is believed to have gone to work with a physical defect and requesting that he be called in for a physical examination. The industrial commission sends a notice to the child and to his employer that the permit has been recalled temporarily. The child must first call at the issuing office; he is then sent to the main office of the health department to be examined. If he is found to be physically fit, he returns to the issuing office with a note to that effect and his permit is reissued. If not, a notice is sent to the industrial commission and the commission notifies the attendance department. Sometimes a child has already had the defect corrected and the recalling of his permit has proved unnecessary.

A child who is required by his principal to have a physical examination before securing a school certificate is examined either at the school by the school physician or at the main office of the department of school hygiene or of the health department. When the examination is given at the central office, as frequently happens, it is usually, because of better facilities, more complete than when given

at the school. In the former case the child is sometimes partially stripped.

The examinations differ in character and thoroughness also according to the physical record and condition of the applicant. A child who has been examined during the year preceding his application for a school certificate and has a good physical record is certified as physically fit to enter industry without any examination. Other children are given practically the regular school examination. These examinations aim to discover only serious defects of the lungs, eyes, throat, and teeth, and any deformities. The child is usually weighed and measured. The lungs are examined carefully, sometimes with a stethoscope. The eyes are sometimes tested, usually with Snellen's chart. The oral cavity is examined to ascertain the condition both of the teeth and of the throat.

The physician's report to the school principal consists merely of a line written at the bottom of the school certificate stating that the child is in physical condition to work, or that because of certain defects he should be allowed to work only at certain kinds of occupations, or that he should not be permitted to go to work at all. A record of the examination is kept, however, on the same form as the records of regular school examinations. The forms and regulations used in examination and inspection of children by the health department are the same as those used by the department of school hygiene.

As has been stated, permits are almost never issued without the recommendation of the school principal.⁸⁸ Up to the time of this study, however, no children had been permanently refused permits in Milwaukee because of their physical condition, although some applicants had been kept temporarily from going to work until their teeth had been put in good condition, more weight gained, or some other defect remedied. In one or two instances a child has had to have his tonsils removed or treated before he could secure a recommendation for a permit. All the physicians interviewed said that they would permanently withhold consent to go to work from a child who had indications of tuberculosis or serious heart trouble.

Not infrequently the physician certifies that a child is to be allowed to work only at light or outdoor work. This recommendation is usually followed carefully by the deputy of the industrial commission in granting the first permit. But when the child returns for a new permit the file of school certificates which contain the records of defects or physical weaknesses is not consulted, but only the index card, and the physician's recommendation, therefore, has no influence over any position except the first.

⁸⁸ See p. 41.

The only action taken directly by the issuing office in Milwaukee with regard to physical fitness has been the requirement in a few cases, in which the child appeared to the issuing officer too small or weak for a specific task, that he secure another position.

Other cities.—In the other cities visited practically no attention is paid to the section of the law concerning the physical fitness of the child. But in Oshkosh, where the attendance officer issues permits, if an applicant appears to be undernourished or is in the care of the registered nurse who visits the public schools, he is not allowed to have a permit. And in La Crosse a child is sometimes refused a permit if he appears to be physically underdeveloped.

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

A child between 14 and 16 years of age who desires to leave school to go to work must procure a school certificate⁵⁴ which states that he has fulfilled certain educational requirements. A child over 16, as has been stated, does not have to meet any such standards.

This certificate must show that the child is more than 14 years of age and must state the date of his birth and the number of years he has attended school. "Such certificate," according to the law, "shall contain the further statement that such child has attended the public school, or some other school having a substantially equivalent course, as required by law, within the twelve months next preceding the date of such certificate or next preceding the fourteenth birthday of such child; that such child is able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, and is familiar with the fundamental operations in arithmetic up to and including fractions and that it has received during such one-year period, instruction in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar and geography; or in lieu of such statement relative to its educational attainments, that such child has passed successfully the fifth grade in the public school, or in some school having a substantially equivalent course, or that it has attended school for at least seven years."⁵⁵

In addition to the statements required by law, the certificate blank contains spaces for a physical description of the child, a statement of the grade completed, and answers by the child's school principal to the following questions:

Do you recommend that this child be granted a labor permit? Why?

Did you try to persuade the parents to keep this child in school?

What reason did they give for not doing so?

⁵⁴ Form 3, p. 152.

⁵⁵ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2. For the text of this section, see pp. 136-137.

At the top of the certificate is a notice to the employer that the document is not a labor permit and therefore does not authorize the employment of the child.

The power of issuing a certificate of educational qualifications is vested wholly in the local school authorities, but the law provides that if the child is entitled to such a certificate the person with authority to issue it must do so. This provision is equivalent to the requirement found in the laws of several other States, that the school certificate be issued "on demand" of a child legally entitled to it.

No educational test is given the child at the issuing office.

Interpretation of educational requirements.—On the school certificates are printed the four requirements of the law, the fulfillment of any one of which entitles the child to a certificate. The first alternative is that the child must have attended school⁸⁰ within the twelve months next preceding the date of his school certificate, or next preceding his fourteenth birthday, and must have received during that period instruction in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, and geography. He must also be able to read and write simple sentences in English and be familiar with the fundamental operations in arithmetic up to and including fractions. Although stating that the child's school attendance must have been within a certain twelvemonth period, the law does not specify the number of months he must have attended during that time. It is to be inferred, however, that full-time attendance as provided by the compulsory attendance law is required.

The next alternative, that a child must have "passed successfully the fifth grade in the public school," is interpreted by every city superintendent of schools interviewed to mean that a child must at least be in the sixth grade or have passed an examination out of the fifth grade. Promotion examinations are given every half year in the public schools of the cities visited.

The third alternative, that a child must have finished the fifth grade "in some school having a substantially equivalent course" to that in a public school, provides, like the first alternative, for the acceptance of certificates from private or parochial schools. This requirement of a "substantially equivalent course" is the only provision in any law as to the subjects to be taught or the standards of instruction in private and parochial schools. In several cities visited many of the parochial schools have adopted the same course of study as that in the public schools and are using the same textbooks. Such an arrangement, however, is purely voluntary, and uniform instruction throughout the State can not be guaranteed.

⁸⁰ The law states that this must be a public school or some school having a substantially equivalent course.

Furthermore, this alternative does not require ability to read and write in the English language in order to go to work, and there is no law requiring the ordinary school studies to be taught in English in parochial and private schools. Therefore, even with the stipulation concerning the substantially equivalent course, children going to work from these various schools with statements that they have passed the fifth grade are not necessarily equipped with uniform educational qualifications.

It should be noted that the second and third alternatives stipulate no school attendance but set up only grade requirements.

The fourth alternative, that the child must have attended school for at least seven years, is an attendance qualification merely and allows a child to leave school who is stupid and backward or for some reason has not been able to adapt himself to the courses offered and who perhaps could never fulfill any of the other requirements. The seven years of attendance may be in any school, whatever is taught or whatever the language used. In Marinette and La Crosse, however, the superintendents of schools stated that they did not issue a school certificate to a child who has fulfilled this requirement unless he has also passed the fifth grade.

In connection with all these alternatives, particularly the fourth, it should be remembered that the length of school sessions is not uniform throughout the State. The school-attendance law provides that in cities of the first class, Milwaukee, a child shall attend regularly some public, parochial, or private school for 20 days of the month during the full period and hours of the year that the school in which he is enrolled is in session; in all other cities not less than eight school months; and in towns and villages not less than six school months in each year. The length of the daily, weekly, and yearly sessions of various schools differs considerably, so that the child from a school with longer sessions has attended school a greater number of days and hours when he has finished the fifth grade or attended school for seven years than one from a school with shorter sessions. For instance, attendance for seven years gives to the public-school child who has been in school ten months a year seven more months than it gives to the parochial-school child who may have attended only nine months a year. In some cases the difference may be even greater. During this study, however, it was found in all the cities visited that, although in some schools the daily sessions were shorter, the yearly sessions of parochial and private schools, except for more holidays, were practically of the same length as those of the public schools.

The actual grade attained may not always be stated on the certificate for several reasons. As there is no order of preference in

accepting the different alternatives, a child may be granted a certificate on the ground that he has attended school seven years when he is in a grade higher than the fifth, and in that case the grade may be omitted. Moreover, teachers sometimes enter fifth grade when the child is actually more advanced, because they think that is the requirement and assume that no further data are needed. Consequently the grades given on the school certificates can not be relied upon for statistical purposes. Interesting data on this point are available, however, in the records of the vocational school in Milwaukee. Of the 8,190 children enrolled up to January 1, 1918, 6,668, or 81.4 per cent, had been in the sixth or a higher grade. Of these, 2,442, or 29.8 per cent, had been in the eighth grade; 674, or 8.2 per cent, in high school; and only 12, or 0.2 per cent, in special classes. Of the 1,522 children enrolling from the fifth or a lower grade, only 581 were from public schools, whereas 941 were from parochial schools. The grade attained by the largest number of children from parochial schools was the sixth, whereas that attained by the largest number from the public schools was the eighth.⁴⁷

Methods of issuing school certificates.—Although the law stipulates that school certificates may be issued by the superintendent of schools, or by the principal of the school last attended by the child, or in their absence by the clerk of the school board, each locality has established its own custom with regard to what school official shall issue them, and the permit officer accepts only certificates from the customary official. In all but two of the places visited they are issued to public-school children by individual school principals. In Marinette, they are filled in and signed by the superintendent of schools, who has on file duplicate records of all public-school children; and in Kenosha, school certificate forms are not used, but instead the file of records of all school children, which is kept at the office of the superintendent of schools, who issues the permits, is consulted. In both these places, if the record cards which are filed yearly show that an applicant is in the fifth grade but has not completed it, the school principal is asked by telephone whether the child has been promoted since the record card was filed. These records also show whether the child has fulfilled the attendance requirement of seven years. In Kenosha the records in the superintendent's office include school histories of all parochial as well as public school children.

The principal, though he must issue the school certificate to a child entitled to it, may still keep the child in school by recommending on the form that the permit be refused. And, as has been stated, the issuing officers are practically always guided entirely by the principal's recommendation.

⁴⁷ Figures secured from records in the Milwaukee vocational school.

School principals also sometimes establish other than purely educational requirements for a certificate. Two principals in Milwaukee stated that they always required a child to have a promise of employment before issuing a school certificate. Another said that unless a child could bring a birth or baptismal certificate showing his age, he could not receive a school certificate. Such demands on the part of school principals are, of course, extralegal, but they aid in keeping the child in school.

The provision that the school certificate be issued by an official of the school last attended is not always adhered to. Sometimes, if the principal of the school a child is attending will not issue one, the child secures it from a school previously attended. And a permit officer can not always tell whether the school issuing it is the one last attended, as the school certificate shows the date of issuance but not the time of the child's attendance. One boy in Milwaukee, for instance, presented a school certificate of a recent date from a parochial school. It stated that he had finished the fifth grade and had been in school five years. The boy said that during the past year he had been in the sixth grade in the public school, but that, as that school would not give him a school certificate because he had not attended a full year and had not completed any grade there, he secured one from the parochial school which he had attended the year before. Another child in the third grade who applied at the Milwaukee office had attended several different schools in the preceding seven years, and before being granted a permit he was compelled to obtain a school certificate from the principal of each showing the number of years he had attended that school.

In none of the cities visited is any supervision maintained by any central office over individual principals—public, private, or parochial—in the matter of examinations for promotion from one grade to another or in that of issuance of school certificates. In Milwaukee, a list showing the name, age, and progress of each child in the public schools is sent to the office of the superintendent twice a year, but it is used chiefly for the purpose of looking up names and grades of children who have moved to other towns, and not to see whether children have been promoted regularly or have legally withdrawn on school certificates. Each principal uses his own judgment as to granting or refusing school certificates to children who have not the educational qualifications to go to work. In the files of refused cases in the Milwaukee permit office were found school certificates which had been given to applicants who had not fulfilled any of the requirements, the facts being stated and the burden of refusal thrown on the permit issuing officer. These certificates are called "illegal." During one week, while this study was in progress, out of 11 chil-

dren in Milwaukee refused permits, four were refused because they submitted "illegal" school certificates.

An incentive to keep children in school until they have fully complied with the legal qualifications for a school certificate is offered in Milwaukee by the system of paying public school principals according to the number of classes in attendance. Under this system a new class can be formed as soon as the old one exceeds a certain number. It is, therefore, to the financial interest of principals to keep children in school. In one instance, however, a child came to the issuing office with a baptismal certificate stating that he was 18 years old and with a school certificate signed by the principal stating that he was 14. When telephoned, the principal said that she knew the child was only 13 but that he was a nuisance and she did not want him in school. The child was refused a permit and was reported to the attendance department to be returned to school.

Special classes for backward children exist in many cities and special help is often given to individual children attempting to do extra work, but no systematic effort is made to push through the grades children who desire to go to work. One principal in Milwaukee stated that she aided a child who wanted to go to work but had not the qualifications by putting him in the ungraded class for backward children to drill him in "essentials."

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Public daytime schools established for vocational education in Wisconsin are, in a broad sense, schools where the education of children who have left the common schools to go to work may be continued. Vocational and trade instruction is given throughout the State in public evening schools and in Milwaukee in the public trade school. The majority of those in attendance at evening schools are adults who are employed during the day. In none of the cities visited are children working on permits allowed to substitute night school for day vocational school attendance. The trade school in Milwaukee is an all-day school for children over 14 years of age who have not left school but who wish to learn a trade instead of continuing academic subjects.

In April, 1918, as already stated, such vocational schools were being maintained in 31 cities of the State. These schools are supported by local and State appropriations, the rate of local taxation in any community not exceeding three-fourths of a mill. The annual amount of State aid given to any city is equal to one-half the amount actually expended for maintenance by the schools of that city during the preceding year, except that in Milwaukee (the only city of the

first class) it can not exceed the sum of \$20,000, and in any other city, town, or village it can not exceed \$10,000.⁹⁰

The total expenditure in the State for vocational schools in the school year ended June 30, 1917, excluding repayment of loans and interest, was \$486,967.07, of which \$139,712.32 was given by the State. Of this expenditure, \$37,654.88 was for equipment. For the school year 1917-18, however, the city of Milwaukee alone granted its vocational school \$404,000 and the State granted it \$18,500. A large part of the city appropriation was for the erection of a new building made necessary by the rapid growth of the school.⁹¹

Attendance.—Two groups⁹² of children who may be either employed on permit or staying at home⁹³ are required by law to attend vocational schools; (1) children between 14 and 16 years of age not required to attend other schools; and (2) children between 16 and 17 years of age. A child of permit age is required by law to attend vocational school, if one is maintained, in the city where he resides; otherwise in the city where he works. But if he both resides and works outside a city with a vocational school, even though he may be granted his permit in that city, he is not required to attend. This rule is strictly observed in all the cities visited.

The law provides that the younger group of children must attend at least eight hours a week for at least eight months a year, and the older group at least four hours a week for the same period.⁹⁴ If the public schools of the locality are in session more than eight months, the period of vocational-school attendance must be correspondingly lengthened. The required attendance must be during the daytime, and, if the child is employed, the hours of such attendance must be deducted by the employer from the daily and weekly hours of labor fixed by law.⁹⁵

In Milwaukee, because of the increased attendance since September, 1917, and the small quarters in which to accommodate all the children required by law to attend, no attempt has been made to enforce attendance for more than four hours a week of children between 14 and 16. It has seemed better to give instruction for a

⁹⁰ Statutes, ch. 41, secs. 41.16(1) to 41.19. For text of these sections, see pp. 148-149.

⁹¹ Figures obtained from the State board of vocational education.

⁹² Theoretically a third group, i. e., children between 14 and 17 at work at occupations for which permits are not required, must attend these schools, but as these occupations are principally agricultural pursuits, few such children are found in the places where vocational schools are established.

⁹³ For conditions under which children may be excused from regular attendance at common schools, see pp. 23-24.

⁹⁴ Since September 1, 1918, these older children have also been required by law to attend eight hours a week for at least eight months. The attendance of children between 16 and 17 has been compulsory since 1915, but not until September, 1917, were they required to have permits.

⁹⁵ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(1); ch. 88, secs. 1728c-1.1 to 1728c-1.3, 1728o-2.1 to 1728o-2.3. For the text of these sections, see pp. 129-130, 139, 141-142.

shorter period than the law requires to all children who are supposed to attend than to fail altogether to accommodate a large number of children. Therefore, all children between 14 and 17 are required to attend only four hours a week.

In addition to these two groups of children who must attend vocational schools, any resident of a community 14 years of age or over who is not required to go to some other school may attend. This includes two other groups for whom attendance at some school is compulsory. The "period of instruction" of indentured apprentices between 16 and 18 years of age must be at least five hours a week or its equivalent,⁹⁶ and in all communities where a vocational school is maintained apprentices are provided for separately in that school. The law does not specify what school they shall attend, but the vocational school is well adapted to their instruction. Also attending these schools are employed minors between 17 and 21 years of age who, if unable to read and write simple sentences in English, must attend a vocational school or a public evening school for at least four hours a week.⁹⁷

Another small but important group in the vocational schools is made up of children who have been transferred from the common schools. In most places, if a child over 14 years old desires to secure some work offered only in the vocational school, or if he seems not to be adapted to the courses offered in the other schools, he may be allowed to attend this school instead of the common school. Occasionally such a transfer is granted to a child who is not yet 14 years of age. The transfer is usually made through the superintendent of schools, or with his knowledge. In Milwaukee, the transfer, though not directly authorized by the board of school directors, is made by special permission of the supervisor of attendance.

The accompanying table shows the average weekly attendance of permit and other part-time day pupils, of all-day pupils, and of apprentices, for the school year 1916-17. And for purposes of comparison it shows also the average weekly attendance of permit and part-time day students from September to December, 1917. The average weekly attendance is shown rather than the total enrollment, which is much larger, because it is a more accurate index to the actual amount of teaching done in these schools. The figures for the school year 1916-17 were obtained from the annual reports of the vocational school directors to the State superintendent of public instruction; those for September to December, 1917, from the vocational schools.

⁹⁶ Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.5. For the text of this section, see p. 143.

⁹⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-11. For the text of this section, see pp. 137-138.

Children attending public day vocational schools in Wisconsin.

Locality.	Average weekly attendance.						
	September, 1916-June, 1917.				September, 1917-December, 1917.		
	Pupils of all classes (all ages).	All-day pupils ^a (14 years of age but under 17).	Apprentices ^b (16 years of age but under 21).	Permit and part-time students (14 years of age but under 17).	Permit and part-time students.		
					All ages.	14 years of age but under 16.	16 years of age but under 17.
Entire State.....	12,653	1,192	525	10,936	(c)	(c)	(c)
Milwaukee.....	5,243	197	324	4,722	46,600	43,000	43,600
Outside Milwaukee.....	7,410	995	201	6,214	(c)	(c)	(c)
Eight selected cities.....	8,177	456	346	7,375	c 10,062	(f)	(f)
1. Milwaukee.....	5,243	197	324	4,722	46,600	43,000	43,600
2. Green Bay.....	468	101	16	371	401	227	174
3. Kenosha.....	475	13	None.	462	545	308	237
4. La Crosse.....	308	3	None.	305	303	252	251
5. Madison.....	209	108	None.	101	276	141	135
6. Marinette.....	130	32	None.	148	239	(f)	(f)
7. Oshkosh.....	524	None.	6	518	726	(f)	(f)
8. Sheboygan.....	750	2	None.	748	772	(f)	(f)

^a Under the heading "All-day pupils" were included not only pupils in commercial and other classes attending all day every day, but also, in Milwaukee and a few of the other cities, unemployed children who may have been attending only part time. This is due to the fact that separate reports of unemployed children are not required, since according to law they are supposed to attend regular day schools. See p. 24.

^b These numbers are not representative of the entire number of apprentices in the State, since apprentices are not required to attend school after 18 years of age, though some of them do attend.

^c Figures not available.

^d Figures approximate.

^e One figure included in this total is approximate.

^f Separate figures for two age groups not available for all cities.

This table gives a general idea of the number of persons instructed in the different classes. It is, however, only approximately accurate because in some of the reports to the State superintendents the unemployed children were not separated from the total enrollment in the all-day industrial class and in others they were not included at all.

Organization of classes.—Considerable diversity exists in the various vocational schools of the State regarding the grouping of children in classes. In all schools, however, instruction is given separately to permit and other part-time day pupils, to all-day pupils, and to apprentices.

As for the permit children, those in advanced grades are usually given instruction in separate classes from those in lower grades. Outside Milwaukee the 14 to 16 year old children and the 16 to 17 year old children are usually taught in different classes, because the younger children attend eight and the older only four hours a week. The chief aim in Milwaukee, where both groups attend only four hours a week, is to keep together those interested in one trade or line of work, but as several classes are formed for each trade, employers are not often inconvenienced by this method of assignment. Classes

are organized by trades also in Oshkosh, La Crosse, Green Bay, Marinette, and Madison, although sometimes children who are working for a particular employer are placed in classes giving instruction relating to the industry engaged in by that employer regardless of their own interests. In Sheboygan children are grouped in classes arranged as far as possible to suit the convenience of their employers, and the instruction is largely individual in character. In Kenosha children are grouped primarily according to the grades attained in the school attended previously, and so far as possible according to the subjects desired. The employer has to arrange the child's work accordingly.

In Milwaukee the school is open 11 months in the year and classes are in session eight hours a day for six days a week. About 220 classes for children between 14 and 17 years of age and four apprenticeship classes meet daily. In every city outside Milwaukee the schools are open at least five days a week and in many six days. In most places the day sessions are from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m., allowing one hour for luncheon. In Sheboygan, the boys' classes begin at 7.45 a. m. and end at 5.30 p. m., and in Green Bay the school opens at 7 a. m. and closes at 5.30 p. m. In all these places the classes for permit children between 14 and 16 are in session daily for two four-hour periods, and those for children between 16 and 17 for one four-hour period. But in all places visited some children attend two half days a week for four hours each on different days.

Courses of study.—The vocational schools do not attempt to teach trades to permit children. Directors in different cities of the State say that for a permit child the schools are prevocational in character even though intensive instruction is given in certain trades and industries. For a boy the aim is to give some skill in handling tools and to influence him to use better judgment regarding his future vocation than he might otherwise. He is allowed to try different kinds of work but must stay long enough at one kind to be certain of his attitude toward it. A boy between 16 and 17 is urged more strongly than one between 14 and 16 to make a decision regarding his future work, so that a better course of instruction may be formulated for him than if no aim were in view. A special effort is made in some places to indenture many of this group as apprentices. Little attempt is made to give a girl any training specifically directed toward enabling her to make a livelihood. Her training is almost exclusively along lines needed in home making. The work and policy of the schools are as yet largely experimental, and both the members of the State board and the local directors wish them to be so flexible that they can be changed from time to time as may be considered desirable.

The courses of study vary with the equipment and teachers available and the character of work desired by the pupils. They must, however, be approved by the State board of vocational education and must include instruction in English, citizenship, physical education, sanitation and hygiene, and the use of safety devices. The State board of vocational education may, according to law, add other branches of instruction to the compulsory list,⁹⁸ and it has ruled that courses in the trades and industries, commerce and the household arts shall be given in the schools throughout the State. By a further ruling of the State board one-half the time of instruction for all children of permit age must be given to the subjects stipulated in the law or, as commonly stated, to the "academic" subjects, and the other half to shop work. This division of instruction was observed in all the cities visited.

Boys between 14 and 17 years of age are offered a great variety of subjects. In Milwaukee they have a choice of the following courses:

Automobile work.	Electrical.	Plumbing.
Bakery.	Machinist.	Power-plant.
Bookkeeping.	Masonry.	Sheet-metal work.
Carpentry.	Stenography.	Steam fitting.
Cabinet making.	Painting.	Store clerking.
Concrete work.	Patternmaking.	Tinsmithing.
Drafting.	Printing.	Watch making and jewelry. ⁹⁹

In every other city visited boys are offered instruction in wood-working and mechanical drawing or drafting. In addition, a choice of shop work in iron or electrical work is offered in Sheboygan; typewriting, concrete, sheet-metal and electrical work or a combination of these branches, in Green Bay; machine work or commercial work, foundry work and telegraphy, in Oshkosh; sheet-metal work, iron work, bookkeeping or commercial work and commercial law, in Madison; blacksmithing, iron work, machine work, or commercial work, in Marinette; and electrical work and telegraphy in La Crosse.

⁹⁸ Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.17(1). For the text of this section, see p. 149.

⁹⁹ In December, 1920, boys in the Milwaukee Continuation School could enroll in classes in any one of the following subjects: Architecture, automobile mechanics, automobile painting, baking, blacksmithing, bookkeeping, bricklaying, cabinet making, candy making, carpentry and joinery, cobbling, commercial art, concrete work, copperplate engraving, coat clerking, etc., drafting, drug clerking, dry-cleaning, dyeing, electrical wiring, electric motors and generators (repairing, testing etc.), electroplating, electrotyping, engraving, forging, home mechanics, heat treatment of steel, industrial science, interior decorating, jewelry, knitting, knitting-machine repairing, layout and design (for printers), machine-shop work, masonry, molding, mechanical drawing, millwork, woodwork, ornamental plastering, outdoor advertising, painting, paperhanging, pattern making, plastering, plumbing, power-plant operation, pharmacy, printing, sheet-metal work, shoemaking, sign painting, steam-engine operation, steam fitting, stenography, storage-battery maintenance, tailoring, telegraphy, tinsmithing, tool making, upholstering, watchmaking, welding, wood carving, wood finishing.

In every school visited the boy is given some choice in his studies at the time of enrollment. Information which throws light on his educational preparation and the kind of instruction he prefers is noted on his registration blank¹ to be used in adjusting his assignments from time to time. A boy is first assigned to a home mechanics class in which he is taught a few fundamentals in the work of the various trades. Later he is transferred to a more specialized class.

Girls have comparatively a very limited choice of subjects. Sewing, cooking, and home making are offered in all places and must be taken. In Marinette, instruction is also given in laundry and commercial work; in Green Bay, in commercial work; in Sheboygan, in textiles and millinery; and in Madison, in nursing. In Milwaukee, the following courses are offered:

Cooking.	Sewing.	Rules for safety. ²
Care of sick.	Rules for health.	
Household art.	Family purchasing.	

Placement.—Some attempt at finding employment for unemployed children is being made in several of the vocational schools. In Milwaukee, a special department for the placement of boys was created in September, 1915. Unemployed boys in the school are encouraged to go to the head of this department in order to secure positions.³ An effort is made to have these boys attend school every day and not return to work. If a boy is placed, however, his special aptitude and training is taken into account. Placements of both boys and girls are made by the vocational schools in nearly all the other cities visited, and although no large numbers have been placed, the children have found that the vocational school can secure better positions for them than they can secure for themselves.

APPRENTICES.

The indentured apprentice differs in several ways from the minor who is merely working and attending vocational school. The apprenticed minor is employed in the trade or industry of his choice and is taught both in the job and in school. Apprenticeship is primarily an educational enterprise. The minor who is not apprenticed receives instruction only in school. His job may or may not be his choice, and probably is not one in which he receives any special training. The money received is his sole compensation, whereas the apprentice is paid for his services in two ways, (1) in money and (2) in training and instruction in a craft or business.

¹ Form 8, p. 154.

² By December, 1920, commercial classes and millinery and applied design had been added.

³ By December, 1920, this work had been extended to girls. In addition practically all pupils finishing commercial courses were being placed in positions.

If a parent, through his child, or an employer fails to live up to the terms of an indenture, he is liable to a forfeit of not less than \$1 nor more than \$100. This forfeiture is collected on complaint of the industrial commission and is paid into the State treasury.⁴

In carrying out the legal provisions relating to apprentices the industrial commission, in accordance with the policy which has characterized all its activities, has invited the cooperation of employers and employees in the determination of its procedure. In November, 1915, a State committee, representing employers, employees, and the vocational schools, met and formed a State apprenticeship board to formulate methods of building up the apprenticeship system of the State. This board, in conjunction with the supervisor of apprenticeship of the industrial commission, has devised a uniform indenture blank⁵ to be used for all kinds of apprenticeships and has established, after consultation with employers and employees, standards of instruction for apprentices in different trades and industries. It has planned schedules of training, instruction, and pay for automobile machinists, barbers, blacksmiths, boilermakers, bricklayers, electricians, engravers, lithographers, machinists, molders, patternmakers, plasterers, printers, toolmakers, wireworkers, and knitting-machine adjusters, and these schedules have been approved by the industrial commission. The term of apprenticeship is from one to five years. The board has also determined upon and issued a form of diploma for graduating apprentices.

The cooperation of employers and employees in determining standards has done much to interest them in developing the apprenticeship system, and in addition meetings and conferences have been held with both groups, separately and together, at which the advantages of apprenticeship have been discussed. Much has been done by this method, it is said, to break down trade-union objections to taking apprentices, to induce specific unions to apprentice their helpers, and to make individual workmen willing to teach apprentices. And employers have increasingly been induced to take apprentices and to see that they are taught.

The influencing of parents to allow their boys to become apprentices has been one of the most difficult parts of the program, because the apprentice always receives lower wages than the boy who is employed as an unskilled worker. The rates of pay vary with the trade and the season and increase from year to year. Most apprentices begin at 12 cents an hour and the increases are made every six months. The highest hourly rates are paid in the building trades. Because of the comparatively low rates of pay it is very difficult

⁴ Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.8. For the text of this section, see p. 143.

⁵ Form 9, both first and third pages, p. 155.

often for parents or boys to see the advantages of entering into an apprenticeship. The promise of future positions at high salaries does not appear so attractive as present high wages. This has been an especially difficult matter since the beginning of the European war and the consequent unprecedented rise in wages of minors as well as of adults. Nevertheless, boys are constantly applying for apprenticeships and in one or two cities visited there were more boys waiting to be apprenticed than there were employers willing or in a position to take them.

In spite of difficulties the apprenticeship system has developed rapidly since the latter part of 1915, largely because of the propaganda efforts of the industrial commission. In 1915, under a law which was difficult of enforcement, the number of contracts was 163; 468 new contracts were entered into in 1916 under the new law; and on January 1, 1917, there were 969 apprentices in the State, 744 of them in Milwaukee and West Allis. By February, 1918, the number had increased to 1,045.⁶ Of the 696 apprentices in January, 1917, 566 were in the machinist's trade, 121 in the patternmaker's, 55 in the bricklayer's, and 49 in the compositor's. Most of the remaining 178 were in different branches of the building and printing trades. Over one-third, 34.8 per cent, of these indentures had been entered into by boys of 16; 29.7 per cent by boys of 17; 19.2 per cent by boys of 18; and 16.3 per cent by boys over 18 years of age. Standards of apprenticeship had not at that time been formulated for any girls' trade.⁷

ENFORCEMENT.

The enforcement of school-attendance and of the child-labor laws is interdependent, and the method of administration of one may strengthen or weaken that of the other. No system of issuing permits, for example, can be effective unless school attendance is strictly enforced. Enforcement of the several provisions of law which regulate the school attendance and the employment of minors in Wisconsin is effected by different agencies. The compulsory school-attendance law is enforced through the following up of children by attendance officers; the child-labor law, through the issuance of child-labor permits by agents of the industrial commission and through the inspection of establishments by deputies of the commission and by attendance officers; and the law relating to vocational-school attendance, in part through the following up of children by attendance

⁶ Figures secured from records in the apprenticeship office of the industrial commission.

⁷ By July 1, 1920, apprenticeship regulations had been prepared for 42 trades, including one woman's trade, dressmaking. At that time there were 1,072 apprentices in the State.

officers and in part through the checking up of absences by vocational-school officials.

The main elements in the enforcement of the permit law are the system of following up all children of permit age in order to enforce school attendance and the close cooperation between the issuing offices and the vocational schools. The permit system, as already mentioned, has also the effective support of the workmen's compensation act, which, by an amendment effective in September, 1917, provides for the payment of treble compensation to a minor of permit age who is injured while working without a permit or at a prohibited occupation. This provision is proving of paramount importance in causing employers to exercise care to prevent the illegal employment of children, especially since the employers of several children of permit age who were injured while working without permits were each compelled to pay a compensation of several thousand dollars. Different insurance companies have aided in giving publicity to the law by notifying employers that the companies can not assume the additional risk of injury to minors illegally employed.

The inspection of establishments to discover illegal employment aids both in finding children who have come into the State and gone to work illegally without having been enrolled in any school and in locating children who have somehow escaped the follow-up system of the truancy authorities. Inspectors of the industrial commission are mainly relied upon for this work. Local attendance officers have the same right as inspectors to enter, at all reasonable times, establishments in which children are employed in order to examine the permits on file and the lists and registers of children employed. Although some of the attendance officers exercise this right, they do not prosecute in case they discover a violation, but report the employer to the industrial commission. They sometimes locate a child who should be in school, however, and prevent further violation of the child-labor law by prosecuting the parents for failing to have the child attend school and for allowing him to work illegally.

Penalties for violation of the child-labor law fall upon both the employer and the parent, and penalties for violation of the compulsory school-attendance law upon the parent alone. An employer who fails to have registers and lists of children open for inspection or permits on file, who refuses admittance to officers empowered to inspect, or who violates any of the other provisions of the child-labor law is liable for each offense to a penalty of not less than \$10 nor more than \$200 or to imprisonment for not longer than 30 days.⁹ A parent who fails to keep his child in school is liable for each offense

⁹ Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728c-1.4, 1728h.1, 1728o-2.3. For the text of these sections, see pp. 139, 141, 142.

to a fine ranging from \$5 to \$50, together with costs, or to imprisonment for not longer than three months, or to both the fine and imprisonment.¹⁰ A parent who allows his child to be employed illegally is liable for each offense to a penalty ranging from \$5 to \$25 or to imprisonment for not longer than 30 days.¹¹

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

Milwaukee.—In Milwaukee the public schools report weekly to the attendance department all children absent from school without legal excuse. Each of the eight attendance officers who do the work of enforcing attendance at the ordinary 6-day school¹² has a regular district and calls once a week at every school, both public and parochial, in his district, in order to get these reports. In addition, any principal may telephone the main office of the attendance department about any special case and an officer is immediately sent out to investigate. The attendance officer examines the record of these calls when he makes his weekly visit. Some attendance officers, indeed, require daily reports from their principals.

Parochial and private schools are not compelled by law to report absentees to the attendance department, but they are visited by the attendance officers as often as are public schools and are furnished with all the forms necessary for reporting. Several parochial schools also report on their own initiative.¹³

The weekly report which public-school principals make to the attendance officer is in the form of a journal and summarizes the daily reports which individual teachers make of every absent child. The officer takes this journal on his round of visits to the homes and records in the column provided for that purpose the results of each investigation. He notifies the principal by post card of these results and sends the journal to the main office of the attendance department. If no one is at home when he calls or if, because the absentee is a first offender, no call is considered necessary, the officer sends a notice to the parents reminding them to send their child to school. A duplicate of this notice is sent to the principal and is used by her to report to the attendance department if the child returns to school immediately or if the cause of absence is explained satisfactorily.

If the notice or the visit of the attendance officer is ineffective, a more urgent notice is sent in a few days instructing the parent to

¹⁰ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(1). For the text of this section, see pp. 129-130.

¹¹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728i. For the text of this section, see p. 141.

¹² One of the nine assistants to the supervisor of attendance is engaged in enforcing continuation-school attendance.

¹³ An amendment to the law passed in 1919 requires parochial and private schools to report absences and keep records in exactly the same way as public schools. Laws of 1919, ch. 665.

call at the main office of the attendance department and explain the child's absence. The duplicate of this second notice is kept in the main office until the parent appears. Then, if nothing else needs to be done, it is sent to the principal with the necessary information; otherwise, it is given to the attendance officer. If this second notice is also unheeded, either a sharp letter repeating the former request is sent after a few days to the parent, or an officer visits the home. In case the child does not then return to school or the parent does not appear and explain the absence satisfactorily, court procedure may be instituted. Under some circumstances a truant, after returning to school, is required to report at frequent intervals at the main office of the attendance department.

A child absent because of sickness and needing dispensary treatment or a doctor's care, or one about whose physical condition the officer is in doubt, is referred to the school physician. A child who does not report for treatment as ordered, or who does not return to school after having been pronounced in fit condition by the school physician, is followed up by the attendance department.

A child with a vacation permit, if reported absent by the principal in the fall, is followed up like any other absentee.

Absentees are sometimes reported to the office of the attendance department from other sources than principals, and, if it is found necessary to send an officer out on such cases, a duplicate copy of the complaint is kept in the office until his report comes in.

The only office record of first offenders or of cases settled satisfactorily is the journal, but a separate card record shows the history of each case of willful truancy or parental neglect.

A system of transfers is in use between all public schools, but not between public and parochial schools. When a public-school child wishes to transfer to either a public or a parochial school he is given a transfer notice to take to his new principal; a transfer card showing the school record and a physical record card are mailed to the principal of the school to which he is going; and his name is dropped from the rolls. If the child does not enter the second school within a few days he is reported to the attendance officer in the weekly report of the principal of the second school. When a child transfers from a parochial to a public school his principal sometimes notifies the public school and sends the child's record card. But this form of report is not always sent, and the child is usually treated like a new pupil and placed in the grade for which he seems best fitted. Transfers between parochial schools become known only through the examination of the registers by the attendance officers on their weekly visits.

No reports of entrances, withdrawals, or absences are made by principals to the city superintendent of schools.

During the school year 1916-17 the attendance department made 35,648 investigations of reported cases of absence from both common and vocational schools. Of these, 591 were cases of willful truancy—less than during any previous year—and 34 children were found working without permits and were referred to the industrial commission. In January, 1918, the department handled 2,889 cases of irregular attendance.

Other cities.—Daily reporting of absences to the attendance officer by the public schools is the practice in the other cities visited. The attendance officer investigates each case and, except in Green Bay, generally reports the results to the principal but receives no return report. In Green Bay the attendance officer merely notifies the child to return to school and assumes, if he is not reported absent again, that he has done so.

In each of these cities except Green Bay and La Crosse the attendance officer visits all schools regularly. In Kenosha, Sheboygan, Marinette, Madison, and La Crosse he examines the registers of all schools, public and parochial alike; in Green Bay he examines no registers; and in Oshkosh only those of the parochial schools.

The cooperation of parochial schools in reporting absences is fairly good in the smaller cities of the State, but such cooperation is purely voluntary and can not be depended upon. The State superintendent of public instruction asks for annual reports of the ages and attendance of children enrolled in parochial schools, and some reports of absences are made to the county superintendent.

In all the smaller cities visited, except Sheboygan, a child who has received a vacation permit is followed up only if the principal reports him absent in the fall. In Sheboygan, in addition to this report, the director of the vocational school, who is the permit-issuing officer, makes out a list of all children whose vacation permits have not been returned, and the truant officer investigates those who do not return to school voluntarily.

The method of transferring children from one public school to another varies with the community, but in general one of two plans is followed—the first depending on reports between individual schools, and the second involving the notification of the superintendent's office, where the responsibility for the transfer is assumed. Under the first plan, in Kenosha, Sheboygan, Green Bay, and La Crosse, a child takes his transfer and record cards to the new school and the first school telephones the second that he is coming. If he does not appear within a reasonable time the principal of the second school notifies the truant officer. In Oshkosh the child's records are mailed to the new school instead of being sent by the child. The second plan is followed in Madison and Marinette. In Madison

telephone notification that a child is transferring is used by the principals, but, in addition, the child must go to the superintendent's office with three transfer cards. The superintendent signs all three—places one on file, keeps one for the truant officer, and gives one to the child to take to the new school. The truant officer later ascertains whether or not the child reports. In Marinette the child goes to the superintendent's office and is given a transfer card to take to the new school. The principal of the second school is notified by telephone that he is coming, and if he does not appear the principal notifies the superintendent's office.

In transferring from a public to a parochial school a child in Marinette or Madison follows the same course as though going to another public school. In Green Bay, Oshkosh, and La Crosse he leaves the public and enters the parochial school without any notification and, when reported as an absentee from the public school, is located by the truant officer; in Kenosha the parochial school is notified by the public-school principal of the child's coming; and in Sheboygan the attendance officer is notified of the transfer so that he can ascertain whether the child enters the parochial school.

When a child goes from a parochial to a public school the practice again varies. In Kenosha, Sheboygan, Green Bay, and La Crosse no notice is sent. In Marinette, Oshkosh, and Madison a child must present a card showing his grade in the parochial school before he is enrolled in the public school. In Oshkosh he may get this card from either his former school or the superintendent of public schools, and in Madison and Marinette he must go to the superintendent's office and receive an entrance card before a principal is allowed to take him.

Transfers from one parochial school to another are not reported to the attendance officer in any of the smaller cities visited.

Records of cases investigated are kept by truant officers in all places. The most complete are in Madison, Kenosha, and Marinette, where card systems have been installed in the offices of the superintendents of schools.

Reports of entrances, withdrawals, and absences are made monthly to the superintendent of schools by the public-school principals in all the smaller cities visited except Green Bay. In Oshkosh and Sheboygan the parochial schools make the same reports. Thus a check can be maintained over the movements of an enrolled child and he can not easily drop out of school without being accounted for. In Green Bay the vocational school director has attempted to secure such reports for children 14 years of age and over, but they are not sent in regularly.

A teacher of a district school reports monthly to the county superintendent every absence which is unexplained. The county superintendent in turn reports to the sheriff (who is also the attendance officer), and the latter serves notice on the parents to send their child to school and notifies the teacher that he has served the notice. The teacher reports to the sheriff whether or not the child returns to school.

Until June, 1917, the attendance officers and county superintendents also sent monthly reports of absent children to the main office of the industrial commission, which cooperated in stubborn cases by corresponding with parents. In 1913, however, the legislature had changed the law requiring the commission to enforce the compulsory school-attendance laws by adding the condition "in so far as not otherwise provided by statute." As the enforcement of these laws was provided for in other ways, the commission soon began to find its authority very shadowy and, although for a time it endeavored to keep some degree of control over truant officers, its efforts in this field were entirely abandoned in 1917. Even during the school year 1916-17 the commission did not act in many of the cases reported, as it had no funds for the work.

During the year ended June 30, 1915, some six thousand cases of irregular attendance outside the cities were reported to sheriffs and county superintendents and by them to the industrial commission. This number represents, however, only part of the cases of irregular attendance, as only habitual truants were reported to the commission.

Immigrant children.—Names and prospective addresses of newly arriving immigrant children under 16 years of age are sent from time to time to the office of the superintendent of schools in Milwaukee by United States immigration officials at different ports, and the children are followed up as are others reported to the office. Occasionally such children are reported to the superintendents of schools in the smaller cities.

APPLICANTS FOR PERMITS.

A child between 14 and 16 years of age who has applied for a permit, but who, for some reason, has been delayed in getting it, is carefully followed up in some places to see that he returns to school; but in others, unless he is reported by his school principal as an absentee, no attention is paid to him. A child between 16 and 17, on the other hand, can not be made to attend the common schools even if he can not secure a permit and is therefore not followed up in any city visited, except that, where the director of the vocational school issues permits, such a child is told that he must attend voca-

tional school, and if he does not do so is usually reported to the truant officer.

Milwaukee.—Upon being granted a school certificate in Milwaukee a child is supposed to go directly to the office of the industrial commission and present it to the permit officer, together with the other papers necessary for a permit. The principal is instructed to drop the child's name from the rolls immediately, and to report the granting of the certificate in his weekly report to the attendance department. During the procedure of securing a permit the child registers in the vocational school and is required to fill in a "Permit O. K." card on which is recorded his name, the date, the name of the school left, and the date of leaving school. These cards are sent daily by the vocational-school clerk to the office of the attendance department, where they are placed in the box of the proper attendance officer, who then checks them against the names of children reported in the weekly journals from his schools as having received school certificates. A child for whom no "Permit O. K." card is found—that is, one who has not secured a permit—is followed up like any other absentee. If he has been absent while attempting to get a permit, his name is reentered on the school rolls and all absences are counted against him. Because he has secured his promise of employment and in most cases also his evidence of age before applying for his school certificate and has, therefore, no reason for delay, a child usually applies for a permit as soon as he receives his certificate. Many children were interviewed as to this, and it was found that in every case the child had received his school certificate only a day or two previous to his application for a permit.

It does not follow, however, that they secured the certificates at the time of leaving school. Children sometimes present school certificates of recent date but when questioned state that they left school weeks or months previously and returned only to secure their certificates. The records of the vocational school show the dates when each child who is enrolled actually left school and when he received his permit; many of these records, chosen at random, were examined, and some showed long periods of absence from school, varying from a month to a year, before the permits were granted. The records include both public and parochial school children, and it should be noted that such lapses of attendance were much more common among children from parochial schools than among those from public schools. When these children were looked up in the records of the attendance department it was found, moreover, that no report had been made of many of those who had left the parochial school several months before they secured permits. One 15-year-old boy, who applied in January with a school certificate dated a few

days previous to his application, said that he had not been in school since September, although the attendance officer had visited his house. A 14-year-old girl who had been graduated from the eighth grade in June applied for a permit in the following January with a school certificate dated January. She had been in business college for two months and had then worked two months without a permit and without attending vocational school. No attendance officer had visited her.

In addition to the daily reports from the vocational school of children granted permits, the attendance department receives from the office of the industrial commission monthly reports of those who have been refused permits. The Milwaukee office of the commission frequently reports also to the school authorities in the adjoining towns where they live children living in these towns who have been refused permits in Milwaukee.

Other cities.—In the smaller cities lapses of attendance between receiving a school certificate and obtaining a permit, or between leaving school and obtaining a school certificate, are not so likely to occur, because in a small community a child working without a permit or staying away from school can more easily be detected. Granting a school certificate is usually regarded as an immediate preliminary to the issuance of a permit, and, as in Milwaukee, school authorities drop at once from their registers children who have received certificates.

In all places visited, however, except Green Bay and La Crosse, some central office is notified both of the granting of a school certificate and of the result of an application for a permit. In Kenosha and Marinette it is the superintendent's office; in Sheboygan, Madison, and Oshkosh, the office of the director of the vocational school. But only in Madison and Sheboygan is the attendance officer notified when a child applies for a permit and does not secure it. In these cities the name of every applicant refused, whether he has attended school in the city or elsewhere, is recorded at the office of the vocational school and weekly reports of these refusals are made to the attendance officer.

VOCATIONAL-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

The laws relating to compulsory education make it obligatory upon the local attendance officers to enforce school attendance of all children between 7 and 16 years of age who are not specifically exempt from such attendance. As the child-labor law provides for the attendance at vocational schools of an employed child between 14 and 16 years of age for eight hours per week, that school is authorized to call upon these officers to enforce the attendance of every child up to 16

years of age.¹⁴ To strengthen this provision the legislature of 1917 provided in addition that an attendance officer must enforce the attendance of any child unlawfully and habitually absent from an elementary, vocational, or other school which he is compelled to attend; and, as every child between 16 and 17 must attend vocational school unless in regular attendance at elementary or high school or receiving equivalent instruction elsewhere, these officers must also enforce the attendance of these older children at the vocational school.¹⁵

Attendance officers, it is true, have local supervision only and are not empowered to go outside of their districts to enforce attendance of children. This situation, however, has given little trouble because the vocational-school directors enforce attendance chiefly through requiring the making up of absences.

Attendance at vocational schools is enforced largely by the method of "calling in" or "revoking" a child's permit when he has been absent a certain number of times and keeping it until he has made up the absences. In addition, if a child whose absences are not made up applies for a subsequent permit, he is required to make them up before he can secure a permit for his new position.

The director of the school makes his own regulations regarding the enforcement of attendance; the actual work is done usually by a clerk who, when it seems best, refers cases to the attendance officer. In all the cities visited outside Milwaukee such special cases are referred directly to the chief attendance officer of the city. In Milwaukee one attendance officer has been assigned solely to the enforcement of vocational-school attendance, and he not only keeps a constant check on children who should make up absences, but also visits the homes of truants.

At first the vocational schools reported the child's attendance at regular intervals to the employers. This plan has been abandoned in Milwaukee, Marinette, La Crosse, Kenosha, and Green Bay, as employers did not cooperate fully and it entailed considerable work and postage. In Sheboygan monthly reports are still sent to employers; while in Oshkosh the child is given an attendance ticket each time he is present, which he keeps and shows to his employer if he chooses or if the employer wishes to see it. In Milwaukee, too, each child has a record of his own attendance.

Attendance of apprentices is enforced automatically through the penalty of three hours less pay for every hour of absence without good cause,¹⁶ and the only work done by the schools to enforce such attendance is to notify the employer of the absence or presence of an apprentice.

¹⁴ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(1). For the text of this section, see pp. 129-130.

¹⁵ Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(1). For the text of this section, see p. 130.

¹⁶ Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.6. For the text of this section, see p. 143.

Enforcement of attendance at vocational school may be treated under two headings: (1) Locating children who should attend the school, and (2) keeping them in school regularly.

Locating children.—A child for whom a permit is granted can be located with comparative ease by the vocational school because the signature of the vocational-school director must appear on the permit.¹⁷ This means in most cities that the child must take his permit to the director to be signed before it is sent or taken to the employer. In Milwaukee, as already stated, every child, during the procedure of securing a permit, must actually register¹⁸ in the vocational school. And, in addition, a clerk from the vocational school goes every morning to the office of the industrial commission to inspect the lists of names of children whose permits have been returned and of those who have secured subsequent permits. These names are checked with the records in the vocational school to enable the school authorities to know not only the exact status of every child who is already registered, but also where to find him. In the 10 cities of the State where the vocational-school director is also the issuing officer, the children are registered in the schools at the time the permits are issued.

Considerable difficulty is found in locating children between 14 and 17 years of age who are neither legally employed nor attending any other school, but who are required by law to attend vocational school. In Milwaukee the attendance officers examine the school registers in the fall and every child between 14 and 17 years of age who was graduated from grammar school the previous June and is not then registered in any school is notified to attend vocational school. The officers also secure (from as many schools as they have time) the names of all children between these ages who have left school and send a notice to each one to attend. The name of the child notified is sent to the vocational school and if he does not respond a second notice¹⁹ is sent from the school telling him when to report and stating, in brief, the provisions of the law. Nevertheless, according to the supervisor of attendance, it has been impossible to find all the children who should attend.

In each of the smaller cities visited the school census list is used by the vocational school to locate these "other children" and notices to attend are sent them. In Kenosha a personal letter instead of a notice is sent to the child. Some children between 14 and 17 have been located with comparative ease in this way. The attendance officers are called upon to enforce their attendance. In Green Bay, in addition to checking the names on the census list, the director

¹⁷ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.1. For the text of this section, see p. 136.

¹⁸ Form 8, p. 154. The blanks for boys and girls differ slightly for convenience in filling.

¹⁹ Form 10, p. 156.

secures in the fall, from the principals of the two high schools of the city, the names of all children between 14 and 17 years of age who have left school. These names are also sent to him at different times of the year by the principals of both high and elementary schools, and notices to attend are sent to the children. By these means practically every child who should attend vocational school has been located. In Madison, Marinette, and Oshkosh no special effort except the sending of notices to children discovered through the school census has been made to secure the attendance of these "other" children, and it was conceded that many of them were not in the vocational schools.

Keeping children in school—Milwaukee.—Early assignment to classes is one of the greatest aids in enforcing attendance, but such assignment has not always been possible in Milwaukee. For some time after the school was organized in 1912, assignments were often delayed several weeks, during which time a child was not followed up and often changed positions, moved, or became unemployed. During the years 1915-16 and 1916-17, when the school had facilities to accommodate them, children were usually assigned a few days after registration. But since September, 1917, the school has not been able to accommodate the large numbers of children required to attend, and as a result, although girls were assigned in two or three weeks, boys, in order that places may be made for them in the classes they elect to enter, are often not assigned for months after registration.

In February, 1918, the clerk in the main office went through the files and reported to the attendance department the children who had not been assigned since the previous fall. At that time about 350 boys and 143 girls, or a total of 493 children, were summoned to classes. No boys had been assigned since November 30, 1917, but the girls included only those who had registered during the previous two weeks. Of the number called in, 200 boys and 85 girls, or a total of 285 children, failed to report on the day designated. A large number of these sent legal reasons for their failure, but those neither reporting nor giving legal reasons were notified and were followed up as soon as possible by the attendance officer.

Three records are made in the vocational-school office of a child's attendance and employment; one on the original registration card;²⁰ another on an identification card²¹ on which is kept a permanent, continuous record of the child's attendance at school and of his places of employment; and another on an employment card which gives a list of the child's places of employment with the names of his employers and the dates of employment. An attempt is made to keep

²⁰ Form 8, p. 154.

²¹ Form 5 both face and reverse, p. 153.

these records up to date, and, as the employment card is filed under the name of the present employer, it is usually possible to ascertain the children working for any employer in the city. The teachers also keep daily records of all children present, absent, or attending to make up previous absences, and every noon and evening they turn into the main office a report of each child's attendance during the preceding session. This report is used by the attendance officer in following up absentees.

In addition to the records kept in the vocational school, a record of attendance is given to the child. This plan was devised to avoid complaints by a parent, employer, or child that credit was not always given for attendance. The child presents his card to the teacher each time he is present to have his attendance noted. He thus becomes responsible for securing his own credit. Except for the occasional failure of a child to present his card, this system of duplicate records is very satisfactory.

The chief method of enforcing the regular attendance of a child who is working on a permit is to compel him, on penalty of losing his permit, to make up all absences, legal or illegal, even though he may have made satisfactory explanation beforehand and been excused from attendance. Absences must usually be made up at once, but, in some cases, if the child is liable to lose his job or be otherwise seriously inconvenienced, he is allowed to make them up later. After the first absence a card ²² is sent by the school attendance officer to the parent requesting him to have the child return to school at once, and informing him that if he does not do so the permit will be revoked. A similar card ²³ is also sent to the employer. After the second absence no notification is sent, but if the child is absent a third time without having made up either of his previous absences, unless he is ill, his permit is "called in"—i. e., the employer is notified to send his permit to the office of the vocational school. At the same time the child is notified ²⁴ that his permit has been revoked and that he must report at the vocational school at a specified time. If the employer fails to send in the permit an attendance officer goes to the establishment and gets it, and if the child does not report at the school he is followed up like an unemployed child. If the child expects to return to the same employer, the permit is retained at the vocational school until after he has received full credit for absences; if he loses his position because of the calling in of the permit, it is returned to the industrial commission. During January, 1918, 220 children had their permits "called in."

This procedure is usually called "revoking a permit," but can not legally be thus regarded, as the child-labor law gives power of revo-

²² Form 11, p. 156.

²³ Form 12, p. 156.

²⁴ Form 18, p. 156.

cation only to the industrial commission, which can revoke only when the permit has been illegally issued or when the child's physical or moral welfare may be best served by the revocation.²⁵

Though the other children who are required to attend vocational school are also expected to make up all absences, it is more difficult to force them to do so as they have no permits which can be revoked. The only method of enforcing their attendance is constant following up by the attendance officer.

A child who is obliged to make up absences is given a credit slip at the main office to take to the teacher. When he has made up the absences he signs this slip, which has been filled in by the teacher, and is instructed to take it back to the main office to have the entry of his credits made on his permanent record. He may then take the slip to his employer to show that he has made up all his absences. If his permit has not been revoked this ends the procedure. But if it has been revoked the main office of the vocational school, after entering the credits on the child's record, mails the permit to the employer. Occasionally, however, the child fails to report to the main office but takes the slip directly from the class to his employer. This causes trouble later in straightening out his record, and in case his permit has been revoked it may cause even more serious trouble, for the employer may accept the credit slip believing it to mean that the child is entitled to return to work and put him to work without a permit. This has happened sometimes in Milwaukee and is not always quickly discovered either by the vocational school or by the industrial commission.

During a representative week of the school year 1917-18 there were 7,954 children "actually belonging"²⁶ to the vocational school in Milwaukee. 4,394 of them girls and 3,560 boys; and during that week 6,723, or 85 per cent, of these children were present. In addition, 506 absences were made up by an unknown number of children, all of them included in the 6,723 children present.²⁷ On account of stricter enforcement a steady decrease in percentage of absence oc-

²⁵ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.3. For the text of this section, see p. 140.

²⁶ "Actually belonging" is a phrase applied to the children amenable at any one time to the law compelling attendance at vocational school. It does not, therefore, include children who have become 17 or those who may have moved from the city but have once been enrolled. It is not the same as "enrollment," which includes all those who have registered in the school since the beginning of any school year and which therefore steadily increases. The number "actually belonging" varies from day to day and from week to week, and in any given day or week may be less or greater than during a preceding day or week.

²⁷ In computing attendance at the vocational school, the number of credits is added to the number of children present and the percentage of attendance figured on this total number. For instance, in the week mentioned, with 7,954 children "actually belonging," the 506 absences which were being made up were added to the 6,723 children who were in attendance, thus making a total attendance of 7,229, or 91 per cent of the children "actually belonging."

curred after the first of the year 1918, and in each week of this year it was less than in the same week of the preceding year.

Keeping children in school—Other cities.—In the other places visited every child is assigned to his class in the vocational school at the time the director is notified of the issuance of the permit.

Compelling a child to make up absences is used as a method of enforcement in all these cities except Marinette. All absences, whether legal or not, must be made up in Sheboygan, Madison, and Green Bay, all except those caused by sickness in Kenosha and Oshkosh, and nearly all in La Crosse. Only in Kenosha and Green Bay, however, do the directors of the vocational schools attempt to enforce attendance without some assistance from the attendance officers. In Kenosha it has proved sufficient in most cases, even when a child has been absent from two or more sessions, to require an explanation upon his return to school, and to tell him that the absence, if not due to sickness, must be made up. In Green Bay an absent child is notified by telephone that he must return to school, and if he does not respond to this informal notice he is sent the legal notice furnished by the industrial commission to all schools. If he still fails to respond, a teacher or the clerk makes a personal call at his home. In all the other cities visited cases of absence are reported to the local attendance officer—in Sheboygan and Marinette immediately, in Oshkosh usually not until the child has been absent twice, in Madison on Friday of every week, and in La Crosse, if a first absence, only after the continuation-school clerk has telephoned, if possible, to the child and in most cases has visited the home or the place of employment.

In the smaller places visited it has seldom been necessary to "revoke" a permit, though this has been done in a few cases in Kenosha and Oshkosh and once in Marinette. In Kenosha the permit is kept by the superintendent of schools, at the request of the director, until the child has made up the absences, when it is reissued. In Oshkosh and Marinette, revocation of a permit has occurred only when the child has refused to attend school or the parent has refused to send him. One girl in Oshkosh would not attend vocational school, and when the truant officer called at her home her mother refused to send her. The officer then instructed the employer to send the girl to school when she came to work. The next day, however, she did not return to work, and the officer telephoned for the permit. In a few days the girl went back, but her permit was not at the factory, nor was it reissued until her mother agreed to send her to the vocational school.

The vocational-school authorities in Marinette, which is near the Michigan line, and in La Crosse, which is near the Minnesota line,

have a situation to meet which is different from that in cities not near a State line. The requirements for going to work are in some respects higher both in Michigan and in Minnesota than they are in Wisconsin. In Michigan a child must be 15 years of age before he can secure a permit for work during school hours. In Minnesota he must not only be 14 but have finished the eighth grade, and this high educational requirement in effect raises the age limit for most children. Vocational schools, however, are not maintained in either Michigan or Minnesota, and children of working age, once they have secured permission to work, are not compelled to attend any school whatever. Many children between 14 and 17 living in Marinette, work in Menominee, Mich., and they are all required to secure Wisconsin permits and attend vocational school in Marinette. Their employers in Menominee regularly allow them time off for school attendance, as otherwise, according to the director of the vocational school, their permits would be revoked. Very few Menominee children work in Marinette, but when one does an attempt is made to secure his attendance at vocational school. A Menominee child between 16 and 17 is not allowed to work in Marinette because he can not secure a Michigan permit after he is 16 years of age, and the judge, who is the issuing officer in Marinette, holds that he can not legally issue a Wisconsin permit to a child who lives in Michigan.²⁸

In La Crosse just the opposite condition and the opposite policy as to issuing permits to children from outside Wisconsin are met. In the first place no child from La Crosse has been known to go to work in Crescent City, across the State line in Minnesota, but occasionally one from Crescent City comes to La Crosse to work because he can get employment more easily in La Crosse, and possibly also because the Wisconsin educational requirements for a permit are lower than those of Minnesota. One Minnesota boy, for example, had secured a permit in La Crosse when he was 14, and, at the time of this study, had worked there for more than two years attending vocational school regularly.

SCHOOL CENSUS.

The primary purpose of the school census in Wisconsin is to serve as a basis for apportioning State funds to school districts. In addition, it is the only systematic means by which the school authorities can locate either a child who has just become of school age or one

²⁸ This method of issuing permits in Marinette was not in accordance with the instructions of the commission and has not been followed since the time of this study. Permits are not issued in Marinette to children working in Michigan, but a child living in Michigan and working in Wisconsin receives a permit under the same terms as a child living in Wisconsin.

who has entered Wisconsin from another State or from a foreign country and fails to enroll in any school.

According to the law this census must be taken, except in first-class cities, annually between July 10 and 25, and the results reported to the county or city superintendent as of the date of June 30. In Milwaukee (the only first-class city) it must be taken between March 1 and June 1, and the results reported as of May 30. This provision for an earlier enumeration in Milwaukee was made in 1917 because many children were out of the city during the summer months.

Although the clerk of the board of education has the responsibility of seeing that the census is taken, the actual work is done by various officials. In Milwaukee and Marinette it is taken under the direction of the secretary of the board of school directors; in the other cities it is under the direction of the superintendent of schools. Hired enumerators are used in Milwaukee, Marinette, and Kenosha; the principals of several of the schools in Oshkosh, La Crosse, and Sheboygan; and the attendance officer in Green Bay and Madison.

The census must give the names and ages of all children between 4 and 20 years of age, the names and addresses of the persons in parental relation to them, and the number of days school has been taught in the different school districts. It must also show the number of children under 4 and over 20 years of age attending school, and give information relating to teachers and wages, and any other facts which the State superintendent of public instruction may require. Blank forms for the census are provided by the State superintendent.

Because of the use of these returns in most places as an aid in the enforcement of school attendance, considerable care is generally taken to secure lists which can be used as an accurate check on the enrollment of the schools. In Milwaukee, at the time of this study, they had not been so used, but it was expected that the earlier enumeration provided for in the law of 1917 would remove the difficulties in the way. And in all the other cities visited the returns of the census are regularly compared with the registration lists in September. In La Crosse, in addition to being checked with the school registers, the census returns of each year are compared with previous census records. In Marinette, after the census is received in the fall, a meeting of the public-school principals is called and the census list is compared with their enrollment lists. The name of every child of school age not located in the public schools is given to the attendance officer.

These returns are also used extensively by vocational-school authorities in locating children between 14 and 17 who should legally attend vocational school but who are not working on permits and hence are not automatically registered in the school. In Green Bay,

for example, the clerk of the vocational school checks up these children twice a year. She takes the census list to the different elementary and high schools and checks it against the names of children who have graduated or who have dropped out of school since the previous check. All children between 14 and 17 who are not attending some other school are notified to enroll in a vocational school.

In addition, the census record of age is referred to by all the issuing officers visited, except the judge in Marinette, for the purpose of corroborating a child's or parent's statement of age when a birth or baptismal certificate or one of the other specified documents can not be obtained.

UNEMPLOYED CHILDREN.

Whenever a child between 14 and 16 to whom a regular child-labor permit has been granted is out of work, he becomes subject to the law requiring attendance at the common schools, just as if he had never been employed. The provisions of the child-labor law requiring an employer to send to the issuing office a statement that a child has actually started to work for him, and to return the permit to the issuing office when a child leaves his employ, were devised to aid in returning these children to school.

But the use of the statement of employment, as already stated, was abandoned by a ruling of the industrial commission in October, 1917, and thereafter the promise of employment furnished the only evidence that the child had actually gone to work. For the return of a permit the time given in the law is 24 hours after the termination of a child's employment, and an employer is liable to a suit brought by the child's representative and a fine of \$2, payable to the child, for each day that he withholds it unlawfully.²⁰ This is, however, a short period to allow for the purpose, and most issuing officers do not complain of an employer who returns a permit within two or three days after a child has left.

In none of the common schools, either public or parochial, is any special provision made for the unemployed child. The curriculum is not adapted to him and the teachers do not welcome him. Such a child, therefore, unless he has been out of school for only a short time, seldom returns to a regular day school. The vocational schools, on the other hand, because of their varied and flexible courses, can easily be adapted to meet his needs, and, as vocational schools have been established in nearly all the cities where any large numbers of children work, the provisions of the compulsory attendance law relating to unemployed children seem, in these cities at least, to be comparatively easy of enforcement.

²⁰ Statutes, ch. 88, sec. 1728h.4. For the text of this section, see p. 141.

Milwaukee.—Employers return permits with a fair degree of promptness in Milwaukee, because a new permit is not issued until the former one is returned. Usually, therefore, the fact that a child is unemployed is known to the vocational school when the clerk checks up every morning the list of returned permits at the office of the industrial commission. The child's card at the vocational-school office is then removed from the employer's file and put in that for unemployed children. An unemployed child is not required to attend vocational school more frequently or for longer hours than an employed child, but his attendance has to be enforced by somewhat different methods. If he fails to attend the required one-half day a week the case is investigated by the attendance officer. If it is found that he has returned to a regular day school, where he is always required to attend every day, nothing more is done; if not, the attendance officer follows him up as he would any other non-working child who is obliged by law to attend continuation school. Before he is allowed to return to work the child must make up all absences.

In 1915 an effort was made to compel unemployed children to attend continuation school all day, and a special class, called the all-day industrial class, was organized for them and for any other children who did not fit into the regular permit classes. At that time it was ruled that the unemployed child must attend one-half day five days a week, leaving him the other half day to hunt for a new position. No great effort was ever made, however, to make him attend, for it was found that it was too great a hardship for an unemployed child to pay carfare every day to the business section of the city where the continuation school is located. For a time the board of industrial education hoped to overcome this difficulty by establishing all-day industrial classes in the parts of the city where working children live, but the unemployed children to be served were comparatively few in each district, and finally the constant pressure to find facilities and space for the regular permit children forced the abandonment of the all-day class at the central continuation school.

Other cities.—In Green Bay, Marinette, Madison, and Oshkosh, where, as in Milwaukee, a new permit is not issued until the former one has been returned, employers have gradually learned to return the permits with reasonable promptness. Only in Green Bay, Madison, and Oshkosh, however, is the vocational school notified as soon as a child becomes unemployed. In Green Bay and Madison the vocational-school director is also the issuing officer and, of course, knows when a permit is returned; and in Oshkosh he is notified over the telephone by the attendance officer. In Marinette, on the other hand, the school is not informed when the judge receives back the

permit of a child who is out of work. In the other cities, Sheboygan, Kenosha, and La Crosse, where the new permit is issued regardless of whether or not the old one has been returned, the issuing officer is often not aware that a child is out of employment until application is made for a subsequent permit.

The practice with regard to school attendance of an unemployed child differs in the various communities. In all the smaller cities visited, however, he must attend at least as often as the employed child, and in Green Bay for six hours a day five days a week. In Sheboygan, Kenosha, and La Crosse some unemployed children attend every day. Special classes for unemployed boys and girls are maintained in Green Bay, and for boys only in Sheboygan and Kenosha. In La Crosse, as instruction is largely individual, unemployed boys and girls are placed in the regular classes for permit children. In Sheboygan only is an unemployed child required to make up all absences before he is allowed to go back to work.

At the time of this study 20 boys and 28 girls were in the all-day industrial class in Green Bay; 3 boys in Sheboygan; and 7 boys in Kenosha. Four unemployed children were attending school all day in La Crosse.

In the remaining cities—Madison, Oshkosh, and Marinette—an unemployed child must attend school one-half day a week exactly as if he were employed. In Madison, although he may enter the all-day industrial class which is made up largely of adults, he usually attends instead the regular class for permit children once a week. In Oshkosh, at one time, an all-day industrial class for unemployed boys was maintained, but it was abandoned because of lack of accommodations. In Marinette, as in Madison, although there are all-day classes which the unemployed child may attend, he is not compelled to go to school more than one-half day a week.

INSPECTION.

The procedure followed by the different inspectors of the industrial commission is not uniform, but is governed by the purpose of the inspector's visit, the size of the establishment, and the kind of records kept. The inspectors in the woman's department make regular inspections for child labor only in establishments employing considerable numbers of children, but the other inspectors look into the child-labor situation in establishments which they visit in connection with the enforcement of other laws.

In a regular inspection the procedure as regards children is as follows: The inspector usually goes first to the office of the establishment, where he carefully examines every permit on file and makes

a list of the names and ages of the children. He then visits the workrooms, usually accompanied by some representative of the employer. During this visit he interviews each child for whom a permit was found on file—unless a great many children are employed—regarding his hours of labor, his hours of attendance at vocational school, and in some cases the character of work he is doing in the establishment. Unless violations are suspected a child is not questioned in detail about his hours of labor, but the posted notice of hours required by law, or the record of hours furnished by a time clock or a time sheet, is accepted as evidence.

If the inspector sees on his rounds a child who appears to him to be under 17 years of age, but whose name he has not found in the permit files in the office, he interviews this child also, obtaining from him his name and address, the date and place of his birth, the name of the school he attended, and other information which might aid in ascertaining his exact age. Sometimes the inspector is able to secure evidence of such a child's age from the employer's records. Otherwise he examines later the permit records in the local issuing office to see whether the child had ever held a permit and, if so, what age was given; and if he can discover no record there he attempts to find other evidence.

When violations are discovered the inspector secures more information. Whether the violation involves hours, failure to have a permit on file, or employment of a child in a prohibited occupation, the inspector secures from the child a detailed account of its character and circumstances. At the end of his tour of inspection he takes up all violations with the employer or some employee designated to take care of such matters.

If a child is found to be under legal working age, he is told to go back to school and the employer is ordered to discharge him at once. But no systematic plan is followed in reporting such a case to the local school authorities, and the inspector has no way of knowing that the child actually does return to school.

Report is made of all cases of violation, and usually, unless the employer is a repeated offender, a subsequent inspection follows soon afterwards to ascertain whether the violation has ceased. If the employer is a repeated offender, prosecution is recommended.

An inspector sometimes makes his tour of an establishment before going to the office. In that case he asks every child who appears to be under 17 years of age for his name and age and whether he has a permit on file, and also, in case the child appears to be under 16, for information regarding his hours of labor. Then, when the tour is finished, he compares the permits on file with the information he has obtained.

An inspector seldom takes the permits with him on his tour of an establishment. Neither the description of the child on the permit nor his signature is therefore of any aid in identification.

In making an inspection of an establishment against which a complaint has been made, the inspector, upon visiting the office, usually asks to see the particular child mentioned in the complaint, or to visit the department in which the child is working or in which the violation is said to exist. If the complaint is found to be valid, the employer and child are dealt with exactly as if the violation were discovered in the course of a regular inspection. In such a case the inspection is usually made solely with regard to the specific violation of which complaint has been made.

In a general inspection for the enforcement of all laws applying to an establishment, the detection of illegal child labor, as described above, is only a small part of the inspector's duties. In addition, he has to inquire into hours of labor and character of work of women employees, safeguards on machinery, sanitation, protection from fire, and other matters.

The inspector records information secured during his tour of an establishment on a general inspection card which shows the kind of inspection made and the general observance of the laws to which the employer is amenable. He keeps duplicate copies of these cards and sends once a week the originals, together with a report of his work, to the industrial commission at Madison. In cases requiring special action or immediate attention on the part of the commission, reports are sent oftener. When a violation is found in an establishment the inspector also makes a special report with an accompanying letter describing in detail the character of the violation. This latter report and the letter are both made out in triplicate, one copy for the general office of the industrial commission, one for the employer, and the third for the inspector.

The inspectors of the women's department make out, in addition to the regular inspection card, a separate record³⁰ containing more detailed and specific information regarding woman and child labor. This record gives information regarding the arrangement of hours of women and children, the occupations of women, and the welfare work of the establishment.

The women's department has also made investigations of the methods of keeping records of permit children in several large industrial establishments and in some cases has introduced systems of record keeping. A marked decrease in illegal employment on obsolete

³⁰ Form 14, p. 156.

permits, on school certificates, and without permits has been noticeable in the establishments thus studied.

Accident reports furnished the industrial commission form another source of information as to violations of the child-labor laws. As a child injured while illegally employed is entitled to treble compensation, the commission looks into all accidents to children in order to make sure that their rights are protected. Even when the accident is too trivial for the child to be entitled to compensation the employer may be prosecuted for illegal employment.

A provision of the Wisconsin law²¹ requires every person, firm, or corporation desiring to employ children under the age of 18 years to file a statement of this fact with the industrial commission in order that a special inspection of the establishment may be made. But in practice few employers send in such statements, and the commission makes no special effort to obtain them since it has through other sources of information, especially through its inspection system and its administration of the workmen's compensation act, practically complete information as to industrial establishments employing any kind of labor.

Methods of dealing with violators of the child-labor law more frequently used than prosecution are (1) summoning employers to show cause before the commission why they should not be prosecuted for violations of the law, and (2) refusal to issue further permits to employers guilty of serious violations. The first method, by bringing the employer before the commission, often produces the desired result without resort to prosecution. First offenders are always dealt with in this manner. The second method, which is frequently used in connection with the first, is sometimes made more effective by the revocation of all outstanding permits reading to the employer who has violated the law. This method of dealing with offenders is said to have been effective in some cases in which all other methods had failed.

The method of prosecution for violation of the child-labor law of Wisconsin may be either by criminal or civil action, according first to the kind of violation and second to whether the violator is a person or a corporation. The industrial commission law, under which the penalty is a forfeiture and the action is therefore civil, is made by one section of the child-labor law a part of the latter so far as not inconsistent with its own provisions. But the child-labor law itself provides that employment in a prohibited occupation or hindering, delaying, or refusing to admit a factory inspector or truant officer is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of from \$10 to \$200 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not

²¹ Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.2. For the text of this section, see p. 137.

longer than 30 days. At the same time it provides also that when any corporation, "by its agents, officers, or servants," is guilty of such a violation, these penalties may be recovered in action for debt or assumpsit.³² As a result of these provisions civil action may be brought for any violation of the child-labor law except employing a child in a prohibited occupation or interfering with the work of an inspector; and even in these cases, if the employer is a corporation, the prosecution may be either by criminal or civil action at the option of the State. The only case, therefore, in which criminal action alone can be brought is one in which an individual or firm other than a corporation has employed a child in a prohibited occupation or has interfered with the work of an inspector. Moreover, if the individual has at the same time violated any other provision of the child-labor law—for example, has employed the child without a permit—which is usually the case, a civil suit may be started against him for that violation as well as a criminal suit for employing the child in a prohibited occupation. Even if the employer is a corporation two separate suits under different sections of the statutes may be brought if both the schedule of prohibited employments and some other section of the child-labor law are involved. In short, if a person, firm, or corporation violates both the section relating to prohibited occupations, and some other provision of the child-labor law, two separate actions are possible, first, a civil action for the violation of the other sections, and second, a criminal action in case the employer is a person or firm, or either a criminal or a separate civil action in case the employer is a corporation, for the violation of the prohibited occupation section.

In practice the industrial commission rarely brings criminal action, since civil suits have several advantages. In a civil action the State can fix the amount for which the suit shall be brought, and can summon the employer as an adverse witness and compel him to produce his records,³³ as it could not in a criminal action. Moreover, in a civil action the judge usually instructs the jury what verdict to bring in. If an employer is convicted and can not pay the penalty, a judgment may be entered against him, and if his business is not equal to the amount of the fine he may be imprisoned under a special provision of law which permits imprisonment for debts due the State.³⁴ Furthermore, if he is not convicted in the lower court, the State can appeal the case to a higher court, a privilege not given the State in a criminal action. In practice, how-

³² Statutes, ch. 83, secs. 1728a-2 and 1728b-1 and 2. The industrial commission law is ch. 170a, secs. 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive; the penalty section is sec. 2394-70.

³³ Under the discovery statute (Statutes, ch. 176, sec. 4096).

³⁴ Statutes, ch. 142, secs. 3294, 3295, 3300, 3301, 3302.

ever, cases are usually settled out of court, so that the industrial commission practically fixes the amount of the forfeiture.

The report of the industrial commission for the two years ended June 30, 1917, showed that 24 actions, including 85 counts, or 85 separate violations, were brought for violations of the child-labor law during those years. Eight of these, including 10 counts, were against bowling alleys; two, including 13 counts, against drug stores; and one, including 10 counts, against a candy factory. The others were against various other kinds of establishments. A total of \$1,190 was forfeited by the 24 establishments.

* Report on Allied Functions for the two years ended June 30, 1917, p. 48. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin. Issued Sept. 1, 1917. In the case of one \$100 fine the employer had been guilty also of violating the law as to employment of women.

CONCLUSION.

Wisconsin, as stated earlier, has no uniform minimum age for the employment of all children at all times and in all occupations. Nor has she any uniform employment certificate requirement applying to all children of certain ages who desire to go to work in any occupation. Nevertheless, the application of the minimum-age and child-labor permit laws is comparatively clear. The law, without doubt, intends that no children under 14 years of age shall work in any industrial occupation at any time, except children from 12 to 14 years of age in a limited list of occupations in the places of their residence during the regular school vacations. It also intends that all children between 14 and 17 employed in industrial occupations throughout the State, and all of these ages employed in domestic service in places where a vocational school is maintained, shall have permits.

The only important unregulated occupation is agriculture, in which in Wisconsin, with its extensive rural districts, large numbers of children are employed. For these children no supervision of any sort is provided except through the compulsory school-attendance law, and those over 14 may even be exempted from school attendance on the ground that they are "lawfully employed." Children thus permitted to leave school and go to work in agriculture are not only free from any supervision while actually engaged in that work, but, as they are already lost to the school system, they may go later into industrial occupations without the knowledge either of the educational or of the permit-issuing authorities.

The failure to require permits for children engaged in agriculture, and in "useful," but not gainful, "employment or service at home," and to require school attendance of the elementary-school graduate, prevent the permit and the school-attendance laws applicable to the child between 14 and 16 from fitting into each other as closely as they should. Not only should children be required to have permits to engage in any occupation, or, indeed, to remain out of school for any reason, but the compulsory school-attendance law should be extended to cover the graduate child so as to close all loopholes and make the supervision complete.

Although Wisconsin in 1917 extended State control of employed children further than most States by requiring permits up to the age

of 17, yet it still legalizes the employment of children between 12 and 14 during vacation. In most other progressive States children under 14 are not allowed to work at any time because they are believed not to be mature enough to enter any gainful occupation. Moreover, the compulsory school age was not raised to correspond with the permit age but was left at 16, and therefore a child between 16 and 17 years of age who, if at work in an industrial occupation, must have a permit and attend vocational school, escapes from any effective supervision if not at work.

General administration.

The outstanding feature in the administration of the child-labor permit system in Wisconsin is the centralized supervision by the State industrial commission over the enforcement of "all the provisions of the statutes regulating or relative to child labor." Supervision is thus exercised by a single agency over the issuance of child-labor permits and over the inspection of establishments to detect illegal child labor. Moreover, this supervision by the commission is made more effective than similar provisions in most States by the power given the commission to make rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of the law, and specifically to issue orders governing the evidence of age to be required of minors who apply for labor permits and modifying, after investigation, the schedule of employments prohibited to minors of various ages.

The placing in 1917 of all issuing officers under the direct supervision and control of the commission strengthens the system decidedly. Whether or not the plan of having issuing officers appointed by the supervising authority works better than the more usual one of having certain public officials directed by law both to issue child-labor permits and to be subject in their issuance to the supervision of a designated State office, is not so clear. The corollary to the commission's power to appoint and dismiss issuing officers is their power to resign. They are under no mandate of law to perform these duties. And serious difficulties are met with whenever an experienced permit officer quits and has to be replaced by an inexperienced person unfamiliar with the many details involved. For the work of issuing permits is technical and difficult to learn. Decided assets in its successful performance are experience in handling people and thorough knowledge, coupled with an intelligent interpretation, of the law. Furthermore, it is better for a community to become accustomed to one person in this work. In designating issuing officers, therefore, the commission has had to consider, not only that the person should be one who has the child's welfare uppermost, but that he should be one who is willing to submit to its supervision, who can give the work the necessary time and care, and who is in a position to serve without compensation from the State. As a result the

industrial commission has been forced to move slowly in establishing an effective and uniform system of issuance.

Different kinds of officials have been designated, many of them the same county, municipal, or juvenile court judges who were the issuing officers under the former law, but a large number of them public-school officials. The judges have been reappointed chiefly in small and rural communities. In making suggestions to judges, however, the industrial commission is dealing with officials who, like its own members, are vested with the power of enforcing laws, and who do not always take kindly to supervision. Furthermore, many judges not only fail to cooperate with other agencies interested in the permit child, but also issue permits carelessly and illegally, sometimes with serious results. Public-school officials, on the other hand, especially in the smaller towns, are likely to change more frequently than judges and also often leave town during the summer vacation, when many child-labor permits must be issued. Nevertheless, the school officials are better acquainted than the judges with the needs and interests of the children, and they have been increasingly designated as issuing officers.

Another weakness, not in the law but in its administration, consists in the small degree of attention thus far given by the industrial commission to the details of issuance of permits in places other than those in which its own agents issue them. Practically the only method of supervision used in these places has consisted in sending out written instructions to issuing officers and examining their reports. That this limited supervision has not been entirely effective appears in the variety of methods employed in every office visited and in the toleration of both minor and serious evasions of the law by the issuing officers. The only method by which really effective supervision can be maintained is through traveling supervisors specially trained for the work.

The fact that inspection for violations is in the hands of the same agency as is the issuance of permits strengthens the child-labor laws and makes it possible to enforce them more economically, even though the two functions have not as yet been as closely correlated as they might and should be.

Methods of securing permits.

Even with the supervision of the industrial commission, the requisites for a permit are not uniform throughout the State and in no place studied did the officers comply in every particular with the requirements of the law and the regulations of the commission. In the Milwaukee office of the industrial commission the regulations are fairly well observed. But in the Madison and Sheboygan offices compliance with the legal procedure is more rigid than in any of the other offices visited. This compliance in Madison is to be expected

because comparatively few children are working, and the issuing office is near the main office of the industrial commission and can be supervised easily. Sheboygan, on the other hand, is an industrial city and next to Milwaukee has the largest number of employed children in the State. The fact that its issuing officer can conform strictly to the regulations of the industrial commission shows, therefore, that the regulations are not unreasonable or impractical.

In spite of the lack of similarity between the procedure in the various offices, the process of securing a permit is uniformly difficult for the child. It is more complicated than in most other industrial States primarily because of the requirement of registration at vocational school and because of the power of refusal vested in the issuing officer whenever he believes the best interests of the child would be served thereby. This power means in practice that the issuing officer sometimes delays the procedure until he has ascertained whether the child needs to go to work.

Such delays, however, merely indicate more thorough protection of the child. That the process of obtaining a permit should be simple is of far less importance than that the child should be carefully and fully protected. And it is difficult to see any point at which the procedure itself could be simplified and still sufficiently protect the child. School-certificate blanks, it is true, might be distributed among the various schools so that a child would be spared the trips necessitated by the fact that they are available only at the issuing office, but the child would then be allowed to drop out of school more easily than he is when the issuing officer, before he can secure permission from his principal to leave school, has an opportunity to persuade him to remain there.

The attempt to persuade both parent and child of the desirability of the child's remaining in school is, indeed, most important and should not be done away with even though it seems in some cases to cause a hardship. The parent's appearance is desirable also because he, as well as the employer, is liable to a penalty in case his child is employed illegally. Yet the presence of the parent is not required by the industrial commission for a child over 16 years of age. And even for one under 16 years of age, though required by ruling of the commission, it is not uniformly insisted upon by the issuing officers. Such deviations from the ruling might be excusable when the issuing officer has proof that neither of the parents can appear. But to permit another person to appear for a parent when the parent is able to come, or merely to telephone a parent who may be busy at home as is done in La Crosse, practically defeats the purpose of the procedure.

Again the child is delayed longer than formerly as a result of certain provisions of the workmen's compensation act effective Sep-

tember 1, 1917. He formerly went to work as soon as he had completed the procedure at the certificate office, and his permit usually reached his place of employment the day after he started. At present to allow a child to work without a permit even one day would be to invite disaster, as he might be injured, and the employer in that case would be liable to treble compensation. The employer, therefore, generally refuses to let a child go to work until he has actually received the permit.

Unnecessary delays might sometimes be avoided, however, if the children were given clearer and more complete instructions when they first apply for permits. Children are sometimes delayed for days and compelled to make frequent useless trips to the office because of inadequate, unintelligent, or incorrect instructions. This kind of delay occurs more often in the Milwaukee office than elsewhere, but it happens occasionally in smaller cities. A child applying at the Milwaukee office who was born in the city or county is sent to the registrar's office for a record of his birth, but he is not told what to do if it is not recorded. In that case he has to return for further directions as to securing a baptismal certificate, but on this visit he is not usually told what to do if he fails in this second quest. If he does not or can not submit a baptismal certificate he must return a third time for instructions about the next best evidence. Sometimes the instructions are so inadequate that only by accident is it discovered, after a child has failed to submit certain preferred documents, that he might have done so. Again, when a child has to write elsewhere for some document, the instructions are so incomplete that he often returns days or weeks later with an incorrect record. When a child has to write for documents it would save time and trouble, both to the office and to the child, if the address of the proper official and any other necessary information, for instance as to the amount of the fee to be sent, were given the child in writing or even incorporated in a letter.

The failure on the part of the law to state to whom the permit shall be given has caused a great variety of practices. Except for its branch offices, the industrial commission has made no ruling on this point. Some issuing officers mail the permits to the employers, others mail those for children under but not over 16 years of age; and still others never mail permits but give them to the children. When the permit is given to the child, there is always the possibility that he may not actually go to work, but may use his permit merely as a device to enable him to stay out of school. Or he may take his permit to another employer, inserting himself the name of this new employer, and go to work in another occupation than that for which it was intended. Or, again, another child, who can not meet the requirements, may work on his permit.

Using a permit merely to get out of school would be prevented, of course, if the law requiring that an employer file with the issuing officer a statement of the actual employment of a minor were enforced by the industrial commission. This "statement of employment" was designed to notify the issuing officer that the child had actually gone to work, and the reasons for discontinuing its use do not seem convincing. The child, of course, has presented a promise of employment, but such a promise may easily be forged, or the employer may carelessly make out two or three for one position thinking he will try the child who comes back first with his certificate. Even when the permit is mailed to the employer delay in returning it if the child is not actually employed may result in loss of time which should be spent in school. As for difficulty in the enforcement of this provision, it would seem that it ought to be easier to enforce than the provision requiring the return of a certificate when the child has left his position, for in the former case the issuing officer knows just when to expect the communication from the employer whereas in the latter he has no such knowledge. Its enforcement would not have been so difficult if issuing officers had been persistent in demanding a prompt return of the statement after the permit was mailed. If, for instance, two or three days, instead of two weeks or a month, as in Milwaukee, had been the limit of time before inquiry was started regarding its failure to appear, employers would have been forced into compliance just as they have been in many places with regard to the return of the permit.

Everything which tends to make the employer feel his responsibility over the child whom he employs tends to make it easier to keep the child in school when he is not employed. For this reason not only should the employer furnish a promise of employment, but the permit should be mailed to him and he should be required to notify the issuing office both when he begins and when he discontinues employment of a child.

The return of the permit to the issuing office when the employment is ended is essential to efficient administration. It not only affords the simplest method of notifying the issuing office that the child is unemployed and thereby of making it possible to see that he is either at work or in school, but it also avoids the danger, always present if more than one permit is in existence for the same child, that the earlier one may be used for another child who may not be legally entitled to work. But the requirement that the child wait for the former employer to return the permit before he can take a new position forces the child to be idle for at least one day, even if the employer returns the permit promptly, while the permit is in transit from the first employer to the office and from the office to the second employer. More often two or more days are lost because many

employers do not return permits promptly. A child who has given his employer several days in which to return the permit often comes into the office for a new one to find that the former one has not been returned and in many cases comes back again and again before he can be granted a permit for the new employer. The fact that the employer is liable in action to the child for \$2 per day for each day that he fails to return the permit has thus far given no real relief, for this penalty has never yet been imposed in Wisconsin. When the State has given special permission to children of school age to work instead of attending school, it certainly ought not to permit employers to keep them both out of school and out of work by failure to return their permits. On the other hand, the fact that a child can not secure a subsequent permit until the old one has been returned undoubtedly tends to make the child more businesslike about notifying his employer when he intends to leave his position. The duty of seeing that permits are returned promptly is primarily, however, that of the issuing officer and the attendance department; both should maintain a close follow-up of unemployed children.

More questionable is the practice of using the same permit form several times, as the form in use at the date of this report was intended. It is undoubtedly true that in Milwaukee, where the original permit is also used as a subsequent one by adding the name of the new employer, and where, therefore, a subsequent permit can never be issued until the former one is returned, not only can the unemployed child easily be located, but more than one permit can not be outstanding for a single child. Moreover, issuing officers are said to be more insistent and employers, therefore, more careful and prompt about returning permits when they know the very documents which they withhold are essential to the child in securing a new position. Nevertheless, an injustice may easily be done a child by advertising to his new employer all the places where he has formerly worked. And, as employers sometimes return permits to children direct instead of to the issuing officer, an opportunity is given the child to enter on the permit the name of another employer without going to the issuing office. This has been known to happen in cities outside Milwaukee. One child in La Crosse, for example, obtained a promise of employment from a new employer, received his permit from the former employer, entered the new employer's name on the permit, submitted it, and worked for some time before the lack of any record of the new employer at the issuing office was discovered. As already stated, experience with cases of this kind has caused issuing officers in a number of Wisconsin towns to issue a new permit for each new employer in spite of the provision on the permit form for the names of several employers.

Reregistration in vocational school when the child applies for a subsequent permit is a necessary part of the system of enforcing vocational-school attendance, by compelling children to make up absences. The lever here provided is much used by directors throughout the State.

The use of vacation and after-school permits for children between 14 and 16 years of age is not specifically authorized by law. Nevertheless, some provision is necessary, both for the child who wishes to work only during vacation and who, if under 14, could secure the vacation permit provided by law and for the child who is entitled to a regular permit but does not wish to leave school. It certainly seems more reasonable to allow children over 14 than to allow those between 12 and 14 to work during school vacations without having to meet any educational test. Yet the law itself allows the younger children to secure vacation permits. The advisability of issuing after-school permits to children who have not the educational qualifications for a regular permit is, however, open to serious doubt. And in any event it would seem that legal authority should be secured for whatever action may be deemed advisable as to after-school and vacation permits.

Promise of employment.

The promises of employment accepted by most issuing officers are fairly satisfactory, though the fact that small employers often have no letterhead paper makes it impossible to enforce the law literally and difficult to be sure that all signed statements are authentic. A regulation form for a promise of employment, similar to that frequently used in Milwaukee, if distributed carefully among employers and its use encouraged, would be more satisfactory, more convenient, and more likely to insure authentic statements. Nevertheless, in places where the permit is mailed to the employer it is probable that if the promise of employment is false the permit will be returned. And in the smaller places visited the issuing officer usually knows whether the promise of employment is genuine and whether the child actually goes to work.

The "statement of employment," the use of which, as already pointed out, was abandoned in 1917, was useful in this connection, for if an employer did not return the statement within a reasonable time the case could be investigated; in other words, the mailing of the permit to an employer, coupled with the employer's notification of employment, afforded an automatic checking up on the authenticity of the promise of employment.

Evidence of age.

Since the adoption by the commission of the same evidence of age as was stipulated in the Federal rules and regulations for an employment certificate under the United States child-labor act of 1916

a fair degree of uniformity has been brought about throughout the State with regard to the evidence demanded and accepted by issuing officers for children between 14 and 16 years of age. Previously no order of preference had been specified in the law or rulings and in most places outside Milwaukee birth certificates had rarely been demanded and school certificates were the usual evidence of age accepted. In Milwaukee baptismal certificates constituted the usual evidence, but memoranda of birth from the registrar's office were frequently used.

Even at the time of this study, however, seven months after the new rulings had become effective, the evidence required was not fully understood and the regulations were not literally and consistently obeyed by all issuing officers. This was due to several causes. First, the changes made were radical and the new system was much more complex than the old. Second, other radical changes went into effect at the same time, such as the designation of issuing officers by the industrial commission, the raising of the permit age to 17, and the United States child-labor act. Third, the industrial commission had not been able to give thorough supervision to the issuing officers.

The regulations state the exact evidence of age to be accepted and the order of preference to be observed. Yet in only two of the cities visited, Madison and Sheboygan, is the order observed consistently and proof required that preferred evidence can not be obtained. In every other office visited, including Milwaukee, the parent's or child's statement regarding the availability of certain evidence is accepted and most issuing officers and clerks believe it is unnecessary to demand better proof. Yet in Milwaukee in a few cases children and parents who have stated they did not possess a certain kind of evidence have been instructed to bring a less preferred document and later have returned to the office with the preferred evidence. The Milwaukee office follows the order for children born in the city or county, but usually for those born elsewhere baptismal certificates, if submitted, are accepted. The deputy in charge of the office, however, has devised a simple form²⁷ which parents will be asked to fill in when preferred evidence is not obtainable. The signing of such a statement, it is believed, will make parents more careful in obtaining, if possible, the preferred documents; the requirements, too, can be made clearer to them in this way.

Many children born outside Milwaukee who could easily secure birth certificates, either from the local registrar or from the State board of health, are not required to do so. In January, 1918, the deputy of the industrial commission in charge of the child-labor work for the State investigated the evidence of all children for

²⁷ This form was distributed to permit-issuing officials in May, 1918, and has been in use since that date.

whom duplicate permits and statements of evidence had been sent in to the main office of the commission. A large percentage of the children, he found, who had submitted other evidence, had birth certificates on file in the State board of health.

Issuing officers would doubtless send more children for copies of their birth certificates if no fees were required. It seems to them a hardship to send a child for a birth certificate for which he must pay 50 cents when he has submitted an authentic baptismal certificate. Consequently most officers accept the baptismal certificate without attempting to secure the preferred evidence. But a certified copy of a birth certificate can be obtained from the State board of health without cost and the issuing officers have been carefully instructed to write to the State office for it if local registrars insist upon the fee. This procedure always causes a delay of several days and by most issuing officers is considered not important enough to observe. Yet in many States foreign-born children were, before the war, and doubtless will be again, required to write to far-distant lands for birth certificates, and if the work of local registrars in Wisconsin can not easily be changed from a fee to a salary basis at least all possible use ought to be made of the records kept by the State board of health at Madison.

The kinds of "other" documentary evidence of age accepted are not uniform throughout the State and school certificates without either the parent's supporting statement or the physician's certificate of age are taken as "other documentary evidence." Furthermore, officers do not always exhaust the available documentary evidence before resorting to the physician's certificate of age. Some officers, in fact, send a child for a physician's certificate rather than trouble him to secure "other" documentary evidence. The officer in Green Bay does not accept the evidence of age on a life-insurance policy if the parent says the child is older than stated in the policy, but takes instead a physician's certificate of age.

The physician's certificate of age is the one kind of evidence with which issuing officers were absolutely unfamiliar previous to the adoption of the present rules. Among physicians and issuing officers a feeling is prevalent that the physician's certificate is hardly more than a physician's guess added to a parent's statement. The ease also with which this evidence can be obtained from health officers serves to weaken its value. So far as known no child in any of the cities visited has been pronounced by physicians to be under 14 years or of a different age than claimed. Nevertheless, the fear of the child or of his parents that he can not pass this test tends to keep from industry undeveloped and undernourished children.

The failure in every city visited, except Marinette, so to mark evidence of age returned to the child that it can not be used again

should be noted. At the Milwaukee office in a few cases the same document was found to have been submitted by different children in the same family and accepted as evidence. In these cases the permit had been granted before the mistake was discovered. In other cases such a mistake may never have been discovered.

The serious need for personal supervision by some agent of the industrial commission over the evidence of age presented is manifest. The meaning, value, and significance of the requirements were not, at the time of this study, evident to many of the issuing officers, and a child who, in Milwaukee and Sheboygan for example, would be required to conform to some strict rule before being granted a permit might be allowed to go to work in Marinette on the evidence offered by a school certificate or on the strength of his own oral statement if in the judgment of the issuing officer he was telling the truth. Careful and constant personal supervision is the only means either of securing uniform age requirements for children going to work throughout the State or of causing issuing officers to realize the need for the existing regulations and to cooperate more willingly in seeing that they are enforced.

Physical requirements.

The lack of physical requirements is the weakest feature of the permit system in Wisconsin. Primarily this lack is due to defects in the law itself, which does not require any physical examination before a child can go to work or while he is at work. The Wisconsin child-labor law once contained a provision requiring physical examination before permits could be issued. But this provision was repealed by the legislature, which has also defeated other attempts to secure such examinations. In view of this unfavorable attitude of the legislature the industrial commission has not thought it possible to formulate effective regulations for carrying out the two provisions of the law which might, it would seem, be utilized to keep out of industry children who are physically unfit to work. These two provisions are: First, that an issuing officer may refuse a permit to a child who appears to him to be physically unfit to go to work; and second, that he may refuse one if "the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal."

The first of these provisions, standing alone as it does with no regulation of the industrial commission to define it, is practically meaningless. Each issuing officer is in this matter a law unto himself. He may look critically at the children who come before him in an effort to see whether they look physically fit; but issuing officers are not physicians and such judgments based on appearances are of little value. Or he may ignore the provision entirely because it states that he may, not must, refuse the permit if the child appears physically unfit. Apparently he has no power, without a ruling of the

industrial commission, to require physical examinations of applicants for permits.

The second provision is too indefinite to be used as a basis for a physical standard unless interpreted by regulations of the industrial commission. Like the other provision it fails to give the issuing officer power to require physical examinations. For this, specific authority is necessary, either in the law itself or in regulations of the commission which would have the force of law.

Indirectly, however, through the requirement by the industrial commission that the school principal recommend in each case whether or not a permit be issued, this provision has been used to secure physical examinations for a considerable number of Milwaukee children under 16 years of age before they went to work. Those over 16 can not be reached by this method because they are not required to have school certificates which carry the principal's recommendation, nor does the method provide for re-examinations after the child has been at work for a time. The system, moreover, fails to secure the examination of a large number of children under 16 years of age because it is entirely dependent upon the individual cooperation of all the principals in the city, of public, private, and parochial schools. The issuing officer does not require a physician's statement on the school certificate but merely the principal's recommendation, and some principals do not consider it necessary to base their recommendation on the results of a physical examination. For a brief period after the school authorities and the health department sent out letters in the fall of 1917 asking the principals to send all children to the school physicians before granting a school certificate, a fair degree of cooperation existed. But in the early part of 1918 an increasing number of children were applying at the issuing office in Milwaukee without having had their school certificates signed by physicians and were nevertheless receiving permits.

The industrial commission has cooperated in the endeavor to protect the health of working children by recalling the permits of those who were reported as having gone to work with physical defects. But this is an awkward, inconvenient, and inadequate substitute for the requirement of a thorough physical examination before going to work. The annoyance and loss of time and wages caused the child are sometimes found to have been unnecessary as the defect has been corrected. Even if the defect is still uncorrected, it would have been far better to have required the treatment, or, if necessary, to have prohibited all or certain kinds of work, before the child had secured a position and incurred responsibilities toward an employer. This method, moreover, is more or less hit or miss. Some children who have gone to work with physical defects have their permits revoked; others escape notice.

Another serious defect in the Milwaukee system is that physician's recommendations relating to the kind of work which a child should do are observed only in the selection of the first position, because of failure of the issuing officer either to note the recommendation on the information card or to consult the file of school certificates upon issuing a subsequent permit. One girl, for example, who had been excused from school because of serious heart trouble in the fall of 1917, applied for a permit in January, 1918. The principal recommended against a permit unless the child was given light work. The deputy sent the child to the health department and the examining physician certified that she should not be allowed to work at heavy work or work that entailed a long, hard strain. The child was given a permit on January 29 to pull bastings. One week later she applied again with a new promise of employment and was given a permit to work in a candy factory at wrapping. The clerk issued the second permit without any knowledge of the child's condition.

The child who is given a physical examination in Milwaukee has the same kind of an examination as if he were remaining in school. The applicant for a permit is more likely, however, than the school child to have defects corrected. If he is to remain in school treatment can be recommended, but is not compulsory. If, on the other hand, he wishes to go to work, the school principal has a club to hold over his head in the form of refusal to recommend that a permit be granted him until such defects as decayed teeth and defective vision have been corrected.

Physical fitness should unquestionably be one of the most important prerequisites to obtaining a child-labor permit, and it is to be regretted not only that the laws of Wisconsin are defective on this point but that, in their administration, no attempt should have been made to utilize, by defining and interpreting their meaning in administrative regulations, the provisions which already exist. In the lack of any provision for physical examinations it seems certain, judging by the experience of other States, that a considerable number of the permits issued were given to children who were physically unfit to perform the work at which they were employed, and that in April, 1918, only a few such children were being given the protection of a physical examination before entering industry.

Physical fitness at the time of entering industry, however, is not sufficient. Supervision should also be exercised over the health of the child while at work, and especially should the physical effects of different occupations be studied. For this Wisconsin has a unique opportunity in her extensive system of vocational schools, attendance at which is compulsory up to 17 years of age. Physical examination of all pupils in the vocational school at regular intervals would not only safeguard the health of the children examined but

would enable the industrial commission to compile an accurate list of occupations which are injurious to the undeveloped body, and to exercise intelligently its power of prohibiting children from working in such occupations. But these examinations alone would not be adequate, for they would have the defect of the regular school examination—the difficulty in securing correction of defects—and would not furnish the machinery necessary to keep out of industry children who were physically unfit to work. That issuing officers should have, not only the power, but the duty of refusing not only a first but any subsequent permit to any child who is not up to a definite physical standard, is essential to proper protection of the health of working children.

Educational requirements.

The educational standard for a permit is low. For a child between 14 and 16 years of age it amounts practically either to completion of the fifth grade⁸⁸ without regard to the length or recency of school attendance, or to seven years' attendance without regard to the grade or degree of education attained. And the grade standard is further lowered by (1) failure to require in all cases ability to read and write English; (2) lack of authority over the instruction offered and the grading of pupils in private and parochial schools; (3) lack of adequate supervision over the issuing of school certificates; and (4) failure to provide for a uniform educational test at the issuing office. For the child who is between 16 and 17 years of age there exists no educational standard whatever.

The only one of the four alternative requirements which provides both for the attainment of a certain degree of education and for school attendance is the first, and under this alternative it is doubtful whether the child has to have completed even the fifth grade in anything except arithmetic, while the school attendance required is only "within the twelve months" (and not for any specified period during the twelve months) preceding either the date of the school certificate—which may be long before application for a permit—or preceding the child's fourteenth birthday. Moreover, children who have completed the fifth grade and can therefore meet the second or third alternative often have been absent from school for long periods at the time they are granted school certificates. Many children apply at the Milwaukee office with school certificates of recent date, and some with certificates dated several months back, who have not been in school for from three to eight months. And in La Crosse, a city where attendance is required for eight months of the year, children were seen to apply for permits with school certificates of recent date who had not been in school for one, two, or three years. The issuing

⁸⁸ This standard was raised to completion of the sixth grade (seventh after July 1, 1920) by the legislature of 1919.

officer has no choice but to accept the certificate if the child shows completion of any one of the educational requirements.

This failure to require school attendance during a specified period immediately preceding the granting of the permit means the loss of a valuable method of keeping children in school, as required by law, until they receive permits to work.

On the other hand, allowing a child to go to work when he has attended school seven years, regardless of the grade he has finished, nullifies in many cases not only the grade requirements but also the requirement in the first alternative of a limited knowledge of arithmetic and of ability to read and write English. This "seven year" provision meets with the approval of some school authorities, on the ground that the child who can not finish the fifth grade in that time is unable to profit from further school instruction. Nevertheless, seven years' attendance at school is not alone a fair standard of a child's educational fitness to go to work. If a child can not finish even the fifth grade after attending school seven years surely the school should look for some kind of special education to which he can adapt himself rather than send him out into industry where he is under no supervision save the occasional visits of industrial inspectors.

The only alternative under which ability to read and write English is specifically required is the first, which, as has been pointed out, is weak in other respects. In some States completion of the fifth grade in any school within the State would necessarily imply this ability, as all schools, attendance at which meets the requirements of the compulsory education law, must be taught in English. But in Wisconsin, although the statutes provide that instruction in the public schools must be in the English language, they make no such provision with regard to instruction in private or parochial schools. In 1889 a law was passed stipulating not only the subjects to be taught in every school in the State but also that the instruction should be in English, but this law was repealed the next year. The permit law does, to be sure, provide under the third alternative educational requirement that the child must have finished the fifth grade in a school having a course substantially equivalent to that in a public school. But the industrial commission, which otherwise might appear to have authority, under its general power to make regulations for the enforcement of the child-labor law, to interpret the phrase "substantially equivalent course" to mean a course taught in English, is prevented from doing so by the direct refusal of the legislature to adopt such a policy. Moreover, even if such an interpretation could be made, a child who had attended a school taught in a foreign language from the age of 7 to the age of 14 could obtain a legal school certificate under the fourth or "seven year" pro-

vision. It is true that if a child goes to work before he is 17 he will receive a certain amount of instruction in English in vocational school, and if he goes to work between 17 and 21 and can not read and write simple sentences in English, he must attend evening or vocational school for four hours a week. Perhaps in part because of the latter provision of law, and in part because there has been sufficient agitation on the subject to keep alive the idea of possible legislative action, it is reported that, in fact, in 1918 all parochial schools in Wisconsin were taught in English. Nevertheless, every child who goes from school to work in this country has a right to a guarantee from the State that he shall be able to enter industry equipped with the language of the country. The only effective and practicable remedy for the situation, therefore, is the enactment of one law requiring that all schools be taught in the English language, and of another that applicants for certificates be able to read and write English.

Not only do the Wisconsin statutes fail to provide that English shall be the language of private and parochial as well as of public schools, but they also fail to specify the subjects to be taught in private and parochial schools, either in general or by grades, and to regulate the grading of pupils in such schools. As a result the educational equipment of a child who has completed the fifth grade in a parochial school may differ considerably from the educational equipment of one who has completed the fifth grade in a public school, or in another parochial school. The phrase "substantially equivalent course" might be so interpreted as to insure practical uniformity, but in this case, as in that of instruction in English, the industrial commission can not attempt to do for a few children by regulation what the State legislature, after a long struggle, definitely refused to do for all children by law.

The lack of adequate supervision over the issuance of school certificates is still another cause of irregularity in the minimum educational requirements for a child-labor permit. As the issuing officer has no right to question the validity of any statement on a certificate, even if he had the information necessary to do so, the school authorities have entire responsibility in the matter, but this responsibility is in most places scattered among all the school principals in the city. In Kenosha, where the superintendent of schools is also the issuing officer, he has in his office a file of records of all school children, in private and parochial as well as in public schools, which shows their grades, and it is therefore not necessary to consult the individual school principals. And in Marinette, where school certificates for public-school children are issued by the superintendent of schools, he does not have to depend on the individual principals, as he has on file duplicate records; but no similar records exist of private and parochial school children. In no other place visited, moreover, is the responsibility of issuing school certificates concen-

trated in the hands of the superintendent, although similar reports of the progress of public-school children exist in Sheboygan, Oshkosh, and Madison. In Green Bay and La Crosse no means exist for checking up principals on this point, and although in these smaller places it might be considered comparatively easy to prevent children from leaving school without fulfilling the legal requirements, they undoubtedly do so in some cases.

This lack of supervision affects not only the educational requirements but also, and doubtless even more, the points which are considered by the school principal in connection with recommending or refusing to recommend that a permit be issued to a particular child. In this matter each school principal uses his own judgment, sometimes perfunctorily and sometimes with full consciousness that the industrial commission has thrown on him the burden of deciding whether or not the child ought to go to work and with a conscientious desire to reach the right decision. In some cases principals have exercised this power with a view to enforcing school attendance. One principal in Milwaukee, for example, refused to recommend the issuance of a permit to a child who, even after court procedure against the family, had been absent from school for seven months, and compelled him to return to school for several months before going to work. In another case in La Crosse a public school principal refused to recommend the granting of a permit because it was not necessary for the child to go to work. In this case the child left school a week later and soon, it was learned, had a permit. Upon investigation he was found to have attended a parochial school a few days and, although he had not been in that school before since he was in the third grade, the principal had granted a certificate stating he was in the sixth grade. But the permit was finally revoked, through the intervention of the industrial commission, on the ground that the school certificate was issued illegally—that is, that the second school could not certify that he had finished the fifth grade.

A uniform educational test at the issuing office would assist materially in securing uniformity in the requirements for children from different schools in the same community. But it would not by itself, of course, raise the standard except as applied to individual cases.

As for children between 16 and 17 years of age, when the legislature in 1917 decided that they should secure permits in order to work, it made no provision regarding the requirements for such permits, evidently intending that they should be the same as for the younger children. For several reasons, however, many of the older children who were already at work could not meet the school attendance and grade standards. Those who had worked before they were 16 had, of course, already met these standards, provided they had held permits

as required by law. But many of those who had gone to work after they became 16 had remained in school up to that age for the very reason that they could not meet the educational requirements for a certificate. At the same time these children could not be compelled to return to school, for the compulsory school-attendance law extended only up to the age of 16. The only authority the State had over them was contained in the provision that they must attend vocational school for four hours a week from September 1, 1917, to September 1, 1918, and eight hours a week after that date, whether they were working or not. For this reason it was not considered advisable to refuse them permits because they could not meet the educational requirements, and the industrial commission accordingly ruled that children over 16 years of age did not have to present school certificates in order to obtain permits. Though apparently justified as a transitional measure and in the absence of proper dovetailing between the permit and compulsory school-attendance laws, this situation certainly deprives the older children of the protection which was intended under the law. If all children under 17 were not only required to have permits and to attend vocational school a certain number of hours a week if they worked, but were also required to attend some school regularly every day if they did not work and to meet uniform educational requirements if they did, the older children would be as well protected as the younger.

Enforcement. •

For the enforcement of its minimum-age and child-labor permit laws Wisconsin depends in part upon its methods of enforcing school attendance and in part upon industrial inspection. So far as the work is done by local school authorities it is uneven, and inspections by the industrial commission are not sufficiently frequent to produce uniformity. The compulsory vocational-school system, however, though itself furnishing a special problem of enforcement, also constitutes an unusual method of keeping track of children who have once secured permits. And the workmen's compensation law, with its severe penalty for an injury to a child employed without a permit, makes many employers unusually careful to see that no such violations occur in their establishments. The employers of Wisconsin, indeed, generally show a spirit of cooperation in obeying the law manifest in few other States.

The system of keeping children in school who are not at work fails of complete effectiveness at several points. First, the cooperation of private and parochial schools in reporting absences, though frequently given, is entirely voluntary and can not be depended upon. And whenever an absentee is not reported and followed up a violation of the compulsory school-attendance law may readily be, or become, a violation also of the child-labor law.

Second, the reporting of absences only weekly, as in Milwaukee, instead of daily, as in the other cities studied, may lead to violations of the child-labor law, especially if the child has moved before the attendance officer makes his visit, and can not be located by the officer. In the smaller cities it is common to check weekly or monthly reports of entrances and withdrawals against the daily reports of absences, but this is not done in Milwaukee.

Third, the lack of a uniform system of transfer between all schools—public, private, and parochial—also entails the loss of children to the school system without their having obtained permits to work, and any child so lost may, of course, go to work illegally. In most places in Wisconsin the keeping track of children who are transferred depends on reports between school principals and their reports of absences. The plan followed in Marinette and Madison of having the child transfer through a central office from which the truant officer can learn immediately of the cases assures a check on the child not guaranteed when the principal alone is responsible. If such a plan is impracticable in a city of the size of Milwaukee, then a report to a central office should be made from the school the child is leaving and the case should not be considered settled until a report has been received from the school which the child is supposed to enter. It is essential that officials charged with enforcing school attendance be notified of transfers of children as soon as possible; at the same time for school principals, with their many other important duties, the system should be made as simple as is consistent with effectiveness.

Fourth, in some places the cooperation between school principals and attendance officers is not sufficiently close. The custom of the attendance officer in Green Bay, for instance, of simply instructing the child to return to school and assuming that, unless he is reported absent again, he has done so, does not impress the child with the gravity of his offense or assure his return. In order to insure a working system, after the attendance officer has reported the results of his investigations to the school principal, a counter report from school principals as to a child's return to school should be made to the attendance officer. Yet this plan of counter reports is not followed in any place visited outside Milwaukee; the majority of attendance officers, after making a report to a school principal, assume, in the absence of a notification to the contrary, that the child has returned.

Fifth, the Milwaukee attendance department, although fairly well equipped with records and files, has no alphabetical file of all cases handled by it and in order to locate a child, the kind of school, whether public or parochial, common or vocational, and usually the name of the specific school attended by the child, must be known.

Furthermore, entries are not made in the record often enough to keep them up to date. An alphabetical card catalogue in which each new case is entered promptly and information regarding each case is entered daily, and an additional clerk or two to keep the files up to date, are essential to the efficiency of the work.

Sixth, in most of the smaller places visited the school census is used to prevent children who have never been enrolled in school from working illegally, but in Milwaukee it is not checked with the school records and this method of preventing the illegal employment of the most difficult of all children to control, the immigrants from other cities or other countries, is therefore lost. It is said that the time and method of enumeration have been faulty, but the former fault at least was remedied by the law of 1917, which changed the date of the census.

Seventh, in Milwaukee especially, though also in some of the other cities of the State, there are too few attendance officers; 10 officers in a city with some 80,000 children between 7 and 17 who are obliged to attend school can not adequately enforce attendance.

As for applicants for permits, in Milwaukee at least, the system of following up children who have secured school certificates and apply for permits is fairly well worked out through the daily reports of the names of children who have been granted permits made to the attendance department by the vocational school. But if the industrial commission made daily or weekly reports of refusals to the attendance department, instead of monthly reports, children who have secured school certificates but been refused permits could be more promptly returned to school.

A child, moreover, who has secured a school certificate may not apply for a permit. In all the places visited children are supposed to be dropped from the school registers as soon as they have been given their school certificates. It is assumed, evidently, that they will immediately secure permits to work and that it is therefore unnecessary to keep them longer on the school register as they will not return to school. In only three of the cities visited, however, Milwaukee, Madison, and Sheboygan, do the attendance officers receive information of the failure of a child who has thus been dropped by his school to secure a permit to work. And in Green Bay and La Crosse no central office is notified both of the granting of a school certificate and of the result of the child's application for a permit. Thus, when a child has secured a school certificate he may either complete the process and secure a permit or he may simply remain out of school or go to work on his school certificate. If the principal upon granting a school certificate drops the child's name from the register but does not include it in his report of absentees to the attendance department, there is nothing to prevent this. As a matter of fact,

during this study, school certificates, instead of permits, were returned to the office of the industrial commission on the expiration of employment even from department stores and from factories employing large numbers of children.

The use of a school certificate as a substitute for a permit to work or as an excuse to stay at home, could be prevented if the principal were compelled to keep on his register the name of each child to whom he has granted a school certificate until notified that the child has been given a permit.

Nevertheless, the breaks between leaving school and securing a permit to work are not by any means chiefly breaks between securing a school certificate and a permit. Indeed, it seems to be much more common for a child who has been out of school for a considerable length of time to go back to get a school certificate than it is for him to wait any length of time after he has secured a certificate before he applies for a permit.

The enforcement of vocational-school attendance, so far as children working in the regulated industries are concerned, is dependent on the enforcement of the certificate law, for the records of the certificate office furnish the lists of such children who should attend. But there is no similar source of information as to the other children who should be in vocational school—principally grammar-school graduates who are not going to high school, children working at home or employed in agriculture, children between 16 and 17 years of age who may be doing anything except working on permits, and illiterate children up to 21 years of age. At the date of this report the locating of children who are not at work on permits depends mainly on keeping track of children who are leaving school and finding others through the school census, and it is not only possible but probable that some of them are not attending. If all minors who are not in attendance at some full-time school were required to have permits exempting them from such attendance, it would greatly simplify the problem of locating all the children who are subject to the compulsory vocational-school attendance law.

It is probable, too, that children are often employed in domestic service without either securing permits or attending vocational school. This occupation has so recently come under the provisions of the permit law that a child may easily be employed illegally without either the child or her employer realizing the illegality. For example, a 15-year-old girl left a Milwaukee public school in April, 1917, when in the sixth grade. She stayed at home until September, 1917, when she secured employment as a domestic in a doctor's house. In February, 1918, influenced by friends, she decided to attend the vocational school. When she applied for entrance, it was discovered that she had been out of school for almost a year working without a

permit. Her school principal stated that she had been reported repeatedly to the attendance department, but no record of her absences could be found in that department.

The enrollment of children in vocational school is only part of the problem, however. Once enrolled their regular attendance is as difficult to enforce as is attendance at the common schools. The vocational school has for its aim the education of the employed child in the subjects most necessary for his future welfare. It was believed that by giving him instruction in subjects in which he was interested and in which he could see some practical bearing on his work and future career, his attendance would in a measure be assured and enforcement would be easy. In fact, children who were interviewed seemed much interested in what they were given to do in school, but the majority of them preferred to work rather than to come to vocational school. Some of the difficulty of enforcement may be due to the lapse of time between attendance periods, as a child or employer may forget the day of attendance. Then, too, school does not seem very inviting on the one half day a week which is free from work, and there is a great temptation to loaf.

The failure to assign children to classes promptly in Milwaukee not only deprives them of the advantages of the vocational school at a time when they are supposed to have such advantages—and indeed to be most in need of them—but also may result in some children being lost; for example, a child who both moves and becomes unemployed before his assignment is made. There should be no gap between the regular all-day school and the vocational school.

Keeping children in vocational school, like locating those who should attend, is an entirely different problem for the children who are working on permits and for those who are not. For the former group the system of requiring a child to make up his absences from vocational school on penalty of revocation of his permit is an effective means of securing regular attendance. The child's knowledge that he will have to make up his absences and that therefore nothing substantial is to be gained by staying away tends to bring him to school with a fair degree of regularity. For the latter group, however, the school has to depend on attendance officers, with the possibility, in case of continued absence, of resorting to prosecution of the parents. In practice, however, no greater difficulty has been encountered in securing the attendance of these children, after they have once been enrolled, than of those with permits.

The system of compelling the making up of absences is probably not, moreover, as infallible in securing attendance as is believed, and in some cases it actually encourages illegal employment without certificates. It sometimes breaks down, for example, when the child is "held up" between jobs on account of absences. In that case his

promise of employment is held at the main office of the vocational school until the absences are made up, when he is supposed to secure it again and return to the industrial commission to secure his subsequent permit. But rather than wait until he has made up his absences the child sometimes, when he can secure a job, goes to work illegally, leaving his promise of employment on file.

At one time during this study the industrial commission made an investigation of all children in Milwaukee who had applied for subsequent permits but had not yet received them because their promises of employment were in the hands of the vocational school pending the making up of absences in that school. There were 75 such children at the time, and the following statement gives the information obtained regarding them:

Total number of cases investigated.....	75
No information obtainable.....	12
Doubtful.....	2
Definite information obtained.....	61
Became 17 during investigation.....	1
Working for employer whose letter is on file.....	32
Illegally.....	23
Legally (with new permit).....	9
Working for new employer.....	14
Illegally.....	10
Legally (with new permit).....	4
Not working.....	14

Of the 61 children for whom definite information was obtained, 46 were working for new employers, 33 illegally and 13 legally. The 13 children who were working legally on new permits—nine for the employers whose letters were on file and four for new employers—had probably made up their absences from vocational school and secured new promises of employment. If they did not mention that earlier promises of employment had been held up and if the clerk in the continuation school, finding that their attendance records showed the absences made up, did not consult the file of "held-up" promises of employment, this could easily occur. These cases, therefore, probably mean only carelessness in keeping the records of "held-up" cases.

Nevertheless, of the 61 children concerning whom definite data were obtained, 33, or a little over one-half, were working illegally without permits, 23 for employers who had applied for permits, and 10 for others who had never attempted to secure them. In these cases the system of holding up permits between jobs not only failed to secure the making up of absences, but actually led to the children's employment without permits.

Immediate following up by attendance officers of all children who are absent from vocational school when they ought to be making up absences would have prevented this illegal employment. And

such children should be followed up regardless of whether or not they have applied for new permits. If a child knows that he must make up his absences before he can get a new permit he is very likely not to apply for one but to go to work for any employer he can find who will take him without. Even children whose permits have been revoked because of nonattendance should be followed up by attendance officers if they fail to come to school regularly, for the desire to return to a former job may not be a strong enough incentive, if a child can find a place where he is not required to have a permit, to induce him to make up his absences.

The vocational school has itself no specific legal authority to revoke permits, but if its power to secure attendance at vocational school by this method were questioned the industrial commission could appoint the vocational-school directors its deputies and invest them with the authority given it by law to revoke a child's permit if "the physical or moral welfare of such child would be best served by the revocation." Such authorization has thus far not been necessary as the vocational school authorities have accomplished their purpose without it.

Wisconsin has, in her vocational schools, a splendid opportunity to solve the problem of the unemployed child, which is so difficult in other States where only the common schools are available to meet his needs. In many places in Wisconsin, however, at the time of this study, the facilities for knowing when a child is unemployed are inadequate, and in only four of the eight cities studied is any attempt made to provide for his needs in the vocational school. In the others, for one reason or another, the authorities have made no more provision for unemployed than for employed children. In no city visited, moreover, are unemployed children regularly returned to all-day schools. Children who have been out only a short time may occasionally go back when they become unemployed, but those who have been seriously at work are entirely emancipated from the regular school system. In Milwaukee, however, the vocational school has a department for the placement of boys, and part of the work of this department is the endeavor to persuade boys to attend school every day and not return to work until they have completed a vocational-school course.

The chief reason for lack of knowledge as to the existence of unemployment is the failure of employers in most cities to return permits to the issuing offices promptly. In some cities a new permit is issued before the old one is returned, and this practically means that no attempt is made to secure the return of a permit promptly enough for it to serve as a notification of unemployment. In others the vocational school is not notified when a permit has been returned. Before anything effective can be done in the direction of putting and

keeping unemployed children in school, issuing officers must insist on the return of the permit as soon as a child leaves an employer, and if this is to be done uniformly throughout the State the supervision of the industrial commission must be strengthened and extended.

The vocational school is not specifically required to provide for the unemployed child, as it is for the permit child. But its work is of such a character that it might with comparative ease form classes of children who are temporarily out of work. Yet in only four places visited—Sheboygan, Kenosha, Green Bay, and La Crosse—is any provision made for these children, and only in Green Bay, where the permit is issued by the vocational school and returned to it, is daily attendance of unemployed children consistently enforced. Even in Milwaukee, where permits are returned with a fair degree of regularity, the long distance between the vocational school and the homes of most working children, the lack of sufficient force in the attendance department to follow up children whose permits have been returned, and the lack of accommodations in the school have been allowed to destroy a very hopeful effort to solve this problem. Thus, in spite of the establishment of vocational schools, the unemployed child is attending school with little more regularity in Wisconsin than in States having no such schools.

Unemployed children, indeed, because their attendance is more difficult to enforce, sometimes escape even the short hours of school required of employed children. One boy in Milwaukee, for example, left a parochial school on December 17, the day he was 14 years of age. He was evidently not reported to the attendance department upon leaving, as there is no record of him in that department until the following May, five months later, when he secured a permit and worked five days. In September, four months after securing the permit, he was assigned to a class in the vocational school, but was absent 23 times from September to May of the following year and 7 times from the 1st of the next September to the 1st of October following, an absence lasting 30 weeks. According to the record he was unemployed during this entire period of a little over a year. The last report from him was in October, when the attendance department reported that he had gone to live on a farm. In short, this child had escaped the laws designed for his protection for nearly two years except when he was working for five days on a permit.

If the permit were returned promptly and if the unemployed child were then obliged to go to school every day, he would not only be given the benefits of school attendance, but would be prevented from going to work for another employer without a permit. The child who is leaving school is followed up to see that he actually secures a permit for his job, but when he has once been employed, even if for

only a few days, the regular school authorities have lost track of him and a different machinery is needed to see that he is not employed illegally in his second or later position. The chief element in this machinery is the return of the permit, and when this breaks down the child may easily go to work for a new employer without a permit.

In all States where the hours and occupations of the permit child are restricted there is a temptation for him to claim to be over permit age in order to escape these restrictions and secure a better position or higher wages, and even in Wisconsin, though his obligation to attend vocational school tends to make this much more difficult than in other States, it is sometimes done. For example, a 15-year-old boy in Kenosha, who was working for a telegraph company left its employ, but his permit was not returned. The boy went to work as a pin boy in a bowling alley, an occupation which is illegal in Wisconsin, as in most industrial States, for a child under 16 years. He told the employer he was 17, and continued to attend vocational school one-half day a week. One day when he was absent the director telephoned the telegraph company and learned that the boy had left its employ six months before. Thus only accidentally was the boy discovered working without a permit and in an illegal occupation. Another boy who had enrolled in the vocational school in Milwaukee since the previous summer was absent twice about the middle of February and was notified to appear at the office of the attendance department. When he came, he stated that he had been ill on the days of absence, but also that he had left the place where he was employed during the summer and had been working for another employer since October. His permit was still at his former employer's and he had been working four months without one, coming to vocational school regularly. If it had not been for his absence because of illness, the violation might never have been discovered. Either one of these children might also, of course, have been unemployed all these months, while attending vocational school regularly.

Even when the permit has been returned, if the child is not obliged to go to school every day, he is likely to go to work again without a permit. The woman's department of the industrial commission made a special study of unemployed children in October, 1916, and has made other similar studies at irregular intervals since then. In November, 1917, it found returned permits on file for 200 children who were supposed to be unemployed. Of these 200 children 55 were investigated. In February, 1918, the status of the children investigated was as follows:

Unemployed, staying at home.....	12
Working illegally without permits.....	10
On farms.....	8
At institutions.....	2

Moved out of town.....	2
Disappeared from home.....	3
Returned to school.....	3
No information obtainable.....	6
Irregular issuance of permit.....	1
Not settled, as conflicting information obtained. (Referred to attendance department, Jan. 1, 1918; no report obtained up to Feb. 8, 1918).....	4
Permits reissued (without intervention of investigation).....	4
Total.....	55

Of these 55 children, it appears 22 were violating the child-labor or school-attendance laws, 10 by working without permits and 12 by failing to attend school except for their weekly vocational-school attendance. Two children, both 15 years of age, whose permits were returned in February, 1917, had not returned for new ones at the time the results of the investigation were collected in February, 1918. One of them had been working without a permit in several places during the period and the other was unemployed until the first part of December, when he secured a position without a permit. The children actually found working without permits were obliged, as a result of the investigation, to secure them. But the 12 children found staying at home were likely at any time to start a new group of illegally employed children.

Inspection by deputies of the industrial commission is the chief method of discovering children who fall through the loopholes in the follow-up system, of preventing children who have never been in school in the State from going to work without permits, and of keeping all children from working illegally after school hours. The visits of inspectors, however, are so infrequent that a child, by changing positions occasionally, might work continually from the time he was 14 until he was 17 without securing a permit or attending vocational school. Furthermore, the failure of inspectors to report to the school authorities the names and addresses of children who are found working illegally makes it impossible to prevent future illegal employment of these same children. Little is to be gained by ordering a child who is found working illegally to go to school if the inspector has no means of knowing that he does go and the school authorities are not notified that he has been sent. Unless such notification is made immediately the child may simply secure another position in the same manner that he secured the one at which he was working when discovered by the inspector. Some system of reports should be devised which will guarantee the child's return to school.

Wisconsin has, however, two unusual weapons for the enforcement of her child-labor laws, first, the power in prosecuting of bringing civil instead of criminal action, and, second, the heavy penalty possible under the workmen's compensation act in case of injury to a child

who is illegally employed. It is probable that as this provision of the workmen's compensation law becomes better known among employers it will act as an even greater deterrent to the illegal employment of children than at the time of this report. Both these weapons hit the employer's pocketbook and if used on all possible occasions are capable of making violations of the child-labor law so financially unprofitable that employers will themselves exercise great care to prevent their occurrence.

Summary.

The centralization in the State industrial commission of primary authority and responsibility over the administration of the child-labor laws gives that commission power to insure enforcement of existing legislation. The commission, moreover, through its authority to make rules and regulations, has unusual power to interpret this legislation. The laws themselves, however, are essentially weak in several particulars, notably in their failure to require school attendance of children between 16 and 17 years of age who must have permits and attend vocational school, in their low educational standard for going to work, and in their failure to require definitely a physical examination as a prerequisite to obtaining a permit. Moreover, because of failure of the industrial commission to exercise fully its supervisory powers, the laws are not uniformly enforced throughout the State. In part this failure is due to the fact that the attention of the commission has been given to the administration of other new legislation, especially the workmen's compensation and safety laws; in part it has been due to the practical impossibility of bringing about all at once adequate enforcement of all the changes recently made in the labor laws of the State; and in part it has been due to lack of adequate funds for the large mass of work assigned to the commission.

Two unique features of the Wisconsin plan of regulating child labor, not yet touched upon in the conclusion of this report, deserve special praise. The first is the system of vocational continuation schools, the most complete existing in any State in this country. These schools have become such an integral part of the regulation of the child labor in Wisconsin that, though in their methods they are still frankly experimental, the desirability of their existence is no longer in question. The second is the apprenticeship system over which, as over the permit system, the industrial commission has absolute and complete control. Wisconsin is the only State in the Union which has created by law a modern apprenticeship system and, though many difficulties have to be overcome, the ultimate ideal of a combination of shop and vocational school training may prove the solution of the problem of adjusting young persons to useful places in the industrial system.

APPENDIX.

LAWS RELATING TO EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES.

In effect April 1, 1918.

[All references are to 1917 statutes with 1918 amendments, additions, etc.]

Note.—[The duties and powers relating to the enforcement of labor laws, previously exercised by the commissioner of labor, factory inspectors, etc., were transferred by Statutes, chapter 110a, section 2394-54, to the industrial commission and its deputies. In every case the new enforcing authority has been indicated by an insertion in brackets in the text, the former enforcing powers being omitted.]

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

COMPULSORY SCHOOL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

Children from 7 to 14; from 14 to 16 if not regularly employed; penalty.—Any person having under his control any child between the ages of seven and fourteen years, or any child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years not regularly and lawfully employed in any useful employment or service at home or elsewhere, shall cause such child to be enrolled in and to attend some public, parochial, or private school regularly (regular attendance for the purpose of this statute shall be an attendance of twenty days in each school month, unless the child can furnish some legal excuse), in cities of the first class during the full period and hours of the calendar year (religious holidays excepted) that the public, parochial, or private school in which such child is enrolled may be in session; in all other cities not less than eight school months; and in towns and villages not less than six school months in each year, and all children subject to the provisions of this act [secs. 40.73, 40.74] shall be enrolled in some public, parochial, or private school within one school month after the commencement of the school term in the district in which such children reside, except that in cities of the first class such children shall be enrolled at the time of the opening of the school which they will attend (and the word "term," for the purpose of this act, shall be construed to mean the entire time that school is maintained during the school year); provided that this section shall not apply to any child not in proper physical or mental condition to attend school, who shall present the certificate of a reputable physician in general practice to that effect, nor to any child who lives in country districts more than two miles by the nearest traveled road from the schoolhouse in the district where such child resides, except that children between the ages of nine and fourteen living between two and three miles from school by the nearest traveled road shall attend school regularly at least sixty days during the year; provided that if transportation is furnished by the district this exemption as to distance shall not apply, nor shall this section apply to any child who shall have completed the course of study for the common schools of this State or the first eight grades of work as taught in State graded or other graded schools of Wisconsin, and can furnish the proper diploma, certificate, or credential showing that he has completed one of said courses of study, or its equivalent. Instruction during the required period elsewhere than at school, by a teacher or instructor selected by the person having control of such child shall be equivalent to school attendance, provided that such instruction received elsewhere than in school be at least substantially equivalent to instruction given to chil-

dren of like ages in the public, parochial, or private school where such children reside. Any person who shall violate the provisions of * * * [sec. 40.73] shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than fifty dollars, together with costs of prosecution, or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court, for each offense. It shall be the duty of the district attorney and his assistants to prosecute in the name of the State all violations of the provisions of * * * [sec. 40.73] * * * When in any proceedings under this section there is any doubt as to the age of any child, a verified baptismal certificate or duly attested birth certificate shall be produced and filed in court. In case such certificates can not be secured, upon proof of such fact, the record of age stated in the first school enrollment of such child or first school enrollment to be found shall be admissible as evidence thereof. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(1).]

Prosecution.—Prosecutions for violation of * * * [sec. 40.73] may also be brought in the juvenile court in and for the county in which such violations occur, and said court is hereby granted full and concurrent jurisdiction thereof. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(2).]

Children from 14 to 16 until Sept. 1, 1918, and after that date children from 14 to 17, to attend vocational schools; conditions.—Until September first, 1918, any person between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, unless indentured as an apprentice, as provided in section 2377, and after that date any person between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, living within two miles of the school of any town, or within the corporate limits of any city or village and not physically incapacitated, who is not required by * * * [sec. 40.73(1)] to attend some public, private, or parochial school, and who is not attending a free high school or equivalent of a high school, must either attend some public, private, or parochial school, or attend for at least eight hours a week for at least eight months and for such additional months or parts thereof as the other public schools of such city, town, or village are in session in excess of eight during the regular school year, or the equivalent as may be determined by the local board of industrial education, a vocational school, provided such school, or schools are maintained according to the provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.20, in the town, village, or city in which his parents or guardians reside. This subsection shall apply only to persons between the ages herein specified living in towns, villages, and cities maintaining schools as provided in sections 41.13 to 41.20. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(3).]

Penalty—parent, etc.—Any parent or guardian failing to comply with the provisions of this act [secs. 40.73, 40.74] shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than twenty-five dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than five days or more than thirty days, and in case of conviction for a second or any subsequent offense shall be punished by both such fine and imprisonment. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.73(6).]

Enforcement—appointment and duties of truant officers.—(a) In all cities of the first class the board of education or any board having similar powers, shall appoint ten or more truant officers; in all cities of the second and third classes, such board shall appoint one or more truant officers, and in all cities of the fourth class the chief of police and the police officers may be truancy officers, whose duties it shall be to see that the provisions of * * * [sec. 40.74] are enforced. (b) When of his personal knowledge, or by report or complaint from any resident of the city, or by report or complaint as provided herein, a truant officer believes that any child is unlawfully and habitually absent from elementary school, vocational school, or any other school which the minor is by law compelled to attend, provided the minor is not otherwise receiving instruction as provided in subsection (1) of section 40.73, he shall immediately investigate and render all service in his power, to compel such child to attend some public, parochial, or private school which the person having control of the child shall designate, or if over fourteen and under sixteen years of age to attend school or become regularly employed at home or elsewhere, and upon failure he shall serve a written notice as required in * * * [sec. 40.74(4)] and proceed as hereinafter provided against the person having charge of such child. And in all towns and villages the sheriff of the county, his undersheriff and deputies shall be the truant officers, and it shall be the duty of all truant officers named in this subsection to enforce the provisions of this section as provided herein. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(1).]

Enforcement—powers of truant officers.—Any truant officer within this State shall have power to visit factories, workshops, mercantile establishments and other places of employment in their respective localities and ascertain whether any minors are employed therein contrary to law. They may require that the age and school certificates and lists of minors who are employed in such factories, workshops, mercantile establishments and other places of employment, shall be produced for their inspection, and they shall report all cases of such illegal employment to the school authorities of their respective cities, towns, villages, or districts and to the [industrial commission]. Such truant officer shall receive no compensation from the State for performing such services. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(2).]

Enforcement—duties of teachers, etc.; penalty.—(a) It shall be the duty of the school clerk of every school district, the clerks of boards of education, and the clerks of subdistricts, or other officers whose duty it is to take the school census under the law, at the time of taking the school census of their respective districts or cities, to make out three copies of such census reports, on blanks to be furnished by the State superintendent, and send one of such copies by mail, or otherwise, to the proper superintendent on or before the fifteenth day of July of each year and at the time of the opening of school in his district, he shall deliver, with the register, a copy of such census report to the teacher employed in said district, and if the school consists of two or more departments the copy shall be placed in the hands of the principal.

(b) In case the district includes within its boundaries, territory lying in two or more counties it shall be the duty of the clerk of such district to make out separate copies of the census reports for each part of said joint district, and forward the same to the proper superintendents: *Provided*, That in all cities having a population of two thousand or more the clerk of the board of education or other officer, whose duty it is to take the school census shall not be required to furnish copies of the census returns to the county superintendent, city superintendent or teachers. Said clerks of boards of education and other officers who shall have the care and custody of the school census returns, shall have their offices open at all reasonable hours, and allow and assist superintendents, teachers, and truant officers to examine and secure information from the school census reports on file in their offices, that may, in any way, aid in the enforcement of the provisions of this act [secs. 40.73, 40.74].

(c) All teachers in public schools, except teachers in high schools, shall at the request of the proper superintendent, while school is in session report to him. Said report shall show * * * the names and ages of all children enrolled in their respective schools between the ages of seven and fourteen and fourteen and sixteen, the names and post-office addresses of the parents or other persons having control of such children, the number of the district and the name of the town, city, village, and county in which said children reside, the distance such child or children reside from the schoolhouse in the district in which they live by the nearest traveled road, the number of days each such child was present and the number of days such child was absent during each month and such other reports requested by him, said reports to be made on blanks to be furnished by the county, district, or State superintendent.

(d) It shall be the duty of every school clerk, or the clerk of the board of education to deliver to the teachers in the public schools a sufficient number of blanks as described above, to supply said teachers for one school year: *Provided*, That when there shall be enrolled and in attendance at parochial or private schools, children residing in a county or counties other than the one in which the schoolhouse is located, the teachers in such parochial or private schools may make the reports hereinbefore described to the county, district, or city superintendent of the county, or the city in which the children between the ages of seven and fourteen and fourteen and sixteen so attending, reside: *Provided further*, That in districts that include within their boundaries territory lying in two or more counties, or districts joint with cities having separate superintendents, it shall be the duty of the public school teachers in such joint districts to make separate reports as provided herein to the county, district, or city superintendent of the county or city in which the children between the ages of seven and fourteen and fourteen and sixteen so attending reside: *And provided*, That the teachers in cities of two thousand population or more shall not be required to make the report provided herein, except when called upon to do so by the proper county or city superintendent.

(e) All teachers of private and parochial schools shall keep a record embodying all the data enumerated in this section, and such record shall be open to the inspection of all truant officers specified in this act, at any and all reasonable times: *And provided*, That when called upon by any truant officer, or superintendent, the teachers in private or parochial schools may furnish in writing on blanks furnished by the truant officer or superintendent the above-mentioned data in regard to any child or children between the ages of seven and fourteen and fourteen and sixteen who claim, or who are claimed to be in attendance upon said school; and every teacher in a public school shall, and every teacher in a private or parochial school may promptly notify the proper truant officer of any child whose attendance is habitually irregular: *Provided*, Such irregularity is not excused by any provision of this act.

(f) Any officer or teacher in a public school who shall fail or neglect to make the reports required by this section as required, or any teacher in a private or parochial school who shall fail to keep a record as required in this section shall be subject to a forfeiture of not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars for each such failure or neglect, said forfeiture to be sued for by any voter of the district where such officer resides, or where such teacher is employed, and recovered in the same manner other forfeitures are sued for and recovered under the Wisconsin statutes; one half of the amount of the forfeiture to be paid to the voter bringing the action and the other half to be paid into the school district treasury of the district where such offender resides. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(3).]

Enforcement—duties of superintendents; names of truants to be reported to industrial commission; duties of truant officers.—(a) It shall be the duty of the county, district, and city superintendents, upon receiving the reports and information as provided in the preceding sections, to compare carefully the reports of attendance and enrollment, with the reports of the last school census on file in his office, and ascertain therefrom the names of all children who are not complying with the provisions of sections 40.73 and 40.74, and it shall be the duty of such superintendents to report the names of such children, together with the names and addresses of the parents or those having control of such children to the [industrial commission] at Madison, upon blanks furnished for that purpose, and to the proper truant officer of the county, district, or city. The truant officer shall immediately upon receipt of such report, or when he obtains information of delinquencies, notify by registered mail, or by the service of notice in the same manner as provided for the service of summons in a civil case in a justice court, the parent or the person having control of such child or children, to cause such child or children to be sent to some public, parochial, or private school within five days from the date notice is deposited, properly addressed in the post office, if notice is served by registered mail, or five days from the date of the personal service of said notice.

(b) The notice shall inform the parent or other person in parental relation that the law requires that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen, and between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, if not regularly employed as provided by sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, are to be in regular attendance at some school as provided in * * * [sec. 40.73(1)]. It shall be the duty of all truant officers, after having given the notice hereinbefore described, to determine whether the parent or other person in parental relation has complied with the notice, and in case of failure to so comply, he shall immediately notify the [industrial commission] of such failure, and within three days after having knowledge of or having been notified thereof, make complaint against said parent or person in parental relation having the legal charge and control of such child or children, before any justice of the peace in the county, where such party resides. * * * [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(4).]

Enforcement—duties of superintendents, truant officers, etc.; reports to industrial commission.—Each county and city superintendent of schools shall report to the industrial commission and to the proper truant officer within ten days after the close of each month, commencing with the month of October and concluding with the month of May in each year, the name of each child residing in the county, district, or city under his supervision who during said month has not complied with the provisions of * * * [sec. 40.73(1)] of the Statutes, and the name and post-office address of the parent or guardian of such child. If any county or city superintendent has no names of delinquent children to report for any month as provided in this section, it shall be the duty of such superintendent promptly to notify the industrial commission of

that fact. It shall be the duty of each county and city superintendent of schools to require suitable monthly reports from the teachers under his jurisdiction in order to assist such superintendent in preparing the aforesaid reports. Immediately upon serving the notice as provided in * * * [secs. 40.74(1), 40.74(4)] upon the parent or guardian of any child, it shall be the duty of the truant officer to notify the teacher of such child of such service. The return of the child to school shall be promptly reported by the teacher to the truant officer and superintendent. It shall be the duty of each truant officer to make a report each month to the industrial commission, showing the action taken by him in the cases of delinquency reported to him by the superintendent. Blanks for reports by superintendents to the industrial commission and to the truant officer shall be furnished by the industrial commission. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(6).]

Penalty for superintendent of schools and truant officers.—Any superintendent of schools or any truant officer who violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of * * * [sec. 40.74] shall be subject to a forfeiture of not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars for each such offense, which on complaint of the industrial commission may be recovered against such superintendent or truant officer in an action in debt brought by the attorney general before any court of competent jurisdiction. [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.74(7).]

SCHOOL CENSUS.

Enumeration of children from 4 to 20.—It shall be the duty of the district clerk, between the tenth and twenty-fifth days of July in each year, excepting in cities of the first class where the school census shall be taken between March first and June first of each year, to make and transmit to the county or city superintendent, a written report bearing date as of the thirtieth day of June, or the thirtieth day of May in cities of the first class, of such year, signed by him and verified by his affidavit, showing:

First. The number, names, and ages of children, male and female designated separately, over the age of four and under the age of twenty years residing in the district, and the names of their parents, guardians or other persons with whom such children resided, respectively, on the last day of May or June preceding. * * * [Statutes, ch. 40, sec. 40.21(1).]

CIGAR SHOPS AND CIGAR FACTORIES.

HOURS OF LABOR.

Eight hours a day, 48 a week, under 18.—No person under eighteen years of age shall be employed or permitted to work in a cigar shop or a cigar factory at manufacturing cigars for longer than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. [Statutes, ch. 73a, sec. 1636-106.]

Penalty.—Any person violating any provision of sections 1636-101 to 1636-109, inclusive, shall be punished by fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars and no less than ten dollars for the first offense, and by fine not exceeding fifty dollars, and no less than twenty-five dollars for the second and each following offense. [Statutes, ch. 73a, sec. 1636-108.]

Enforcement.—The [industrial commission] shall have full power and it shall be [its] duty to enforce all the provisions of sections 1636-101 to 1636-109, inclusive * * *. [Statutes, ch. 73a, sec. 1636-109.]

MANUFACTURING, MECHANICAL, AND MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS, ETC.

HOURS OF LABOR FOR GIRLS.

Definition of terms.—The following terms as used in sections 1728-1 to 1728-4, inclusive, shall be construed as follows:

(1) The term "place of employment" shall mean and include any manufactory, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, restaurant, confectionery store, or telegraph or telephone office or exchange, or any express or transportation establishment.

(2) The term "employment" shall mean and include any trade, occupation or process of manufacture, or any method of carrying on such trade or occupa-

tion in which any female may be engaged, or for any place of employment, as herein defined.

(3) The term "employer" shall mean and include every person, firm, corporation, agent, manager, representative, or other person having control or custody of any employment or place of employment, as herein defined.

(4) The terms "order," "general order," "special order," "safe," "safety," and "welfare" shall be construed as defined in section 2394-41 of the Statutes [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728-1.]

Industrial commission to issue orders regulating the hours of labor for females; penalty for violation; provisional schedule of 10 hours a day, 55 a week, for day work, and 8 hours a night, 48 a week, for night work; 1 hour for meals each day or night.—No female shall be employed or be permitted to work in any place of employment or at any employment for such period or periods of time during any day, night or week, as shall be dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of such female. It shall be the duty of the industrial commission and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to investigate, ascertain, determine and fix such reasonable classification, and to issue general or special orders fixing a period or periods of time, or hours of beginning and ending work during any day, night or week, which shall be necessary to protect the life, health, safety or welfare of any female, or to carry out the purposes of section 1728-1 to 1728-4, inclusive, of the Statutes. Such investigations, classifications and orders, and any action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate or amend any such order of said commission, or to enjoin the enforcement thereof, shall be made pursuant to the proceeding in sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive [creating and defining powers of industrial commission relating to orders concerning safety, etc.] of the Statutes, which are hereby made a part hereof, so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of sections 1728-1, 1728-2, 1728-3, and 1728-4 of the Statutes, and every order of the said commission shall have the same force and effect as the orders issued pursuant to said sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive, of the Statutes, and the penalties therein shall apply to and be imposed for any violation of sections 1728-1, 1728-2, 1728-3, and 1728-4 of the Statutes. Until such time as the industrial commission shall so investigate, ascertain, determine and fix, and shall issue general or special orders thereon, the periods of time specified in the attached schedule (see below) shall be deemed to be dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of females.

SCHEDULE.

At day work, more than ten hours in any one day, or more than fifty-five hours in any one week. At night work, more than eight hours in any one night, or more than forty-eight hours in any one week. Day work is work done between six o'clock a. m., and eight o'clock p. m., of the same day: *Provided*, That employment not more than one night in the week after eight o'clock p. m. shall not be considered night work. Night work is work done between eight o'clock p. m. and six o'clock a. m. of the following day. Less than one hour during each day or night for dinner or other meals. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728-2.]

Hours to be posted; exceptions.—Every employer shall post in a conspicuous place in each of the several departments, in or for which women are employed, a list on a printed form furnished by the industrial commission, stating the names and hours required of each woman during each day of the week, the hours of commencing and stopping work, and the period allowed for dinner or other meals. Such list need not be posted where time records are kept for inspection by the said commission for a period of at least six months prior to such inspection or where any other substitute equally effective for the enforcement of sections 1728-1 to 1728-4, inclusive, is approved by the commission. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728-3.]

Enforcement: evidence of violation.—The employment of any female in any such employment or place of employment, as defined in section 1728-1, at any time other than those of the posted hours of labor, as hereinbefore provided for, shall be prima facie evidence of a violation of this act [s 1728-1 to 1728-4]. Every day for each female employed, and every week for each female employed, during which any employer shall fail to observe or to comply with any order

of the commission, or to perform any duty enjoined by sections 1728-1 to 1728-4, inclusive, of the Statutes, shall constitute a separate and distinct offense. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728-4.]

ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION.

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATE.

Permits required from 14 to 17; issued by industrial commission or persons designated by said commission.—No child between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years, unless indentured as an apprentice, as provided in section 2377 of the Statutes, shall be employed, required, suffered or permitted to work at any time in any factory, or workshop, store, hotel, restaurant, bakery, mercantile establishment, laundry, telegraph, telephone or public messenger service, or the delivery of any merchandise, or at any gainful occupation, or employment, directly or indirectly, or, in cities wherein a vocational school is maintained, in domestic service other than casual employment in such service, unless there is first obtained from the industrial commission, or from a judge of a county, municipal, or juvenile court designated by the industrial commission where such child resides, or from some other person designated by said commission, a written permit authorizing the employment of such child in such employment within such time or times as the said industrial commission or a judge or other person designated by said commission may fix; providing, that such times shall not conflict with those designated in subsection 1 of section 1728c. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.1.]

DANGEROUS, INJURIOUS, AND IMMORAL OCCUPATIONS.

MINIMUM AGE AND HOURS OF LABOR.

Industrial commission to classify occupations, etc., and to issue orders prohibiting the employment of minors and females; penalty for violation; night work in specific occupations provisionally prohibited under 21.—No employer shall employ, require, permit or suffer any minor or any female to work in any place of employment, or at any employment dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of such minor, or such female, or where the employment of such minor may be dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of other employees or frequenters. It shall be the duty of the industrial commission, and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to investigate, ascertain, determine and fix such reasonable classifications of employments, and places of employment, minors and females, and to issue general or special orders prohibiting the employment of such minors or females in any employment or place of employment dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of such minor or such female, and to carry out the purposes of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, of the Statutes. Such investigations, classifications and orders, and any action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate or amend any such order of said commission, or enjoin the enforcement thereof, shall be made pursuant to the proceeding in sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive [creating and defining powers of industrial commission relating to orders concerning safety, etc.], of the Statutes, which are hereby made a part hereof, so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, of the Statutes; and every order of the said commission shall have the same force and effect as the orders issued pursuant to said sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive, of the Statutes; and the penalties therein shall be applied to and be imposed for any violation of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, of the Statutes. Until such time as the said commission shall so investigate, ascertain, determine and fix the classifications provided in this section, the employments and places of employment designated in the following schedule shall be deemed to be dangerous or prejudicial to the life, safety, health or welfare of minors under the ages specified, or of females, or dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of other employees or of frequenters, where such minor may be employed. The terms "place of employment," "employment," "employer," "employee," "frequenter," "deputy," "order," "local order," "general order," "special order," "welfare," "safe," and "safety," as used in this section, shall be construed as defined in section 2394-41 of the Statutes.

Schedule of employments or places of employment dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety or welfare of minors, or children under the ages specified, or to frequenters, or to females:

(a) Minors under twenty-one years of age:

In cities of the first, second, and third class, before six o'clock in the morning and after eight o'clock in the evening of any day, as messenger for a telegraph or messenger company in the distribution, transmission or delivery of messages or goods. * * * [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.2.]

ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION.

MINIMUM AGE.

Employment under 14 prohibited except as provided in section 1728a.—No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed, required, suffered or permitted to work at any time in any factory, manufacturing establishment or workshop, store, hotel, restaurant or bakery, mercantile establishment, laundry, telegraph, telephone or public messenger service, delivery of merchandise or at any gainful occupation or employment, directly or indirectly, except as provided in * * * [sec. 1728a]. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.3.]

Employment under 14 prohibited; exceptions from 12 to 14 in mercantile establishments, etc., during vacation; permits required; no educational requirements during vacation.—No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed, required, permitted or suffered to work at any gainful occupation or employment at any time except that during the vacation of the public or equivalent school in the town, district or city where any child between the ages of twelve and fourteen years resides, it may be employed in any store, office, mercantile establishment, warehouse, telegraph, telephone or public messenger service in the town, district or city where it resides and not elsewhere: *Provided*, That it shall have first obtained a permit in the same manner and under the same conditions set forth for employment during the regular session of the school, except that for such vacation permit no proof of educational qualification shall be necessary. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a.4.]

Court decision.—The prohibition is absolute and does not permit the work to be done under a permit from the commissioner of labor or other officer, and the employment in violation of this section is negligence per se.—*Sharon v. Winnebago Furniture Co.*, 141 Wis. 185, 124 N. W. 299 (1910).

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES AND RECORDS.

Contents of permits.—The permit required by section 1728a of the Statutes shall contain the signature of the director of the vocational school where the child is to attend and state the name, the date and place of birth of the child, and describe the color of hair and eyes, the height and weight, and any distinguishing facial marks of such child, and that the papers required in * * * [sec. 1728a-3.2] have been duly examined, approved and filed. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.1.]

Age and school records and promise of employment required.—The following evidence, records and papers shall be filed before such permit is issued:

(1) Such evidence as is required by the industrial commission showing that such child is at least fourteen years of age. The industrial commission shall formulate and publish rules and regulations governing the proof of age of minors who apply for labor permits, and such rules and regulations shall be binding upon all persons authorized by law to issue such permits.

(2) A certificate of the superintendent of schools or the principal of the school last attended by the child, or in the absence of both of the aforementioned persons, a certificate of the clerk of the school board, showing that such child is more than fourteen years of age, and stating also the date of the birth of such child, and the number of years it has attended school. Such certificate shall contain the further statement that such child has attended the public school, or some other school having a substantially equivalent course, as required by law, within the twelve months next preceding the date of such certificate or next preceding the fourteenth birthday of such child; that such child is able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, and is familiar with the fundamental operations in arithmetic up to and including fractions and that it has received during such one-year period instruction in

spelling, reading, writing, English grammar and geography; or in lieu of such statement relative to its educational attainments, that such child has passed successfully the fifth grade in the public school, or in some school having a substantially equivalent course, or that it has attended school for at least seven years. It shall be the duty of such superintendent, principal or clerk to issue certificate upon receipt of any application in behalf of any child entitled thereto.

(3) A letter written on such regular letterhead or other business paper used by the person, stating the intention of such person, firm, or corporation to employ such child, and signed by such person, firm, or corporation, or by some one duly authorized by them. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-3.2.]

REGULATED OCCUPATIONS.

ENFORCEMENT.

Powers of truant officers, police officers, etc., in enforcing sections 1728a to 1728j.—For the purposes of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, * * * any * * * truant officer, any police officer or any private citizen may make complaint of the violation of any provisions of sections 1728a and 1728j, inclusive. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-4.1.]

Duties of industrial commission.—When complaint is made by truant officer, police officer or any private citizen to the [industrial commission], the [said commission] shall investigate or cause to be investigated such complaint, and if pursuant to any such investigation, a violation of any of the provisions of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall be found, the [industrial commission] shall prosecute or cause to be prosecuted any such violation. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-4.2.]

FACTORIES, MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS, WORKSHOPS, ETC.

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES AND RECORDS.

Statements of actual employment required; records to be kept by employers; permits to be returned to issuing office.—Every person, firm or corporation, agent or manager of any firm or corporation, employing minors in any factory or workshop, store, office, hotel, mercantile establishment, laundry, telegraph, telephone or public messenger service within this State, in addition to filing the certificate of intention to employ with the [industrial commission], shall file with the officer signing such permit, a statement of actual employment of such minor, the date of employment, and that the necessary permit has been duly received and filed, shall keep said permits on file in the same place where such minor is employed, and subject at all times to the inspection of the [industrial commission], and shall post a list of said employees with said information at or near the principal entrance to the factory, or other building where such children are employed. It is further provided, that upon the termination of employment of any minor, said employer shall return within twenty-four hours the permit for employment of such minor to the person and place, designated by the [industrial commission] with a statement of reasons for the termination of said employment. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.1.]

Special inspection where children under 18 are employed.—Every person, firm, or corporation, desiring to become the employer of children under the age of eighteen years, shall file with the [industrial commission] a statement of this fact, in order that a special inspection of his factory, workshop, bowling alley, store, hotel or mercantile establishment, restaurant, bakery, laundry, telegraph, telephone or public messenger service may be made or caused to be made by the [industrial commission]. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-6.2.]

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

COMPULSORY EVENING AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

Illiterate minors over 17 not to be employed where school exists unless attending public evening or vocational school; illiteracy defined.—No person, firm, or corporation shall employ an illiterate minor over seventeen years of age in any city, village, or town in which a public evening school or vocational school

is maintained, unless such minor is a regular attendant at the public evening school or vocational school. An illiterate minor within the meaning of this section is a minor who can not read at sight and write legibly simple sentences in the English language. Attendance of four hours per week at the public evening school or vocational school shall be deemed regular attendance within the meaning of this section. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-11, as amended by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

Responsibility of parents, etc.—No parent, guardian, or custodian shall permit a minor over seventeen years of age to be employed in violation of section 1728a-11. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-12, as amended by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

Weekly attendance records to be filed with employer.—Any minor required by section 1728a-11 to attend an evening school or vocational school shall furnish to his employer each week during its session a record showing that he is a regular attendant at the evening school or vocational school. The employer shall file all records of attendance in his office and no minor, subject to sections 1728a-11 to 1728a-16, inclusive, shall be employed unless the records of attendance or absence for valid cause, during the previous week, be on file. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-13, as amended by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

Exemption; industrial commission may permit employment if physician certifies child's health is endangered by attendance.—Upon presentation by a minor of a certificate signed by a registered practicing physician, showing that his physical condition, or the distance necessary to be traveled, would render the required school attendance, in addition to his daily labor, prejudicial to his health, the industrial commission may in its discretion authorize his employment for such period as it may determine. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-14, as amended by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

Penalty for employer.—Any person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any corporation, who whether for himself or for such firm or corporation, or by himself or through agents, servants, or foremen, shall violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of sections 1728a-11 to 1728a-14, inclusive, of the statutes, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than ten nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense. Any corporation which by its agents, officers, or servants shall violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of sections 1728a-11 to 1728a-14, inclusive, shall be liable to the same penalty which may be recovered against such corporation in action for debt or assumpsit, brought before any court of competent jurisdiction. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-15, as amended and renumbered by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

Penalty for parent, etc.—Any parent or guardian who suffers or permits a minor to be employed, or suffered or permitted to work in violation of sections 1728a-12 to 1728a-13 of the Statutes shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728a-16, as renumbered by acts of 1918, special session, ch. 2.]

FACTORIES, WORKSHOPS, MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS, MESSENGER SERVICE, ETC.

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES AND RECORDS.

Lists required under 17; contents.—Every person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any firm or corporation employing minors in domestic service coming within the provisions of subsection 1 of section 1728a or in any factory or workshop, store, office, hotel, restaurant, bakery, mercantile establishment, laundry, telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service within this State shall keep a register in the place where such minor is employed, and subject at all times to the inspection of any factory inspector, or assistant factory inspector, or truant officer, in which register shall be recorded the name, age, date of birth and place of residence of every child employed, permitted, or suffered to work therein, under the age of seventeen years, except as provided by section 2377, for indentured apprentices. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728b.1.]

Permits required under 17; issued by industrial commission or person designated by said commission.—No person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any firm or corporation shall hire or employ, permit, or suffer to work in any

domestic service, coming within the provisions of subsection 1 of section 1728a, mercantile establishment, factory or workshop, store, office, hotel, restaurant, bakery, laundry, telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service, any child not indentured as an apprentice as provided in section 2377, under seventeen years of age, unless there is first provided and placed on file in such mercantile establishment, factory, workshop, store, office, hotel, restaurant, bakery, laundry, telegraph, telephone, or public messenger service office, or other place of employment included herein, a permit granted by the industrial commission or by any judge or person designated by said commission as provided in section 1728a, [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728b.2.]

ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION.

HOURS OF LABOR AND HOURS OF ATTENDANCE AT VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Eight hours a day, 48 a week, 6 days a week, and night work prohibited, under 16; 30 minutes for midday meal under 16; farm and domestic work excepted.—No child under the age of sixteen years shall be employed, required, permitted, or suffered to work at any gainful occupation, other than domestic service or farm labor, for more than forty-eight hours in any one week, nor more than eight hours in any one day, or before the hour of seven o'clock in the morning or after the hour of six o'clock in the evening, nor more than six days in any one week. A dinner period of not less than thirty minutes shall be allowed during each day. During such dinner period the power shall be shut off from machinery operated by children, and no work shall be permitted. Provided nothing in sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall be construed to interfere with the employment of children as provided in sections 1728a-1 and 1728u of the Statutes. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c.1.]

Hours to be posted.—Each employer shall post in a conspicuous place, in each of the several departments in or for which minors are employed, a list on a printed form furnished by the [industrial commission], stating the names, ages, and the hours required of each child during each day of the week, the hours of commencing and stopping work, and the hours when the time or times allowed for dinner or other meals begin and end. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c.2.]

Reduction of hours required from 14 to 16 to allow attendance at vocational schools; number of hours required.—Whenever any day vocational school shall be established in any town, village, or city in this State for minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, working under permit as now provided by law, every such child residing or employed within any town, village, or city in which any such school is established, shall attend such school in the daytime not less than eight hours per week for at least eight months in each year and for such additional months or parts thereof as the other public schools of such city, town, or village are in session in excess of eight during the regular school year, or the equivalent as may be determined by the local board of industrial education, subject to the provisions of subsection (3) of section 40.73, until such child becomes sixteen years of age, and every employer shall allow all minor employees over fourteen and under sixteen years of age a reduction in hours of work of not less than the number of hours the minor is by this section required to attend school. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c-1.1.]

Total number of hours at work and at school not to exceed legal maximum hours of labor; exceptions.—The total number of hours spent by such minors at work and in the beforementioned schools shall together not exceed the total number of hours of work for which minors over fourteen and under sixteen years of age may by law be employed, except when the minor shall attend school a greater number of hours than is required by law, in which case the total number of hours may be increased by the excess of the hours of school attendance over the minimum prescribed by law. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c-1.2.]

Reduction of hours to coincide with class times.—Employers shall allow the reduction in hours of work at the time when the classes which the minor is by law required to attend, [sic] are held whenever the working time and the class time coincide. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c-1.3.]

Penalty for violation of section 1728c-1.—Any violation of * * * [sec. 1728c-1] shall be punished as is provided in the case of violation of section 1728a of the Statutes. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728c-1.4.]

ALL REGULATED OCCUPATIONS.

ENFORCEMENT.

Duties and powers of industrial commission.—It shall be the duty of the industrial commission to enforce all the provisions of the Statutes regulating or relative to child labor, and to prosecute violations of the same before any justice of the peace or other court of competent jurisdiction in this State. It shall be the duty of the said industrial commission and truant officers, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to visit and inspect, at all reasonable times, and as often as possible, all places covered by sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive. The industrial commission, for the purpose of the enforcement of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall have the power of truant officers to enforce all legal requirements relating to school attendance. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728d.1.]

Jurisdiction.—The justices of the peace in the various counties of the State of Wisconsin shall have criminal jurisdiction of actions brought for violations of all statutes regulating or relative to child labor, notwithstanding any statute depriving such justices of the peace in any county of such jurisdiction. Nothing contained herein, however, shall deprive the municipal courts and other courts of record of concurrent jurisdiction, nor shall anything contained herein be construed to give justices of the peace in cities of the first class jurisdiction of such actions. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728d.2.]

ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION.

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES AND RECORDS.

Refusal of permits; physical fitness.—The industrial commission or judge or other person designated by the commission under section 1728a, may refuse to grant permits in the case of children who may seem physically unable to perform the labor at which they may be employed. They may also refuse to grant a permit if, in their judgment, the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.1.]

Method of issuing; records of issuing office.—All permits provided for under sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall be issued upon blanks furnished by the [industrial commission] and shall be made out in duplicate. One of such duplicates shall be forthwith returned to the [industrial commission], together with a detailed statement of the character and substance of the evidence offered prior to the issue of such permit. Such statement so forwarded shall be upon blanks furnished by the [industrial commission], and shall contain such details as to such evidence, and shall fully reveal its character and substance as indicated in such blank. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.2.]

Revocation of permits.—Whenever it shall appear to the [industrial commission] that any permit has been improperly or illegally issued, or that the physical or moral welfare of such child would be best served by the revocation of the permit, [said commission] may forthwith, without notice, revoke the same, and shall by registered mail notify the person employing such child and the child holding such permit of such revocation. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.3.]

Exception: agricultural pursuits.—Nothing contained in sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall be construed to forbid any child from being employed in agricultural pursuits, nor to require a permit to be obtained for such child. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728e.4.]

REGULATED OCCUPATIONS.

DEFINITIONS.

Certain terms used in sections 1728a to 1728j.—The words "manufacturing establishment," the word "factory," or the word "workshop," as used in sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall each be construed to mean any place where goods or products are manufactured or repaired, dyed, cleaned, or assorted, stored or packed, in whole or in part, for sale, for wages, or directly or indirectly, for gain or profit. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728g.]

ALL REGULATED OCCUPATIONS.

PENALTIES.

Illegal employment or hindering inspector, etc.; employer.—Any person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any firm or corporation who, whether for himself or for such firm or corporation, or by himself or through agents, servants or foremen, shall employ, require, suffer, or permit any person to work in any employment prohibited under the provisions of section 1728a, or hinders or delays the [industrial commission], or truant officers, or any or either of them, in the performance of their duties, or refuses to admit or locks out any such officers from any place required to be inspected by said sections, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, or imprisoned in the county jail not longer than thirty days. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728h.1.]

Liability for penalties.—Any corporation which, by its agents, officers, or servants violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the sections specified in subsection 1 shall be liable to the above penalties, which may be recovered against such corporations in action for debt or assumpsit brought before any justice of the peace or other court of competent jurisdiction. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728h.2.]

Failure to return permits to issuing office.—Any person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any corporation who, whether for himself or for such firm or corporation, or by himself or through agents, servants or foremen fails to return the employment permit of any child in violation of section 1728a-6, shall be liable in action to such child whose permit is not returned, for two dollars for each day during which such failure continues. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728h.4.]

Failure to produce permits or presence of minor to be evidence of employment.—The failure of any person, firm, or corporation, agent or manager of any firm or corporation, to produce for inspection to the [industrial commission], [or] truant officers, the employment permit hereinbefore described, shall be prima facie evidence of illegal employment of minor before any justice of the peace or other court of competent jurisdiction. The presence of any minor in any factory, workshop, place of employment, or in or about any mine, or the presence of any minor at any time other than those on the posted hours of labor, as hereinbefore provided, or in any establishment employed at any work listed as dangerous or forbidden employments, shall be prima facie evidence of the employment of such child. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728h.5.]

Permitting employment; parent, etc.—Any parent or guardian who suffers or permits a child to be employed, at any gainful occupation, directly or indirectly, or suffered or permitted [sic] to work in violation of sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars, or by imprisonment [be imprisoned] in the county jail for not longer than thirty days. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728i.]

ENFORCEMENT.

Proof of age in court proceedings.—When in any proceeding in any court under sections 1728a to 1728j, inclusive, there is any doubt as to the age of any child, a verified baptismal certificate or a duly attested birth certificate shall be produced and filed with the court. In case such certificates can not be secured, upon proof of such fact, the record of age stated in the first school enrollment of such child shall be admissible as evidence thereof. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728j.]

ALL OCCUPATIONS—EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

COMPULSORY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND HOURS OF LABOR.

Attendance until September 1, 1918, of children from 16 to 17 where schools exist; reduction of hours to allow attendance.—Until September first, 1918, whenever a vocational school shall be established according to the provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.21, in any town, village, or city, any minor not indentured

as an apprentice as provided in section 2377 of the Statutes, or not regularly attending any other recognized school, between the ages of sixteen and seventeen, residing or working in such town, village, or city, shall attend such school in the daytime not less than four hours per week for at least eight months in each year and for such additional months or parts thereof as the other public schools of such city, town, or village are in session in excess of eight during the regular school year, or the equivalent, as may be determined by the local board of industrial education. Every employer shall allow all such minor employees a reduction in hours of work of not less than the number of hours the minor is by this section required to attend school. Whenever the working time and the class time coincide, such reduction in hours of work shall be allowed at the time when the classes which the minor is by law required to attend are held. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728o-2.1.]

Attendance after September 1, 1918, of children from 16 to 17 where schools exist; reduction of hours to allow attendance.—From and after September first, 1918, whenever a vocational school shall be established according to the provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.21, in any town, village, or city, any minor not indentured as an apprentice as provided in section 2377 of the Statutes, or not regularly attending any other recognized school, between the ages of sixteen and seventeen, residing or working in such town, village, or city, shall attend such school in the daytime not less than eight hours per week for at least eight months, and for such additional months or parts thereof as the other public schools of such city, town, or village are in session in excess of eight during the regular school year, or the equivalent, as may be determined by the local board of industrial education. Every employer shall allow all such minor employees a reduction in hours of work of not less than the number of hours the minor is by this section required to attend school. The total hours of schooling and employment for boys over sixteen and under seventeen years of age shall not exceed fifty-five hours per week. Whenever the working time and the class time coincide, such reduction in hours shall be allowed at the time when the classes which the minor is by law required to attend are held. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728o-2.2.]

Penalty for violation of section 1728o-2.—Any violation of this section in a case involving a minor in employment shall be punished as is provided in the case of violation of the provisions of section 1728a of the Statutes, and any violation in a case involving a minor not in employment shall be punished as is provided in the case of violating the provisions of section 40.73. [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1728o-2.3.]

ALL OCCUPATIONS.

MINIMUM WAGE.

Indenture of minors in trade industries.—“All minors working in an occupation for which a living wage has been established for minors, and who shall have no trade, shall, if employed in an occupation which is a trade industry, be indentured under the provisions of * * * [s. 2377] of the Statutes.” [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1729s-8.1.]

Definition.—“A ‘trade’ or a ‘trade industry’ within the meaning of this act [s. 1729s-1 to 1729s-12, inclusive], shall be a trade or an industry involving physical labor and characterized by mechanical skill and training such as render a period of instruction reasonably necessary. The industrial commission shall investigate, determine, and declare what occupations and industries are included within the phrase a ‘trade’ or a ‘trade industry’.” [Statutes, ch. 83, sec. 1729s-8.2.]

APPRENTICESHIP.

Definition; apprentice.—The term “apprentice” shall mean any minor, 16 years of age or over, who shall enter into any contract of service, express or implied, whereby he is to receive from or through his employer, in consideration for his services in whole or in part, instruction in any trade, craft, or business. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.1.]

Definition; indenture; record of indenture.—Every contract or agreement entered into by an apprentice with his employer shall be known as an indenture; such indenture shall be in writing and shall be executed in triplicate, one copy of which shall be delivered to the apprentice, one to be retained by the

employer, and one to be filed with the industrial commission of Wisconsin at Madison. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.2.]

Period of indenture.—Any minor, 16 years of age or over, may, by the execution of an indenture, bind himself as hereinafter provided for a term of service not less than one year. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.8.]

Signatures to indenture.—Every indenture shall be signed:

(1) By the minor.

(2) By the father; and if the father be dead or legally incapable of giving consent or has abandoned his family, then

(3) By the mother; and if both the father and mother be dead or legally incapable of giving consent, then

(4) By the guardian of the minor, if any.

(5) If there be no parent or guardian with authority to sign, then by two justices of the peace of the county of the residence of the minor, or by a member of the industrial commission of Wisconsin or a deputy thereof.

(6) By the employer. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.4.]

Contents of indenture.—Every indenture shall contain:

(1) The names of the parties.

(2) The date of the birth of the minor.

(3) A statement of the trade, craft, or business which the minor is to be taught, and the time at which the apprenticeship shall begin and end.

(4) An agreement stating the number of hours to be spent in work, and the number of hours to be spent in instruction. Until the minor reaches the age of eighteen years, his period of instruction shall be not less than five per week or the equivalent, and his total number of hours of instruction and service shall not exceed fifty-five per week.

(5) An agreement as to the processes, methods, or plans to be taught, and the approximate time to be spent in each process, method, or plan.

(6) A statement of the compensation to be paid the apprentice.

(7) An agreement that a certificate shall be given the apprentice at the conclusion of his indenture, stating the terms of indenture. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.5.]

Compensation; school attendance and penalty.—The employer shall pay for the time the apprentice is receiving instruction at the same rate per hour as for services. Attendance at school shall be certified by the teacher in charge, and failure to attend school shall subject the apprentice to a penalty of loss of compensation for three hours for every hour such apprentice shall be absent without good cause. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.6.]

Overtime permitted over 18; compensation.—An apprentice over eighteen years of age may be allowed to work overtime not to exceed thirty hours in any one month. Overtime shall be considered all time over ten hours in any one day, and in case the hours of labor are limited in the particular craft, industry, or business, and as to the particular employer, to less than ten hours, overtime shall be figured as all time in any one day in excess of such limitation. For overtime the apprentice shall receive one and one-half times the rate per hour provided in his contract for regular time. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.7.]

Penalty for violation of indenture.—If either party to an indenture shall fail to perform any of the stipulations thereof, he shall forfeit not less than one dollar nor more than one hundred dollars, such forfeiture to be collected on complaint of the industrial commission of Wisconsin, and paid into the State treasury. Any indenture may be annulled by the industrial commission of Wisconsin upon application of either party and good cause shown. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.8.]

Industrial commission to investigate, classify, and issue orders fixing terms of indenture; method of procedure; penalties.—It shall be the duty of the industrial commission of Wisconsin, and it shall have power, jurisdiction, and authority, to investigate, ascertain, determine, and fix such reasonable classifications and to issue rules and regulations, and general or special orders as shall be necessary to carry out the intent and purposes of section 2377 of the statutes. Such investigations, classifications and orders, and any action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate, or amend any such order of said commission, or to enjoin the enforcement thereof, shall be made pursuant to the proceeding in sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive, of the statutes, which are hereby made a part hereof, so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of

section 2377 of the statutes: and every order of the said industrial commission of Wisconsin shall have the same force and effect as the orders issued pursuant to said sections 2394-41 to 2394-70, inclusive, of the statutes, and the penalties therein shall apply to and be imposed for any violations of section 2377 of the statutes, excepting as to the penalties provided in subsection 8 of section 2377. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.9.]

School authorities to cooperate with commission, etc., in furnishing instruction.—It shall be the duty of all school officers and public school teachers to cooperate with the industrial commission of Wisconsin and employers of apprentices to furnish, in a public school or any school supported in whole or in part by public moneys, such instruction as may be required to be given apprentices. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.10.]

Invalidation of contracts.—The provisions of section 2377 shall not be construed as invalidating any contract of apprenticeship entered into before July 1, 1915. [Statutes, ch. 110, sec. 2377.11.]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

DEFINITIONS.

Employee.—The term "employee" as used in sections 2394-1 to 2394-31, inclusive, shall be construed to mean:

* * * * *

(4) Every person in the service of another under any contract of hire, express or implied, oral or written, including aliens, all helpers and assistants of employees, whether paid by the employers or employee, if employed with the knowledge, actual or constructive, of the employer, and also including minors * * * of permit age or over (who, for the purposes of section 2394-8, shall be considered the same and shall have the same power of contracting as adult employees), but not including any person whose employment * * * is not in the usual course of the trade, business, profession, or occupation of his employer. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-7.]

UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS.

Treble compensation; liability for increased compensation.—Where liability for compensation under sections 2394-3 to 2394-31, inclusive, exists, the same shall be as provided in the following schedule:

* * * * *

(6) Compensation and death benefits, as provided in sections 2394-3 to 2394-31, inclusive, shall, in the following cases, be treble the amount otherwise recoverable.

(a) If the injured employee be a minor of permit age and at the time of the accident is employed, required, suffered, or permitted to work without a written permit issued pursuant to section 1728a.

(b) If the injured employee be a minor of permit age, or over, and at the time of the accident is employed, required, suffered, or permitted to work at prohibited employment.

A permit unlawfully issued by an officer specified in section 1728a, or unlawfully altered after issuance, without fraud on the part of the employer, shall be deemed a permit within the provisions of this subsection.

(7) In case of liability for the increased compensation or increased death benefits * * * included in subsection (6) of this section, the liability of the employer shall be primary and the liability of the insurance carrier shall be secondary. In case proceedings are had before the commission for the recovery of such increased compensation or increased death benefits the commission shall set forth in its award the amount and order of liability as herein provided. Execution shall not be issued against the insurance carrier to satisfy any judgment covering such increased compensation or increased death benefits until execution has first been issued against the employer and has been returned unsatisfied as to any part thereof. Any provision in any insurance policy undertaking to guarantee primary liability or to avoid secondary liability for such increased compensation or increased death benefits shall be void. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-9.]

ALL REGULATED OCCUPATIONS.

ENFORCEMENT.

Definitions.—The following terms as used in sections 2394-41 to 2394-71 of the statutes, shall be construed as follows:

(1) The phrase "place of employment" shall mean and include every place, whether indoors or out or underground and the premises appurtenant thereto where either temporary [temporarily] or permanently any industry, trade, or business is carried on, or where any process or operation, directly or indirectly related to any industry, trade, or business, is carried on, and where any person is directly or indirectly, employed by another for direct or indirect gain or profit, but shall not include any place where persons are employed in private domestic service or agricultural pursuits which do not involve the use of mechanical power.

(2) The term "employment" shall mean and include any trade, occupation, or process of manufacture, or any method of carrying on such trade, occupation, or process of manufacture in which any person may be engaged, except in such private domestic service or agricultural pursuits as do not involve the use of mechanical power.

(3) The term "employer" shall mean and include every person, firm, corporation, agent, manager, representative or other person having control or custody of any employment, place of employment or of any employee.

(4) The term "employee" shall mean and include every person who may be required or directed by any employer, in consideration of direct or indirect gain or profit, to engage in any employment, or to go or work or be at any time in any place of employment.

(5) The term "frequenter" shall mean and include every person, other than an employee, who may go in or be in a place of employment under circumstances which render him other than a trespasser.

(6) The term "deputy" shall mean and include any person employed by the industrial commission designated as such deputy by the commission, who shall possess special, technical, scientific, managerial or personal abilities or qualities in matters within the jurisdiction of the industrial commission, and who may be engaged in the performance of duties under the direction of the commission, calling for the exercise of such abilities or qualities.

(7) The term "order" shall mean and include any decision, rule, regulation, direction, requirement or standard of the commission, or any other determination arrived at or decision made by such commission.

(8) The term "general order" shall mean and include such order as applies generally throughout the State to all persons, employments, or places of employment, or all persons, employments, or places of employment of a class under the jurisdiction of the commission. All other orders of the commission shall be considered special orders.

(9) The term "local order" shall mean and include any ordinance, order, rule or determination of any common council, board of aldermen, board of trustees, or the village board, of any village or city, or the board of health of any municipality, or an order or direction of any official of such municipality, upon any matter over which the industrial commission has jurisdiction.

(10) The term "welfare" shall mean and include comfort, decency and moral well-being.

(11) The term "safe" or "safety" as applied to an employment or a place of employment or a public building, shall mean such freedom from danger to the life, health, safety or welfare of employees or frequenters, or the public, or tenants, and such reasonable means of notification, egress and escape in case of fire, as the nature of the employment, place of employment, or public building will reasonably permit.

(12) The term "public building" as used in sections 2394-41 to 2394-71 shall mean and include any structure used in whole or in part as a place of resort, assemblage, lodging, trade, traffic, occupancy, or use by the public, or by three or more tenants.

(13) The term "owner" shall mean and include every person, firm, corporation, State, county, town, city, village, manager, representative, officer, or other person having ownership, control or custody of any place of employment or public building, or of the construction, repair or maintenance of any public building, or who prepares plans for the construction of any place of employment or public building. Said sections 2394-41 to 2394-71, inclusive, shall apply, so far as consistent, to all architects. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-41.]

Employers to furnish information.—Every employer and every owner shall furnish to the commission all the information required by it to carry into effect the provisions of sections 2394-41 to 2394-71, inclusive, and shall make specific answers to all questions submitted by the commission relative thereto. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-50.1.]

Duties and powers of industrial commission.—Any commissioner or deputy of the commission may enter any place of employment or public building, for the purpose of collecting facts and statistics, examining the provisions made for the health, safety and welfare of the employees, frequenters, the public or tenants therein and bringing to the attention of every employer or owner any law, or any order of the commission, and any failure on the part of such employer or owner to comply therewith. No employer or owner shall refuse to admit any commissioner or deputy of the commission to his place of employment or public building. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-50.3.]

Duties and powers of the industrial commission.—It shall also be the duty of the industrial commission, and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority:

(2) To administer and enforce, so far as not otherwise provided for in the statutes, the laws relating to child labor, laundries, stores, employment of females, licensed occupations, school attendance, * * * manufacture of cigars, * * * and all other laws protecting the life, health, safety and welfare of employees in employments and places of employment.

(9) To establish and conduct free employment agencies, to license and supervise the work of private employment offices, to do all in its power to bring together employers seeking employees and working people seeking employment * * *. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-52.]

Duties and powers relating to labor laws transferred to the industrial commission.—All duties, liabilities, authority, powers and privileges heretofore or hereafter conferred and imposed by law upon the commissioner of labor and industrial statistics, deputy commissioner of labor and industrial statistics, factory inspector, woman factory inspector, assistant factory inspectors and bakery inspector, are hereby imposed and conferred upon the industrial commission and its deputies. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-54.1.]

Duties and powers of factory inspectors transferred to the industrial commission.—All laws relating or referring to the commissioner of labor and industrial statistics, and the deputy commissioner of labor and industrial statistics, except those laws relating or referring to their appointment and qualification and to their membership or service on the industrial accident board and all laws relating or referring to the factory inspector, the woman factory inspector, assistant factory inspectors and the bakery inspector, shall apply to and be deemed to relate and refer to the industrial commission, so far as the said laws are applicable. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-54.2.]

Orders of industrial commission.—All orders of the industrial commission in conformity with law shall be in force, and shall be prima facie lawful; and all such orders shall be valid and in force, and prima facie reasonable and lawful until they are found otherwise in an action brought for that purpose, pursuant to the provisions of section 2394-69 of the statutes, or until altered or revoked by the commission. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-55.]

General penalty; duties of State, county, and city officers.—If any employer, employee, owner, or other person shall violate any provisions of sections 2394-41 to 2394-55, inclusive, of the statutes, or shall do any act herein prohibited in sections 2394-41 to 2394-71,¹ inclusive, or shall fail or refuse to perform any duty lawfully enjoined, within the time prescribed by the commission, for which no penalty has been specifically provided, or shall fail, neglect or refuse to obey any lawful order given or made by the commission, or any judgment or decree made by any court in connection with the provisions of sections 2394-41 to 2394-71,¹ inclusive, for each such violation, failure or refusal, such employer, employee, owner or other person shall forfeit and pay into the State treasury a sum not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each such offense. It shall be the duty of all officers of the State, the counties and municipalities, upon request of the industrial commission, to enforce in their respective departments, all lawful orders of the industrial commission, in so far as the same may be applicable and consistent with the general duties of such officers. [Statutes, ch. 110a, sec. 2394-70.]

¹The section 2394-71 apparently referred to was repealed by Acts of 1913, ch. 772, sec. 71.

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.**VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS.**

Organization of State board of vocational education.—There is hereby created a State board of vocational education. The board shall consist of nine appointive members to be appointed by the governor, three of whom shall be employers of labor, three of whom shall be skilled employees other than those who have employing or discharging power, and three of whom shall be practical farmers. The State superintendent of education and a member of the industrial commission to be selected by the commission shall be ex officio members of this board. A majority of said board shall constitute a quorum. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.13(1).]

Appointment of members of State board.—In the first appointments the governor shall designate three members to serve for two years, three members to serve for four years, and three members to serve for six years, from the first day of July of the year in which the appointments are made. Each such group of three members shall consist of one employer, one employee, and one farmer. All appointments thereafter shall be for six years except appointments to fill vacancies, which shall be for the unexpired portion of the term. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.13(2).]

Duties of State board.—Said board: (a) Shall have control over all State aid given to vocational schools; (b) shall meet quarterly and at such other times as may be found necessary; (c) shall elect its own officers; (d) shall report biennially; (e) may employ a director of vocational education and assistants for the development and supervision of the work of vocational education, and all accounts for such salaries shall be certified by the secretary of said board to the secretary of State; (f) shall inaugurate and determine the organization, plans, scope and development of vocational education in the State. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.13(3).]

Provisions of Smith-Hughes Act accepted.—The provisions of the act of Congress, approved February 23, 1917, (Public No. 347, 64th Congress) entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure," are hereby accepted. The State board of vocational education is designated as the board for the State of Wisconsin to cooperate with the Federal board of vocational education in the execution of the provisions of the United States act and is hereby empowered with full authority so to cooperate. The State treasurer is hereby designated custodian of all funds allotted to this State from the appropriations made by said act, and he shall receive and provide for the proper custody and disbursement of the same in accordance with said act. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.13(4).]

Name of schools.—Schools created under sections 41.13 to 41.21 shall be known as vocational schools. * * * The law relating to agricultural schools and the Platteville mining trade school shall remain unaffected by said sections. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.14(1).]

Method of filling positions.—All positions except that of director of vocational education shall be filled by civil service examination. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.14(2).]

Organization of local boards of industrial education.—In every town or village or city of over five thousand inhabitants there shall be, and in towns, cities and villages of less than five thousand inhabitants there may be a local board of industrial education, whose duty it shall be to establish, foster and maintain vocational schools² for instruction in trades and industries, commerce and household arts in part-time-day, all-day, and evening classes and such other branches as are enumerated in section 41.17. Said board may take over and maintain in the manner provided in sections 41.13 to 41.21 any existing schools of similar nature. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(1).]

Members of local boards.—Such board shall consist of the city superintendent of school ex officio or the principal of the high school ex officio, if there be no city superintendent, of the president or chairman of the local board charged

² The following 31 cities were maintaining such schools on April 1, 1918: Appleton, Beaver Dam, Beloit, Chippewa Falls, Cudahy, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Grand Rapids, Green Bay, Janesville, Kenosha, La Crosse, Madison, Manitowoc, Marinette, Marshfield, Menasha, Menominee, Milwaukee, Neenah, Oshkosh, Racine, Rhinelander, Sheboygan, South Milwaukee, Stevens Point, Superior, Two Rivers, Waukesha, Wausau, and West Allis.

with the supervision of the schools in case there be neither of the above-mentioned officers, and four other members, two employers and two employees, who shall be appointed by the local board charged with the supervision of the schools and who shall serve without pay. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(2).]

Terms of appointive members of local boards.—The term of the appointive members of the local boards of industrial education shall be two years from the first of January of the year in which they are appointed; provided, however, that in the first appointment two members shall be appointed who are to serve for only one year from the first of January of the year in which they are appointed. All subsequent appointments shall be for two years, except appointments to fill vacancies, which shall be for the unexpired portion of the term. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(3).]

Officers of local boards; powers.—The local board of industrial education shall elect its officers from its membership, a chairman and a secretary. The local boards of industrial education, with the cooperation of the State board of vocational education, shall have general supervision of the instruction in the local schools created under sections 41.13 to 41.21. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(4).]

State aid.—No State aid shall be granted to schools created under sections 41.13 to 41.21 without the approval of the local board of industrial education. No money appropriated by the city, town, or village for these schools shall be spent without the approval of the local board of industrial education. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(5).]

Qualifications of teachers and other employees.—The teachers in the schools created under sections 41.13 to 41.21 shall be employed and their qualifications determined by the local board of industrial education, subject to the approval of the State board of vocational education; and, subject to such approval, the said local board may employ such other technical advisors and experts or highly trained, experienced and skilled individuals as may be necessary for the proper execution of the duties devolving upon it by law and fix their compensation. For office work in connection with the administration of the schools under its control the said local board, whenever it deems advisable, may employ and fix the compensation of any students of any school under its supervision for such length of time as it may deem for the best interest of such students and of any such school. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(6).]

Powers of local boards.—This board shall have power to purchase all machinery, tools and supplies, and purchase or lease suitable grounds or buildings for the use of the schools under its supervision; to rent to others any portion of such buildings and grounds not presently needed for school purposes; and to erect, improve or enlarge buildings for the use of said schools. Existing school buildings and equipment shall be used as far as practicable. All conveyances, leases and contracts shall be in the name of the city, and all property, real or personal, acquired by said city for the use of said schools under the supervision of the board of industrial education shall belong to the city. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(7).]

Powers of local boards.—The board is empowered to make contracts with the extension division of the University of Wisconsin to give instruction in such branches as the department may offer, when in the judgment of the local board such instruction can be secured to better advantage than by local provision. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(8).]

Vocational schools to be established upon petition.—Whenever twenty-five persons qualified to attend a vocational school file a petition therefor with the local board of industrial education the board shall establish such school or schools or provide other facilities as authorized in sections 41.13 to 41.21. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.15(9).]

Estimated expense for maintenance of vocational schools.—The local board of industrial education of every city, village, or town shall report to the common council, or in case of cities having commission form of government to the commission, or to the village or town clerk at or before the first day of September in each year, the amount of money required for the next fiscal year for the support of all the schools established or to be established under sections 41.13 to 41.21, in said city, village, or town, and for the purchase of necessary additions to school sites, building operations, fixtures, and supplies. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.16(1).]

Tax for support of vocational schools.—There shall be levied and collected in every city, village, or town, subject to taxation under sections 41.13 to 41.21, a tax upon all taxable property in said city, village, or town, at the same time

and in the same manner as other taxes are levied and collected by law, which together with the other funds provided by law and placed at the disposal of said city, village, or town for the same purpose, shall be equal to the amount of money so required by said local board of industrial education for the purposes of said sections. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.16(2).]

Rate of tax.—The rate of tax levied for the purposes of sections 41.13 to 41.21, in any town, village, or city shall not in any one year exceed three-fourths mill for the maintenance of all schools created under said sections. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.16(3).]

Use of tax.—The said taxes for the purpose named in this section shall be in addition to all other special and general taxes levied for town, village, or city purposes and shall be for the use and support of schools established under sections 41.13 to 41.21. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.16(4).]

Qualifications of teachers and courses of study.—The qualifications of teachers and the courses of study in these schools shall be approved by the State board of vocational education, and shall include English, citizenship, physical education, sanitation and hygiene and the use of safety devices, and such other branches as the State board of vocational education shall approve. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.17(1).]

Substitution of courses.—The local board of industrial education may allow pupils attending any school established under sections 41.13 to 41.21, who have had courses equivalent to any of those offered, to substitute other work therefor. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.17(2).]

Requirements for admission of pupils.—The schools established under sections 41.13 to 41.21 shall be open to all residents of the cities, towns, and villages in which such schools are located, of fourteen years of age or over who are not by law required to attend other schools, and to all persons over fourteen years of age employed in said cities, towns, or villages but who are residents of other municipalities maintaining vocational schools; provided that no such person who is a resident of any municipality maintaining vocational schools, shall be received in or admitted to classes in any such school in any other municipality, except upon presentation to the authorities of such school of the written approval of the local board of industrial education having charge of such school in the municipality wherein such person resides. Any city, town, or village maintaining vocational schools as provided in sections 41.13 to 41.21, that shall, as herein provided, admit to the privileges of such schools persons employed in such municipalities, but who are residents of other municipalities maintaining vocational schools, is empowered to collect tuition for the schooling of such nonresident persons, from the municipality in which the parents or guardians of such persons reside, in the same manner and at the same rate of tuition as is provided for the collection of tuition for nonresident pupils in section 41.19. Any person over the age of fourteen who shall reside in any town, village, or city not having a vocational school as provided in said sections, and who is otherwise qualified to pursue the course of study may with the approval of the local board of industrial education in any town, village, or city having a school established under said sections, be allowed to attend any school under their supervision. Such persons shall be subject to the same rules and regulations as pupils of the school who are residents of the town, village, or city in which the school is located. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.18.]

Nonresident tuition fees.—The local board of industrial education is authorized to charge tuition fee for nonresident pupils not to exceed fifty cents per week. On or before the first day of July in each year the secretary of the local board of industrial education shall send a sworn statement to the clerk of the city, village, or town from which any such person or persons may have been admitted. This statement shall set forth the residence, name, age, and date of entrance to such school, and the number of weeks' attendance during the preceding year of each such person at the school. It shall show the amount of tuition which under the provisions of this act the town, city, or village is entitled to receive an account of each and all such pupils' attendance. This statement shall be filed as a claim against the town, village, or city where such pupil resides and allowed as other claims are allowed. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.19.]

Charges for material consumed.—Students attending any school under sections 41.13 to 41.21, may be required to pay for all material consumed by them in their work in such school at cost prices or in lieu thereof the school board may establish a fixed sum to be paid by each student in each course, which

sum shall be sufficient to cover, as nearly as may be, the cost of the material to be consumed in such course; any manufactured articles made in such school and that may accumulate shall be disposed of at their market value at the discretion of the school board, and the proceeds shall be paid to the local treasurer for the fund of the local board of industrial education. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.20.]

Repeal; application of act.—All acts and parts of acts conflicting with any provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.21 are repealed in so far as they are inconsistent therewith. Provided, however, nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere in any manner with trade schools established under sections 41.04 to 41.12, and amendments thereof,^{*} unless the school board of any such city or school district shall by a majority vote adopt the provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.21, and shall proceed in the manner provided for, for every town, village, or city of over five thousand inhabitants, as provided in said sections. [Statutes, ch. 41, sec. 41.21.]

Appropriation.—There is appropriated from the general fund to the State board of vocational education, annually, on July first, not to exceed one hundred fifty thousand dollars, to carry into effect the provisions of sections 41.13 to 41.21. Of this there is allotted:

(1) Annually beginning July 1, 1917, not to exceed ten thousand two hundred fifty dollars, for the administrative expenses of the board. Of this there is allotted:

(a) To each appointed member of the board a compensation of one hundred dollars per year and actual and necessary traveling expenses.

(b) Such sums as may be necessary for office supplies.

(c) The director of vocational education and all other employees of such board shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the board, and shall be entitled to receive their actual and necessary traveling expenses incurred in the discharge of their official duties. Such compensation and expenses shall be charged to the appropriation to the State board of vocational education.

(2) The remainder shall be distributed for State aid for vocational schools established and maintained pursuant to subsection (1) of section 41.15 and any school once granted such State aid shall be entitled thereto as long as the character of its work meets with the approval of the State board of vocational education, as follows:

(a) On the first day of July in each year the secretary of the local board of industrial education of each city, town, or village maintaining such a school or schools shall report to the State board of vocational education the cost of maintaining the same; the character of the work done; the number, names, and qualifications of the teachers employed; and such other information as may be required by the said board.

(b) If it appears from such report that such school or schools have been maintained pursuant to law, in a manner satisfactory to the State board of vocational education, the said board shall certify to the secretary of State, in favor of the several local boards of industrial education, amounts equal to one-half the amount actually expended, respectively, for maintenance of such school or schools and salaries for instruction and supervision; but not to exceed, exclusive of Federal aid in any one year, twenty thousand dollars for any city of the first class, or ten thousand dollars for any other city, town, or village. If the aggregate of such amounts exceeds the available funds of this appropriation, the State board of vocational education shall deduct from each an equal proportion so as to reduce their aggregate to the amount of the available funds.

(c) On receipt of such certificates the secretary of State shall draw his several warrants accordingly, payable to the treasurers of the cities, towns, and villages, respectively. [Statutes, ch. 20, sec. 20.33.]

Appointment of subordinates.—Except as expressly provided by law, the * * * State board of vocational education * * * [is] authorized to appoint, subject to the State civil service law in cases where the provisions thereof are intended to apply, and subject to the approval of such other officer or body as prescribed by law, such deputies, assistants, experts, clerks, stenographers, or other employees as shall be necessary for the execution of their functions, and to designate the titles, prescribe the duties, and fix the compensation of such subordinates. [Statutes, ch. 20, sec. 20.73(1).]

* These sections empower the school board of any city or school district containing a city to establish trade schools for children over 14 as part of the public-school system.

FORMS USED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD-LABOR LAWS.

[The words in italics are as entered by hand on the blank forms, but all names and addresses, except those of some of the officials, are fictitious. Lines inclosed in brackets [] are interpolated and do not appear in the forms as used.]

[Form 1. See p. 22.]

Form B-5.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, MADISON, WIS.

Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, in accordance with section 1728-6 of the statutes.

STATEMENT OF EMPLOYMENT OF MINOR.

(To be filed with the officer issuing permit.)

To Mrs. *Elsie E. Essman*:

(Officer issuing permit.)

I hereby notify you that I employed *Edward Jacobs*, on the *13th* day of *Dec.*, 1916, to work at *pasting, soling dept.*, in _____, Wisconsin, and that the necessary permit has been received and filed.
(Occupation.) (Name of place.)

Dated at *Milwaukee*, Wisconsin, this *13th* day of *Dec.*, 1916.

(Signed) *D. Cohen Boot & Shoe Co.*
(Employer.)

(Forms used in the administration of employment certificate laws.)

[Form 2. See p. 33.]

EMPLOYER: READ THIS PERMIT!

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN—MADISON.

Child labor permit—14 to 17 years.

Whereas *George Marks*, accompanied by his—her
(Name of child.)

parent,
(Child under 16 must be accompanied by parent, guardian, or custodian.)

whose name is *Jacob Marks* and address is No. *10, Fourth Ave.*, city of *Milwaukee*, Wisconsin, has made application for a labor permit, and it appearing that said child is of *male* sex and *white* color and was born at *West Allis*, State of *Wis.*, on *Dec. 10, 1903*, as shown by *baptismal certificate*.

(Here state character of proof of age: as birth certificate, etc.)

(If it is necessary to use a physician's certificate as proof of age, use the following form: Physical age of this child is _____ as shown by the certificate of a physician as required by the regulations.)

That he—~~she~~ has *blue* eyes and *brown* hair, and is *4* feet, *7* inches tall and weighs *102* pounds and has the following distinguishing facial marks _____ and that the papers required by subsection 2 of section 1728a-3 of the statutes have been duly examined, approved and filed; now, therefore, in accordance with the power vested in me by law, I hereby permit him—~~her~~ to be employed AT LAWFUL WORK by *D. Cohen Boot and Shoe Co.*, for the periods per
(Name of employer.)

day and per week permitted by law until *Dec. 10, 1920*.

Dated at *Milwaukee* this *12th* day of *February*, 1918.

Mrs. E. E. Essman,
Issuing Officer.
Robert L. Cooley,
Director of Vocational School.

George Marks.

(Signature of child. Not necessary if child is over 16.)

TO THE EMPLOYER—IMPORTANT.

Permitted hours of labor: Children under 16 years of age may not be employed before 7 o'clock in the morning nor after 6 o'clock in the evening, with a dinner period of not less than 30 minutes, during which dinner period the power must be shut off from machinery operated by children and no work permitted. All such children must attend a day vocational school, if such a school has been established in the place where they reside or work, for at least 8 hours per week. Time at school and work together must not exceed 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week; and no child under 16 may be employed more than 6 days in any week.

Until Sept. 1, 1918, the law governing the hours of labor of children between 16 and 17 is the same as for adults of their sex, except that such children must

attend vocational school at least four hours per week. After Sept. 1, 1918, such children must attend the vocational school 8 hours per week; and the time at school and work together must not exceed 56 hours per week, or 48 hours per week for girls employed at permitted night work.

Caution: Chapter 674 of the Laws of 1917 requires that children under 17 years of age must have labor permits before they may be lawfully employed.

Do not employ any minor, whether he has a permit or not, at any of the prohibited employments named in section 1728a of the statutes. A list of these employments is printed on the back of this permit. Read the list!

The penalty for violation of the Child Labor Law is a forfeiture of from \$10 to \$100 for each offense.

If a child is injured while employed in violation of law, he is entitled, under the compensation law, to triple compensation and the employer is primarily liable for the payment of the extra compensation. The insurance carrier pays in such cases only when the employer is unable to do so. Liability insurance does not cover injuries received in unlawful employment.

This permit must be kept on file by the employer in the place of employment as long as the child remains in his employ. At the expiration of the employment, he must return it to Industrial Commission, 808 M'n's Home Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis., within twenty-four hours, with a statement of the reasons for the termination of employment.

To the issuing officer: This permit must be issued in duplicate and one copy, together with statement of evidence on which it was issued, must be sent to the industrial commission at Madison.

[On the back of this form is a list of employments prohibited to children under 21, under 18, under 16, and between 12 and 14 years of age.]

[Form 2. See p. 33.]

Not recorded in court house. Bapt. cert. submitted. Help support. Brother-in-law came to office

EMPLOYEE: This certificate is NOT a labor permit and does NOT authorize employment of the child.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.
(MADISON.)

SCHOOL CERTIFICATE FOR CHILD-LABOR PERMIT.

(This certificate must be filled out by the superintendent or principal of the school last attended by the child or, in their absence, by the clerk of the school board.)

(This certificate must be filed with the official who issues the labor permit.)

Name of school *Center Street*. Location *Center and First*. Date *Jan. 29, 1918*.
(principal)

This is to certify that I am the (superintendent) of the school attended by
(school clerk)

Walter Movanski, who lives at No. *1208 Center Street*, in *Milwaukee*, Wisconsin.

I certify that the records of this school show that he is more than fourteen years
even as *April 3, 1903*, and place of birth as *Milwaukee*,
ed school ----- years, and has completed the *6B*

this child: I certify that this child has fulfilled the
ibers 1 and 2 and 4 indicated below (see 1, 2, 3, 4)
Do not check any requirement which has not been

child has attended the public school or a school other
course of study substantially equivalent to the course
s, as required by law, during the twelve months next
h birthday, or preceding the date of this certificate,
ch one-year period, instruction in spelling, reading,
nd geography and is able to read and write simple

sentences in the English language and is familiar with the fundamental operations
in arithmetic, up to and including fractions.

X Requirement No. 2. This child has successfully passed the fifth grade in a
public school

Requirement No. 3. This child has successfully passed the fifth grade in a school
other than a public school, having a course of study substantially equivalent to the
course of study in the public schools.

X Requirement No. 4. This child has attended school at least 7 years.

To the School **COMMISSIONER**

Do you recommend that this child be granted a labor permit? *Yes*.

Why? *I promised to help child if he would remain in school until February*
and he has done so.

Did you try to persuade the parents to keep this child in school? *Yes*.

What reason did they give for not doing so? *Needed help*

(Signed)

Jas Remke

Principal, Superintendent, or School Clerk.

Important. The official who signs the above certificate will kindly give the fol-
lowing data regarding the child:

1. Color of eyes, *blue*. 2. Color of hair, *black*. 3. Height, *5 feet 8 inches*.
4. Weight of child, *100*. 5. Any distinguishing facial marks, *no*.

This is to certify that I have examined Walter Movanski and recommend that
a labor permit be recommended to him.

B. Mann, M. D.

[Form 4. See p. 41.]

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.
CHILD LABOR PERMIT INDEX.

Milwaukee. File No. -----
(City.)
Adamczyk, Walter. July 20, 1920. 1060 4th Ave. July 20, 1903.
(Name of child.) (Will be 17 years old.) (Address of child.) (Date of birth.)
B. C. Gallata, Austria. Help support. Parochial.
(Evidence of age.) (Country of birth.) (Reasons for working.) (Kind of school last attended.)
7. 7. Laborer.
(No. years in school.) (Grade finished.) (Occupation of father.)

Name of employer and industry	Occupation of child	CK.	Date beginning	Permit returned
Western Union Absinthe Chocolate Co.	Messenger Carrying	.....	1-7-18	1-25-18
		.....	2-3-18	

[Form 5. See p. 46.]

Name, **Gronik, Annie.** No. 41.14.
Address, **20 Detroit St.** Classes M. P. 15.
Permit issued, **Sept. 9, 1917.** Will be 17 yrs. **Mar. 7, 1919.**
Finished **6A grade, Detroit St. school June 26, 1917.**
Assigned, **Sept., 1917.** Attended-----times.
Assigned-----Attended-----times.
Assigned-----Attended-----times.

Absence 1917-1918	Disp.	Cr.	Remarks	Absence 191-191-	Disp.	Cr.	Remarks	Absence 191-191-	Disp.	Cr.	Remarks
11-30	P. M.	Family sick with typhoid. Ex- cused for 3 mos. A. D. report	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12-7	2-13		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2-1	2-16		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

[Form 5 (reverse).]

Employed by :	Address :
9/9/17. J. C. Texture Co-----	305 Mnfr's Home Bldg. 277 Broadway B'dwy & Buffalo.
9/10/17. Wisconsin Candy Co-----	
10/6/17. F. Meyer & Son Clo. Co-----	
10/26/17. Unemployed.	

[Form 6. See p. 50.]

J. D. Beck, Chairman. Fred M. Wilcox. Geo. P. Hambrecht.
E. E. Witte, Secretary.

STATE OF WISCONSIN.
INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.
MADISON.

To the Deputy of the Industrial Commission,
Milwaukee, Wis. Feb. 10, 1918.

Dear Sir: In response to request by *Gerald Gronik* I hereby certify that in my opinion it is desirable to issue permit to above child to be employed after school hours and on Saturdays, his standing in school being such as to allow him to do this without impairing in any way the results of his work in this school.

Respectfully yours,
H. E. Meyer,
Principal.

Residence : 637 Mitchell St.
Date of birth : Jan. 20, 1903.

[Form 7. See p. 58.]

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

PHYSICIAN'S CERTIFICATE OF AGE.

-----, Wisconsin, -----, 19-----
 (City.) (Date.)
 This certifies that I have examined ----- and submit the
 following report: (1) ----- (Name of child.)
 (Height.) inches; (2) ----- pounds; (3) -----
 (Weight.)
 -----; (4) -----
 (Other evidence of physical age.) (Physical age.)
 (5) -----
 (Evidence of disease.)
 Physician -----
 (Signature.)
 (6) Official position -----
 (Physician signing must be a public-health or a public-school physician.)

DIRECTIONS TO EXAMINING PHYSICIAN.

1. A child must be 56 inches in height and weigh 80 pounds to be certified as having reached the physical age of 14 years; and must be 57 inches in height and weigh 85 pounds to be certified as having reached the physical age of 16 years.

The minimum standards given are far below the average, yet a few children of 14 and 16 who are naturally very short and who are yet normal may fall below these standards. Therefore, the following exception to the rule given may be made:

Exception.—When in the opinion of the examining physician the child is 14 or 16 years of age, and after a thorough examination the child is found to be in good health and well nourished and all organs are found to be normal, the child may be certified as being 14 years of age, although falling slightly below the standard given above. But in no case may a child be certified as 14 years of age who is less than 54 inches in height or weighs less than 75 pounds; nor may any child be certified as 16 years of age who is less than 56 inches in height and weighs less than 80 pounds.

Height should be recorded to the nearest quarter inch. Measurements should be taken with the child wearing shoes.

2. Weight should be recorded to the nearest quarter of a pound. The child should be weighed in clothing equivalent to ordinary winter indoor clothing. Hats and outside coats should be removed. Care should be exercised that no heavy objects are carried in the clothing in order to increase the apparent weight.

3. Other evidence of physical age.—Enter here any other evidence besides the height and weight in support of the opinion of the physician as to the physical age of the child.

4. Physical age.—Enter here the apparent age of the child in the opinion of the physician.

5. Evidence of disease.—Enter here any evidence of disease found on physical examination, such as malnutrition, defective teeth, enlarged tonsils, tuberculosis, etc.

If the child is apparently in good health and all organs are normal, enter here: None.

6. Official position.—Enter here title of physician, as for instance: "County health officer," "School physician employed by board of education," etc.

[Form 8. See p. 74.]

D ----- C ----- No. -----
 Permit expires ----- 191-----

Do not write above this line.

REGISTRATION BLANK.

Name -----
 Address -----
 Age ----- Birthday ----- 191-----
 Father's name -----
 For whom are you going to work? -----
 What trade or work do you want to follow to earn a living when a man? -----

 In what school shop or department do you want to work while attending the Continuation School? (See other side.)
 First choice ----- Second choice -----
 What school did you last attend? -----
 What grade did you finish? -----

[On the reverse of this form is printed the following list of subjects: Automobile; bakery; bookkeeping; carpenter; cabinet making; concrete work; drafting; electrical; machinist; masonry; painting; pattern making; printing; plumbing; power plant; sheet metal work; shoe making; steam engineering; steam fitting; stenographer; store clerking; tin smithing.]

[Form 9 (first page). See p. 75.]

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.

APPRENTICE INDENTURE.

This indenture, made in triplicate this _____ day of _____, 19____, between *Smith Textile Company*, hereafter called the first party, and *Robert Jones*, a minor born Feb. 1, 1900, of 2216 State St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and *John Jones (father)*, hereafter called the second parties:

(Date of birth.) (Street and number.) (Name of parent or guardian.)
Witnesseth, that the first party agrees to take the said minor into its employ and service as an apprentice to teach him the trade of *knitting machine adjuster*, as per Exhibit A.¹

That the second parties agree that the said minor shall diligently and faithfully work for and serve the said first party during the full term of apprenticeship.

The apprenticeship shall begin on the 7th day of *March*, 1918, and shall be for a period of 4 years. The length of year, the compensation for the term of apprenticeship, and the processes, methods or plans to be taught shall be as per Exhibit A.

It is mutually agreed that until the minor's eighteenth birthday the total number of hours work in any one week shall not exceed fifty-five (55) and that at least five (5) of such hours or its equivalent² shall be devoted by said minor to school instruction.

(This clause shall not be construed to prevent school instruction after the minor's eighteenth birthday if both parties agree to the continuation of the same.)

Any indenture may be annulled by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin upon application of either party and good cause shown.

At the completion of the apprenticeship the said minor shall receive a certificate stating the terms of his indenture.

In witness whereof, the parties have caused this indenture to be signed as required by chapter 133 of the laws of Wisconsin, 1915.³

Robert Jones. (Seal.)
(Apprentice.)

Smith Textile Co.
(Name of firm or corporation.)

John Jones. (Seal.)
(Parent or Guardian.)

By *Fred Smith*, Sec'y.

[Page 2 of the indenture (omitted) contains the apprenticeship law.]

[Form 9 (third page). See p. 75.]

EXHIBIT A.

Notice.—No apprenticeship indenture will be legal which does not have this exhibit filled out as indicated below (chap. 133, laws of Wisconsin, 1915).

Extent of period of apprenticeship.—(Here must be stated the length of time to be served, and, wherever the trade can determine, the exact length of each apprenticeship year.)

Four (4) years—each year to consist of 278 days.

Schedule of processes to be worked.—(Here must be stated the processes, methods or plans to be taught and the approximate time to be spent at each process, method or plan—to conform to the character of the individual trade.)

First year: Under the supervision of a knitting machine adjuster. Oiling machines; repairing machine belts; repairing transfer cups; cleaning machines and cylinders; inspecting and repairing needles and removing defective needles; familiarizing himself with yarns and supplying same; assisting in operating knitting machines.

Second, third and fourth years: Under the supervision of a knitting machine adjuster. Employment at adjusting knitting machines including operations required in the first year.

During the period of apprenticeship, the apprentice shall perform such other miscellaneous services pertaining to his trade as the first party may require and as may be necessary in order to qualify the apprentice in the trade of a knitting machine adjuster.

Compensation to be paid.—The apprentice shall receive in wages:

The following are the minimum rates of wages:

<i>First year</i>	<i>First period (139 days)</i>	<i>10c an hour.</i>
	<i>Second " "</i>	<i>12c an hour.</i>
<i>Second year</i>	<i>First period (139 days)</i>	<i>14c an hour.</i>
	<i>Second " "</i>	<i>16c an hour.</i>
<i>Third year</i>	<i>First period (139 days)</i>	<i>18c an hour.</i>
	<i>Second " "</i>	<i>20c an hour.</i>
<i>Fourth year</i>	<i>First period (139 days)</i>	<i>23c an hour.</i>
	<i>Second " "</i>	<i>26c an hour.</i>

Special provisions.—These to be stated here or on following page. Upon the satisfactory completion of the employment at the end of the aforesaid period of four (4) years, consisting of 278 days in each year, the first party shall pay to the apprentice a bonus of one hundred (\$100) dollars; at the same time, in addition to the payment of this bonus, the apprentice shall receive from the first party a certificate of apprenticeship under the seal of the Industrial Commission of the State of Wisconsin, according to law. All wages and the bonus, which shall be payable under the agreement, shall be paid by the first party directly to the apprentice.

¹ Exhibit A is to be filled out on page 3 of this form.

² To meet the peculiar requirements of certain trades special arrangements for schooling may be made through the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.

³ A copy of the law forming the basis upon which this indenture is made and governing all matters not expressed in this contract is hereto attached.

[Form 10. See p. 86.]

BOARD OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE.

You are hereby notified to report for enrollment at the Central Continuation School
 ----- afternoon at 1.00 o'clock in Room -----

The school is located in the Manufacturers' Home Building, at the foot of Mason Street, adjoining the river.

Attendance at the Continuation School is required by law of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17 not attending any other school in the daytime. Failure to attend regularly will result in the cancellation of the permit issued by the factory inspector, if working on a permit. Persons in employment and not requiring a permit, who fail to attend, will be prosecuted and punished as is provided for in the statutes of the State of Wisconsin.

B. L. COOLBY, Director.

Bring this card with you.

[Form 11. See p. 88.]

Milwaukee, Wis., -----

Your daughter was absent from Continuation School to-day. This absence must be made up, or a satisfactory explanation furnished, before she returns to work. If this is not done at once her permit will be cancelled. Notice to this effect was sent to her employer to-day.

It is expected that you either: (1) Send the girl to school at once, or (2) if she is sick send a doctor's certificate, or (3) if her absence is due to any good reason, call at the office, or write about it.

H. R. PESTALOZZI,
 Supervisor of Attendance,
 Deputy Industrial Commission.

Office hours,

Manufacturers' Home Building:

10.30 to 11.30 a. m.

1.30 to 3.00 p. m.

[Form 12. See p. 88.]

Milwaukee, Wis., -----

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

(No reply expected.)

-----, a minor under seventeen years of age, employed by you under a permit, was absent from the Continuation School to-day.

The parents have been informed that unless this absence is made up immediately, or a satisfactory explanation furnished, the permit will be cancelled.

Assuming that you may be interested in this, we are sending you this card for your information.

H. R. PESTALOZZI,
 Supervisor of Attendance,
 Deputy Industrial Commission.

Manufacturers' Home Building.
 Phone Main 4000.

[Form 13. See p. 88.]

CENTRAL CONTINUATION SCHOOL,

MANUFACTURERS' HOME BLDG.

Your permit has been revoked. You are now unemployed and according to law must attend some school daily, in the morning and afternoon. Call at this office, Manufacturers' Home Building, foot of Mason St., eighth floor, and explain.

H. R. PESTALOZZI.

Bring this postal and the attendance card.

[Form 14. See p. 97.]

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT—INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN.

City ----- Date ----- Inspector -----
 Establishment ----- Products or business -----
 Official ----- Address -----
 No. of women ----- No. of children: 16-17 ----- 14-16 ----- Total -----
 Hours of labor: -----
 Women: Normal { Spread ----- Busy { Spread ----- Children { Spread -----
 { Meal per ----- { Meal per ----- { Meal per -----
 Occupations of women -----
 (No. in each) -----
 Orders issued -----
 Suggestions made -----
 Name of woman supervisor ----- Remarks -----
 Send original to Madison, copy to Women's Department, Milwaukee.

ORDERS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF WISCONSIN RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

1. Educational requirements for children between 16 and 17 years of age. On August 13, 1917, the commission adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, there are doubtless many children in employment between sixteen and seventeen years of age who can not satisfy the educational requirements of section 1728c-1,

"And whereas, under the laws of this State such children can not be required to attend any school other than a continuation school for four hours per week,

"Therefore, Be it resolved:

"That the industrial commission construes chapter 674, laws of 1917, to the effect that the legislature did not contemplate any educational requirements for the granting of permits to children between sixteen and seventeen years of age."

2. Rules regarding proof of age to be furnished by children between 14 and 17 years of age who apply for labor permits, adopted by the commission August 28, 1917, and published in the official State paper on August 31, 1917, and effective September 1, 1917:

PROOF OF AGE THAT MUST BE FURNISHED BY CHILDREN 14 TO 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO APPLY FOR LABOR PERMITS.

Persons designated by the industrial commission to issue child-labor permits under the authority of the statutes shall require the child desiring employment to make application for the permit in person, accompanied by its parent, guardian, or custodian, and shall receive, examine, and approve documentary evidence of age showing that the child is 14 years of age or over, which evidence shall consist of one of the following-named proofs of age, to be required in the order herein designated, as follows:

(a) A birth certificate or attested transcript thereof issued by a registrar of vital statistics or other officer charged with the duty of recording births.

(b) A record of baptism or a certificate or attested transcript thereof showing the date of birth and place of baptism of child.

(c) A bona fide contemporary record of the date and place of the child's birth kept in the Bible in which the records of the births in the family of the child are preserved, or other documentary evidence satisfactory to the industrial commission or such person as the commission may designate, such as a passport showing the age of the child, a certificate of arrival in the United States issued by the United States Immigration officers and showing the age of the child, or a life insurance policy; provided that such other satisfactory documentary evidence has been in existence at least one year prior to the time it was offered in evidence; and provided further that a school record or a parent's, guardian's, or custodian's affidavit, certificate, or other written statement of age shall not be accepted except as specified in paragraph (d).

(d) A certificate signed by a public-health physician or public-school physician, specifying what in the opinion of such physician is the physical age of the child; such certificate shall show the height and weight of the child and other facts concerning its physical development revealed by such examination and upon which the opinion of the physician as to the physical age of the child is based. A parent's, guardian's, or custodian's certificate as to the age of the child and a record of age as given on the register of the school which the child first attended, or in the school census, if obtainable, shall be submitted with the physician's certificate showing physical age.

The officer issuing the permit for a child shall require the evidence of age specified in subdivision (a) in preference to that specified in any subsequent subdivision and shall not accept the evidence of age permitted by any subsequent subdivision unless he shall receive and file evidence that the evidence of age required by the preceding subdivision or subdivisions can not be obtained.

NOTE.—In addition to the proof of age the certificate of education and letter from the employer stating his intention to employ the child as provided in section 1728a-3 must be furnished by the child before the permit is issued.

PROOF OF AGE THAT MUST BE FURNISHED BY CHILDREN 16 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE WHO APPLY FOR LABOR PERMITS.

1. A minor 16 to 17 years of age may apply for a labor permit either in person or by mail.

2. Until further notice from the industrial commission minors 16 to 17 years of age may furnish any one of the proofs of age specified for minors 14 to 16, provided that the proof furnished shall be satisfactory to the person designated by the commission to issue permits.¹

NOTE.—No certificate of education is required to be furnished by children above 16 years to procure a permit.

3. Child-labor permits for agricultural pursuits. On September 8, 1917, the commission adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the industrial commission construes chapter 674, laws of 1917, to have not repealed subdivision (4) of section 1728e, and that permits are not required to be procured by children employed in agricultural pursuits."

The attorney general has since given his opinion sustaining the commission in its interpretation.

4. Discontinuance of form "Statement of Employment of Minor" (Form B-5). On October 8, 1917, the commission adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, The industrial commission now requires all child-labor permits to be sent to the employer at whose place of employment the child is permitted to work, and

"Whereas, No useful purpose is now served by requiring employers to file with the issuing officers a statement to the effect that they have employed the minor to whom a permit was granted, therefore,

"Be it resolved, That the use of the 'Statement of Employment of Minor' (Form B-5) be discontinued."

7. Physical examination for children in Milwaukee. On January 7, 1918, the commission adopted a resolution expressing its position upon physical examination for children in the city of Milwaukee. This is stated clearly in the bulletin which the superintendent of schools of Milwaukee sends to its principals, the quotation being from the bulletin of March 7, 1918:

"The following statement defined the position of the industrial commission relative to physical examination of children who apply for labor permits and embodies the only action taken by the commission on this subject. For these reasons we suggest that you run this statement in your next circular and that you cancel M 1 (8) and M 17 (2) as not authorized by the commission and not accurately stating its position in this matter:

"Physical Examination of Children Who Apply for Labor Permits.—The school certificate, which is one of the papers that must be furnished for a labor permit, contains the following question to be answered by the school official who signs the certificate: 'Do you recommend that this child be granted a labor permit? _____.' The commission will assume that the school official has satisfied himself that the child is physically fit to enter industry before recommending that a permit be granted. As a means of so satisfying himself before making a recommendation, he may require the child to present to him a certificate of health either from the health officer of the school board or the health department of the city, or some other duly qualified physician in regular practice.

"The commission reserves the right to refuse a permit if the best interests of the child seem to require it even though its issuance is recommended by the school official, but no permit will be issued against such recommendation unless after due hearing the commission or its deputy permit officer in Milwaukee is convinced that the permit should be issued. This plan refers to children under 16 years of age."

The parochial school people of Milwaukee have indicated their willingness to adopt the same policy with reference to physical examinations for children, but do not appear as yet to have done anything tangible toward carrying out this policy.

¹ A regulation issued April 4, 1918, adds the following proviso: "And provided further that proofs shall be furnished in the order named in the regulations relative to proofs of age of minors 14 to 16 in so far as this is reasonably possible."

8. Resolution adopted by the industrial commission of Wisconsin at its meeting on March 11, 1918, relating to the employment of minors in bowling alleys, liquor establishments, drug stores, hotels, restaurants, boarding and rooming houses:

Whereas, Subsection 1 of section 1728e of the statutes, as amended by chapter 674, laws of 1917, provides that the industrial commission and the persons designated by it to issue child-labor permits, may refuse to grant a permit if the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal; therefore,

Be it resolved, That no permit shall hereafter be granted for the following employments or places of employment:

(1) Minors under seventeen years of age in bowling alleys.

(2) All minors under seventeen years of age in or about any brewery, distillery, liquor bottling establishment, barroom, saloon, saloon dining room or restaurant, beer garden, any place in connection with a saloon or a similar place of any name, or in or about any dance hall, pool room, hotel, store other than a drug store, or similar place of any name in which strong, spirituous or malt liquors are made, bottled, sold, served or given away.

(3) All minors under fourteen years of age in any drug store, and all minors under sixteen years of age in any drug store which has a Government license for the sale of strong, spirituous or malt liquors.

(4) Female children under seventeen years of age in any hotel, restaurant, boarding or rooming house.

(5) Male children under sixteen years of age in any hotel.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 20, 1921.

SIR: I transmit herewith a report on infant mortality in Pittsburgh, which is an analysis of official records for 1920. The material was gathered and the report written by Miss Glenn Steele.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

INFANT MORTALITY IN PITTSBURGH.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER LARGE CITIES.

Pittsburgh lost more babies in 1920 in proportion to its births than any other of the large American cities for which reliable records are available.

Its wastage of young life for the year exceeded that of 17 cities of more than 250,000 population in the birth registration area.

The measurement of this loss by an infant mortality rate—the number of deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 born alive—shows that for every 1,000 babies born in Pittsburgh in 1920, 110 failed to survive throughout the year. Approximately, this means a loss during infancy of 1 life out of every 9. For the same year, Boston had 1 infant death to 10 births; Philadelphia, 1 to 11; New York, 1 to 12, and Seattle but 1 baby death for 18 births—a rate twice as favorable as that for Pittsburgh.

Absence of complete and accurate data prevents comparisons of infant mortality for all of the larger urban centers of the United States.

Federal bookkeeping of babies did not begin until 1915. In that year the United States Bureau of the Census established the birth registration area, an area including only those States where at least 90 per cent of all births were completely recorded.

With the collection of statistics for the area it then became possible to keep a national ledger showing the net human gains of the first year of life. A complete count of births in the credit columns of communities balanced against the debits of infant deaths affords a cost accounting of the loss of young life.

The following table shows this cost, expressed in infant mortality rates, for a five-year period in the large cities in the birth registration area. Comparable figures are not available for great cities not in the area—notably Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

Infant mortality rates for cities in the birth registration area having a population of 250,000 or more in 1920; 1916 to 1920.

City.	Infant mortality rates. ¹				
	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916
Pittsburgh.....	110	114	139	120	115
Baltimore.....	104	98	149	118	122
Buffalo.....	104	110	121	104	114
Detroit.....	104	97	100	103	112
Boston.....	101	97	115	99	106
Indianapolis.....	92	80	93	95	(²)
Washington, D. C.....	90	85	112	97	106
Milwaukee.....	89	101	106	100	(²)
Philadelphia.....	89	91	124	108	106
Cleveland.....	88	95	98	109	(²)
New York.....	85	81	92	89	93
Rochester.....	85	74	92	84	86
Cincinnati.....	83	88	104	88	(²)
Los Angeles.....	71	67	(²)	(²)	(²)
San Francisco.....	67	62	(²)	(²)	(²)
Minneapolis.....	65	65	73	71	82
Portland, Oreg.....	60	69	(²)	(²)	(²)
Seattle.....	56	55	61	61	(²)

¹ Rates for 1916 to 1919 from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics; for 1920, from city departments of health.

² Added to registration area at a later date.

The chart on page 7 shows the trend of infant mortality in the nine large cities which have been in the birth registration area since it was established in 1915.

The Pittsburgh line indicates a markedly higher rate than that for the other eight cities. Fluctuations of its rate show a decline after the high peak in 1918, the year of the influenza epidemic, but no improvement for the five-year period. The rate had receded in 1920 only to the point from which it began to rise in 1915. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York show the most satisfactory progress toward a reduction of rates. Although the decrease for Minneapolis is somewhat less than for these cities, the Minnesota city began with a much more favorable position.

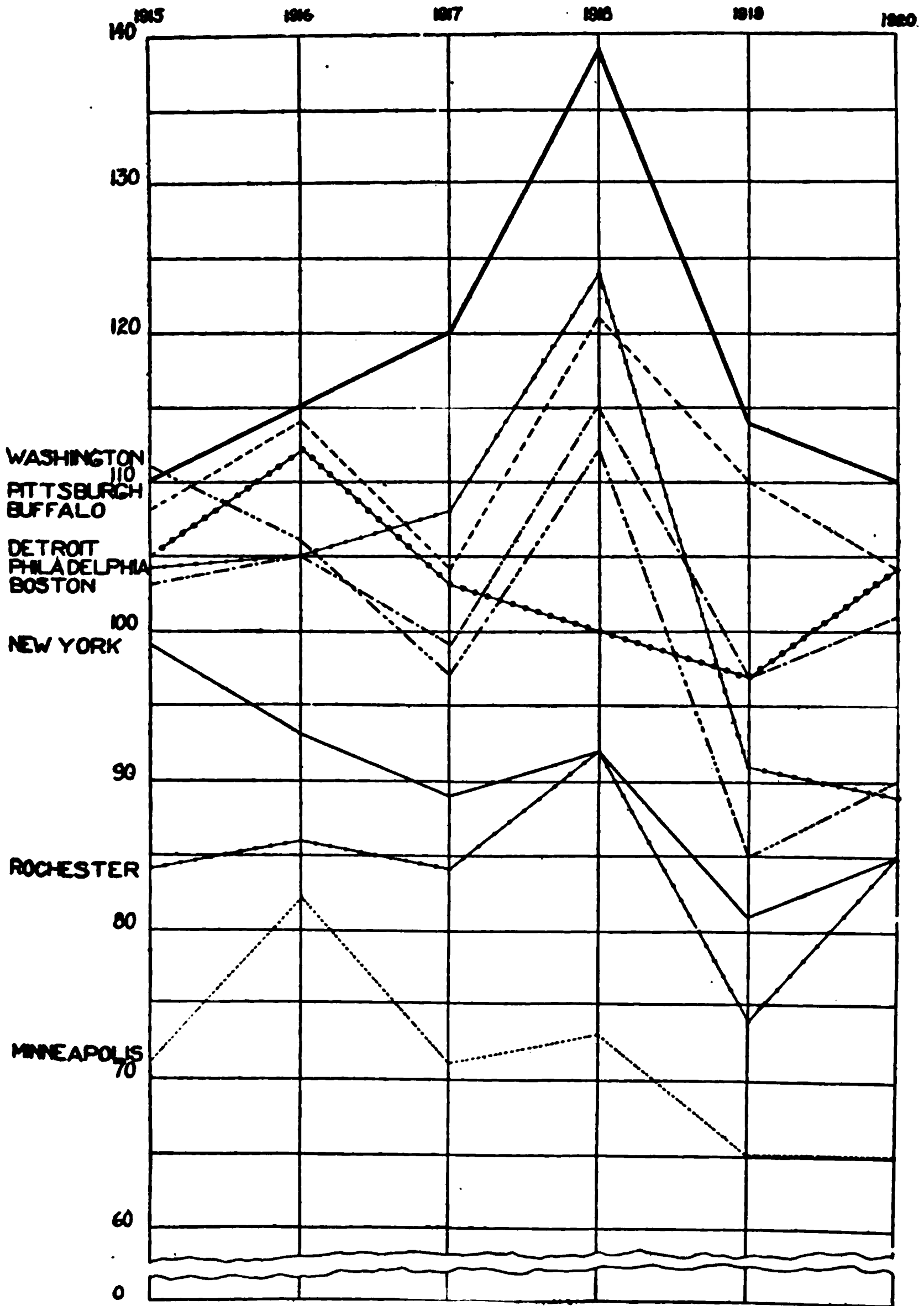
An analysis of the death certificates of infants under one year of age who died in Pittsburgh in 1920 has been made by the Children's Bureau in order to present such facts concerning the city's infant mortality in that year as are obtainable from official records.

Data concerning the age at death, cause of death, color, and nativity of mother and the ward of residence were copied from the original files of registered deaths kept by the State of Pennsylvania. The count of registered births used to compute infant mortality rates was secured from the Pittsburgh Department of Public Health.

BIRTH REGISTRATION IN PITTSBURGH.

The validity of the city's infant death rate per thousand births depends upon the extent to which Pittsburgh physicians, midwives, or parents reported the births of babies. Reporting of deaths is ad-

TREND OF INFANT MORTALITY IN NINE CITIES.



Infant mortality rates, 1915 to 1920, for nine large cities in the birth registration area since 1915.

mittedly more complete. Therefore, if a considerable number of births occurring in Pittsburgh in 1920 were not registered, the infant mortality rate is overstated.

Birth registration in Pittsburgh is under State control. Pennsylvania has had a good registration law since 1905. When the law went into effect in 1906, birth registration in Pittsburgh was incomplete. Prosecutions for failures to report births under the new law were so effective that the number of registered births in Pittsburgh in 1907 was increased by 68 per cent in 1908.

In 1915 the registration of births in Pennsylvania was accepted as up to the standard by the United States Bureau of the Census.

Any laxity in reporting births in Pittsburgh may have been due in part to the fact that in 1920 local registration of births and deaths was still being paid for by the fee system.

Payment to the local registrar was made under a section of the law providing that in cities of the first and second class where the registrar, appointed by the State commissioner of health, is furnished by the city with suitable office room for carrying on his duties as registrar, he shall be paid but 10 cents for each birth and death registered.

For a city the size of Pittsburgh, such payment is not sufficient to provide for an adequate registration office, which should give valuable service in the matter of checking birth registration and reporting negligent physicians and midwives.

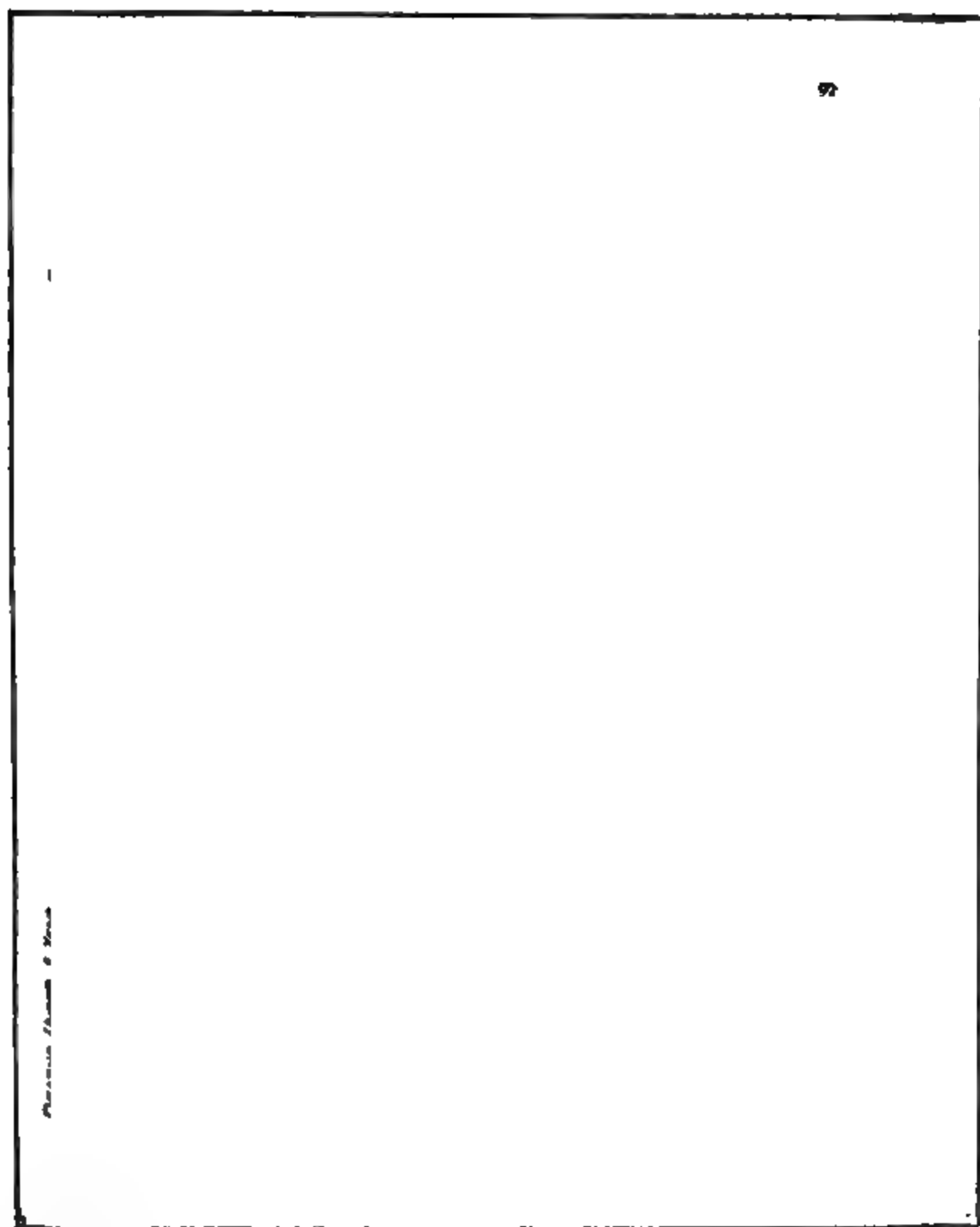
An act providing for more adequate compensation for registration in cities of the first and second class was passed by the State legislature in 1921.

A study of birth rates does not offer evidence which can be regarded as conclusive that registration is less complete in Pittsburgh than in other cities. Pittsburgh maintained a relatively high birth rate for the period from 1915 to 1919, as is shown by the following comparison of its birth rates per 1,000 population with those for the entire birth registration area:

Area.	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Pittsburgh ¹	28.6	28.9	28.8	27.4	24.8
Birth registration area ¹	25.1	25.0	24.7	24.6	22.3

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1919, p. 8.

While the birth rate for the city decreased from 28.6 in 1915 to 24.8 in 1919, a difference of 3.8, the decline was in accordance with a Nation-wide falling birth rate. Pittsburgh's birth rate in 1919 was still above that for 14 of the 17 other large cities in the registration area, including Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, all with large numbers of foreign born.



Placenta from 8 Years

In 1920, when the recent census figures for the population of Pittsburgh made it possible to compute a rate on actual rather than estimated population, the birth rate was 25.

ANALYSIS OF INFANT DEATH CERTIFICATES.

The number of registered live births as reported by the Pittsburgh Department of Public Health and used in this study was 14,694. In addition, there were 814 stillbirths registered, making a total of 15,508 births for the city.

The infant death certificates, transcripts of which were secured by the Children's Bureau, numbered 1,626—seven more than reported by the city department of health. On this basis the infant mortality rate was 110.7 instead of 110.2, the rate announced by the department of health.

Of the 1,626 deaths, 185 were nonresident cases; for one, a foundling, residence was not reported. Nonresident babies who died in Pittsburgh came for the most part from homes in the large metropolitan area surrounding the city. The use this area makes of the city's hospital facilities affects the infant mortality rate, but the rates of all large cities which furnish hospital service to adjacent districts are similarly affected. The infant death rate for Pittsburgh, exclusive of nonresident births and deaths under 1 year, was 105 instead of 110.7.

WARD DISTRIBUTION OF INFANT DEATHS.

The distribution of the 1,440 deaths of infants whose homes were in Pittsburgh is shown on the map on page 12. Each dot represents an infant death in the ward and location designated. Deaths in hospitals were allocated to the ward of residence.

Thickly clustered dots in any ward do not necessarily indicate the most unfavorable conditions, since wards with densely populated areas may have a larger number of deaths but a smaller proportion in relation to the number of births. Six wards had higher rates than that for the fifteenth ward, where the greatest number of deaths (94) occurred.

Therefore the map on page 9, showing infant mortality rates by wards, must be considered in connection with the spot map.

This map shows that while the city rate of 110.7 represents a general level for the city, baby death rates for some sections of the city are much higher and for other sections much lower.

In the twenty-second ward, with an infant mortality rate of 157, a baby's death hazard was more than twice that of one born in the fourteenth ward with a rate of 64.

The rates for the 27 wards of Pittsburgh are given in the following table:

Infant mortality rates by ward of residence; Pittsburgh, 1920.

Ward.	Infant mortality rate.	Ward.	Infant mortality rate.
Rates more than 125:		Rates 90 to 100:	
Twenty-second.....	157	Eighteenth.....	97
First.....	156	Ninth.....	96
Second.....	143	Twenty-fifth.....	96
Twenty-third.....	138	Nineteenth.....	95
Rates 100 to 125:		Third.....	94
Sixth.....	121	Twelfth.....	93
Twenty-first.....	120	Twenty-seventh.....	91
Fifteenth.....	119	Fourth.....	90
Tenth.....	118	Rates less than 90:	
Sixteenth.....	113	Eleventh.....	89
Eighth.....	112	Seventh.....	79
Seventeenth.....	109	Thirteenth.....	70
Fifth.....	105	Fourteenth.....	64
Twenty-sixth.....	102		
Twentieth.....	102		
Twenty-fourth.....	100		

That the ward of residence was not in all cases accurately stated by the persons supplying the information for the death certificates was an interesting fact brought out by the analysis.

For the purpose of locating the deaths accurately on the spot map, in accordance with the addresses given on the death certificates, it was necessary to make a correction of the ward of residence stated on 75 certificates.

The wards in black on the shaded map focus attention on the areas of Pittsburgh, where the hazards to young life are the greatest.

The four black wards are river wards in the heart of the city.

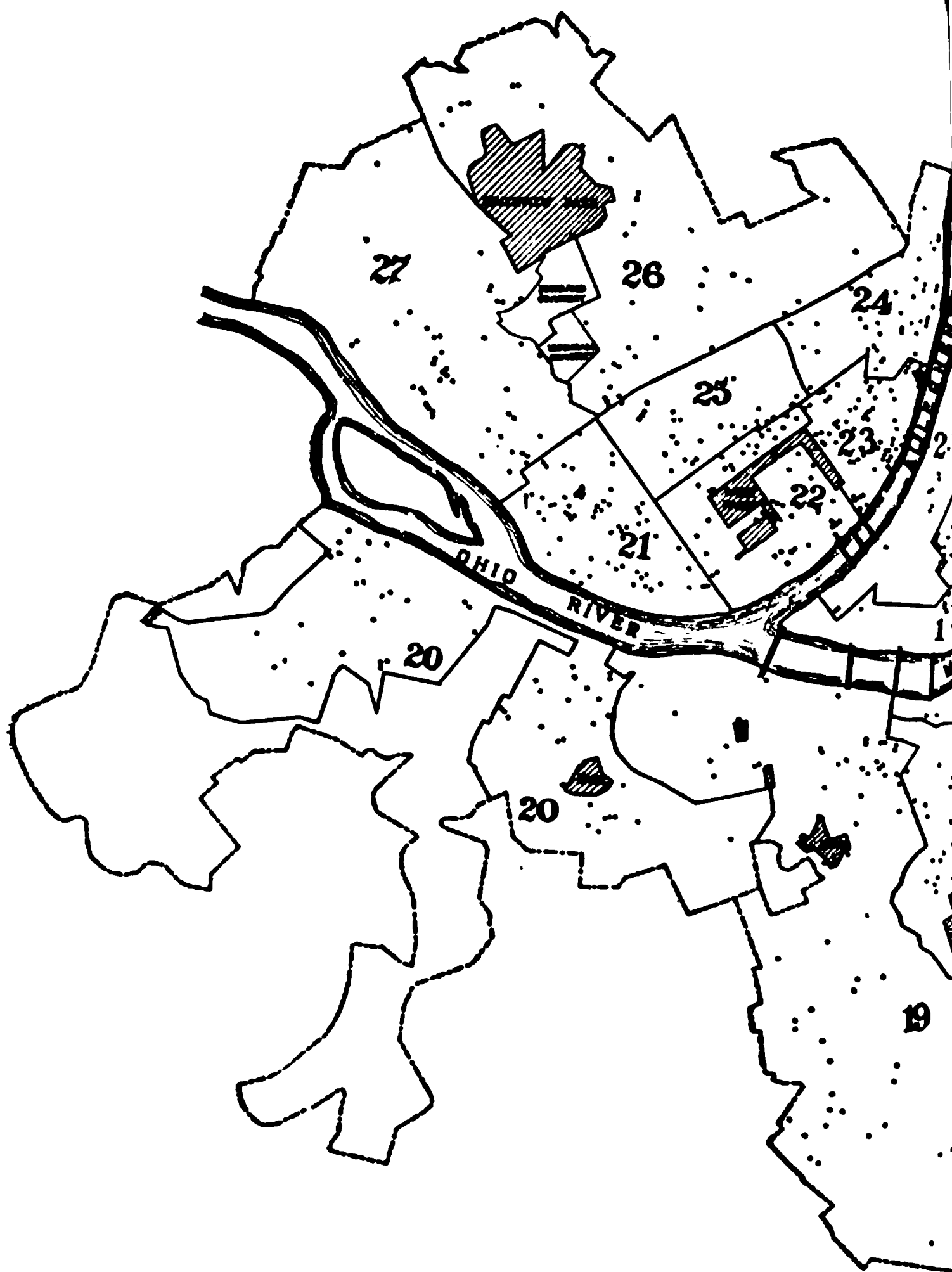
The twenty-second ward, with a rate of 157, the highest for the city, and the twenty-third ward, with a rate of 138, are adjoining areas on the north side of Pittsburgh, bordering the Allegheny River. The business district of the former city of Allegheny is within the confines of these two wards. A considerable portion of the areas of both wards, therefore, is occupied by business property.

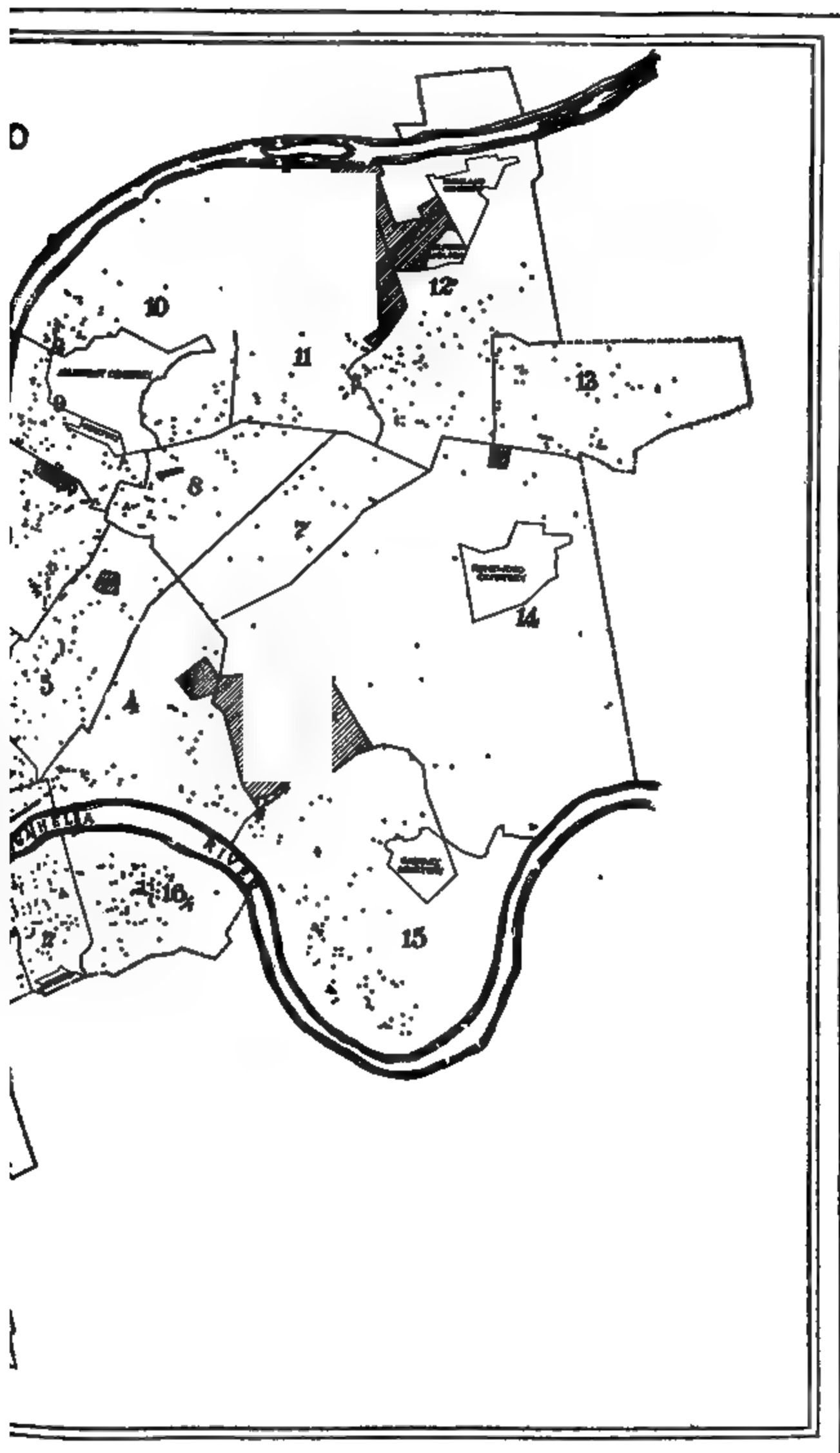
In the twenty-second ward the residential fringe circling the manufacturing and mercantile territory is known as a rooming-house district. The twenty-third ward is one of the most densely populated neighborhoods of the entire city.

The first ward, with an infant mortality rate of 156, is a section teeming with mercantile houses, mills, and factories, and the second ward, with a rate of 143, contains the city's largest center of wholesale and retail trade.

INFANT DEATHS IN PITTSBURGH

EACH DOT REPRESENTS ONE INFANT DEATH





The dots, representing infant deaths in the second ward, string for the most part along Penn Avenue and Mulberry Way. More than half the babies who died in this ward were from homes on those two thoroughfares.

Wards with somewhat lower mortality rates, but whose infant losses varied from 112 to 121 per 1,000 births, were the sixth, tenth, and eighth, the twenty-first on the north side and the fifteenth and sixteenth on the south side.

A significant rate was that for the third ward. This ward is a triangle, two sides of which abut the black area on the shaded map. In many respects it is not dissimilar in character to those wards which were the least safe for babies. It has a large foreign element, and in density of population and consequent congestion it resembles the twenty-third ward. Yet its baby death rate was but 94, compared to 147 for the four black wards combined. The map on page 21 indicates a relationship between infant-welfare work and the favorable rate for the third ward.

Located in the ward were two free maternity clinics, two city milk stations, a substation of the Public Health Nursing Association, and the only well-baby clinic in Pittsburgh in 1920, which was maintained by the Irene Kaufmann Settlement. In addition, the ward had had the advantage of 19 years of neighborhood nursing service supplied by the Kaufmann Settlement.

The rate of 89 for the eleventh ward was identical with that for the urban part of the birth-registration area in 1919. Wards with more favorable rates than this were the seventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth. The most favorable rate for the city was that of 64 for the fourteenth ward, a high-class residential section.

FOREIGN MOTHERS IN PITTSBURGH.

The proportion of the foreign-born white in Pittsburgh in 1920 is fixed at about one-fifth of the total population by preliminary figures of the United States Bureau of the Census. Yet more than one-third of the resident births in Pittsburgh for that year were to foreign-born white mothers.

Considering the white resident group, the infant mortality rate for babies of foreign mothers was 110, compared to that of 95 for babies of native mothers.

The findings in this respect for Pittsburgh are in agreement with general findings for the country.

That the babies whose mothers come from other countries have less chance to survive than those whose mothers are born in the United States is shown by the infant mortality rates for white children given for the entire birth registration area in 1919—93 for the foreign group and 78 for the native group.

Studies of the Children's Bureau in eight cities also indicate higher rates for the foreign born but wide variations for different racial groups. Thus for the babies of Jewish mothers, included in these studies, the infant mortality rate was but 54 while for the babies of Slavic mothers the rate was 159.

From material available for this study, such racial influences reflected in infant mortality rates can not be shown, but comparisons must be limited to a classification by country of birth.

A distribution of the foreign population of Pittsburgh in 1920, by country of birth, shows that nearly one-fifth came from what was Austria-Hungary. The next largest groups were from Russia, Germany, Poland, and Italy, each of which contributed about 13 per cent of the total foreign element. About 12 per cent were Irish and 10 per cent came from England, Scotland, and Wales combined.¹

A classification of resident babies, by mother's nativity, affords the following comparisons among these predominant groups:

Mothers from Italy were the most fortunate in bringing their babies safely through the first year. The infant mortality rate for babies of Italian mothers was 92, lower than that of 95, the native rate.

Rates for all other of the predominant foreign groups were noticeably higher than that for babies of native mothers.

Rates higher than are usual among the children of mothers coming from lands where English is spoken were found for Pittsburgh. The rate for babies of mothers from England, Scotland, and Wales was 140 and for babies of Irish mothers, 129.

Owing to the shift in boundaries, due to the war, the returns for mothers stated as coming from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Poland are not clear-cut, nor do data permit of comparisons between Jewish, Polish, and other racial groups common to the three countries. For the babies of mothers from Austria-Hungary, the largest foreign group, the rate was 128.

Since 1910, the Negro population of Pittsburgh has increased by 47 per cent, according to 1920 returns of the Federal census, constituting 6 per cent of the total population in 1920. The death rate for Negro infants was 164 per 1,000 births.

DEATHS IN EARLY INFANCY.

The first few days and weeks of life constitute the most perilous period of infancy.

Nearly one-half of the babies in Pittsburgh who failed to survive their first year succumbed before they were a month old. The mortality under 1 month of age was 48 per 1,000 births.

¹ Preliminary figures, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

That such deaths are largely preventable has been clearly demonstrated. What can be accomplished by good prenatal care in saving babies at and shortly after birth is shown from the following experiences in Cleveland, Boston, and New York.

A study of records of 442 mothers receiving prenatal care during 1919 in one district of Cleveland, made by the hospital and health survey, showed that it was possible to reduce the mortality rate among babies under 1 month of age to 24.8 per 1,000 births as compared with the city rate of 31.4 per 1,000 births. This was in a district where the baby death rate was found to be much higher than the rate for the city as a whole.

In the city of Boston in 1920 infant mortality under two weeks of age was 37 per 1,000 births. For births to 4,036 mothers who were given prenatal care by the district nursing association, it was 13 per 1,000—a marked reduction.

From figures of the New York Maternity Center Association it is known that among 4,496 women who were supervised through pregnancy and for a month after the baby was born, the proportion of babies dying before the end of the first month was only 42 per cent of that of the city as a whole. These mothers lived under the low-income handicap; yet with proper care they were able in a large number of cases to bring healthy babies to birth.

CAUSES OF DEATH.

The deaths in early infancy are closely identified with those occurring from natal and prenatal causes. In this group are assembled deaths from prematurity, congenital debility, injuries at birth, malformations and syphilis—causes for the most part directly connected with the care and condition of the mother.

That the well-being of the mother is the key to the safety of the child is shown by the highest shaft on the chart on page 17.

The number of babies in Pittsburgh deprived of even a fair start in life in 1920 was 704, 43 per cent of all the babies who died in 1920.

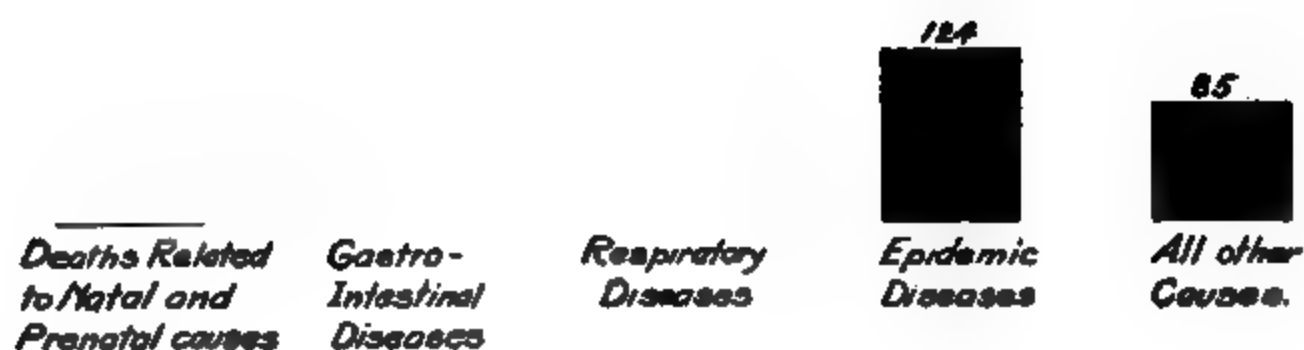
The most effective method by which the community can cut the high ratio of these losses is by providing care and instruction for the mother before her baby's birth and skilled attendance during her confinement.

The second shaft on the chart indicates the group of deaths caused from gastrointestinal diseases, deaths occurring for the most part in the heat of summer. This column can be cut by instructions to mothers in the proper care and feeding of babies, and by adequate civic supervision to insure purity and proper handling of milk supplies.

Respiratory diseases claimed the third largest group of babies. Bronchitis and pneumonia, combined in this group, take their largest

DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE GROUPED BY CAUSES PITTSBURGH 1920

704



toll of young life in congested districts. Crowded homes and lack of fresh air leave babies easy prey to these diseases.

Of the 124 deaths from epidemic diseases represented in the fourth shaft of the cause chart, whooping cough, influenza, and measles were the chief causes.

The effect of the seasons with relation to deaths from gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases is shown by the summer and winter peaks of baby deaths illustrated on the chart on page 19.

The summer peak of deaths from gastrointestinal diseases instances the hazard of hot weather to baby life. Deaths from those causes showed marked increases in June and July, culminating in August and September, when 137 deaths were recorded.

Infant deaths from respiratory causes reached the highest peak in February, when 73 babies were victims of bronchitis and pneumonia.

That the immediate causes of death thus analyzed have their sources in those more remote and infinitely complex factors touching the social, economic, and civic conditions in Pittsburgh can be inferred.

The subject of infant mortality in its various aspects has had a large share of the attention of the Children's Bureau during the nine years of its existence. Careful investigations which have included surveys of civic conditions and inquiries into family life in communities of diverse types have furnished certain unvarying conclusions.

Low wages, poor housing, insanitary surroundings, ignorance, illiteracy, the lack of nursing and medical care were everywhere coincident with high infant mortality rates.

The housing problem Pittsburgh shares in common with all large cities, where building has not kept pace with the growth in population. The population of Pittsburgh in 1920 was 588,343, an increase of 10 per cent over that of 1910, and in 1910 the lack of adequate housing provisions for Pittsburgh was a matter of serious concern.

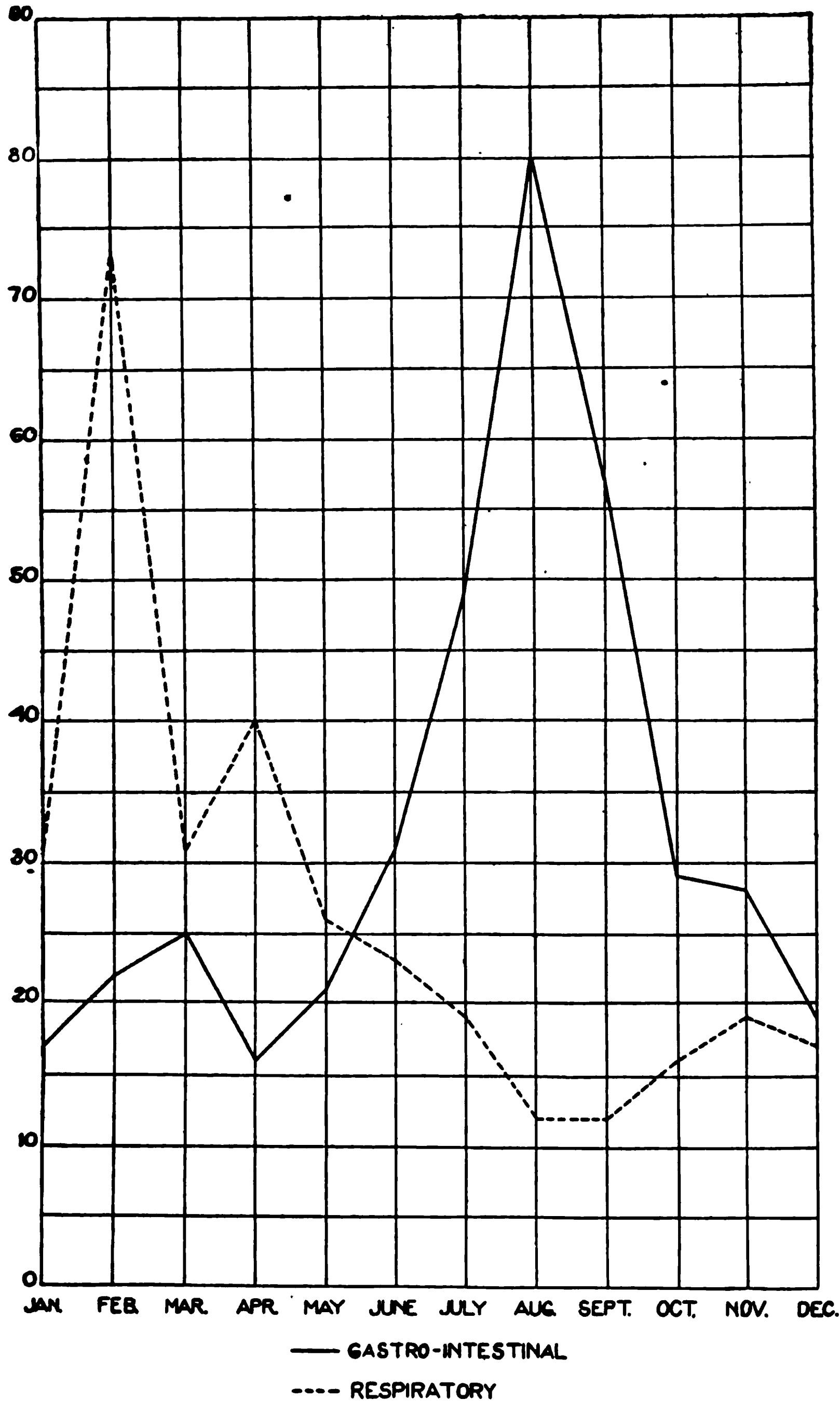
That the waste of infant life due to ignorance and neglect can be cut by effective preventive measures has been demonstrated by experiences in this and other countries. Much has been accomplished by providing maternity or prenatal centers, baby health centers, and home service by the public health nurse.

INFANT-WELFARE WORK IN PITTSBURGH.

The specialized equipment for such service available in Pittsburgh in 1920 is shown on the map on page 21.

The city's contribution to this service is indicated by the milk stations which are operated by the bureau of child welfare, Pittsburgh Department of Public Health.

SUMMER AND WINTER PEAKS OF INFANT DEATHS.



Number of deaths from gastro-intestinal and respiratory diseases by calendar months.

The bureau had a permanent staff of 35 physicians, 18 nurses, and 14 assistants in 1920, but the major part of the work during ten months of the year was devoted to school medical inspections. Part-time service by ten physicians and by the nursing staff was given to the infant-welfare work conducted by the bureau.

The bureau operated 14 permanent milk stations during 1920 and six additional stations during the summer when the schools were closed. The stations were usually located at public-school buildings or settlement houses and were kept open one hour a day during the winter and each morning during the summer.

Milk was given free or below cost for infants under 2 years of age, and in exceptional cases for nursing mothers and older children in need of nourishment. Weekly visits to the station were made by mother and child. A physician examined each baby and gave the mother written instructions for milk modification. Nurses visited the mothers at their homes to demonstrate methods of milk modification and to advise about the care of the baby.

More than 32,000 visits were made to the stations in 1920 by the 1,485 patrons registered.

The city's milk bill for this service was more than \$21,500 in 1920. Of this about \$4,400 was returned by patrons who paid in part for the milk received, making a net expenditure of about \$17,000 for milk.

In addition to medical inspections in the schools and the maintenance of milk stations, the bureau of child welfare was in charge of the supervision of midwives.

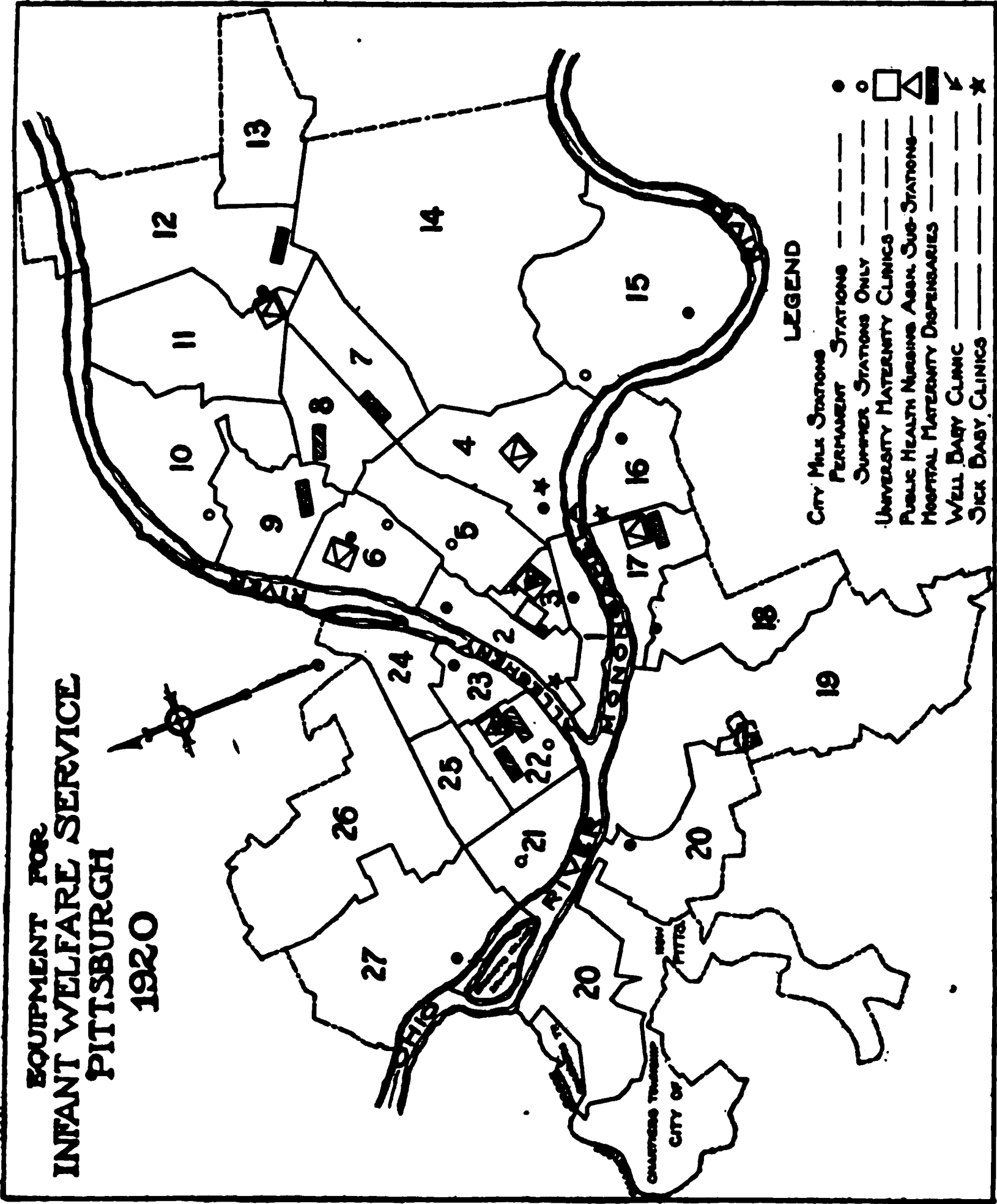
The practice of midwifery in Pittsburgh is controlled by the State, but examining, licensing, and inspection are carried on through the bureau. Nurses of the bureau who were paid by the State for inspections visited the homes and filled out schedules of information concerning all births attended by midwives. In 1920, the bureau had supervision over 78 licensed midwives who reported 2,809 births.

The Public Health Nursing Association is the only private organization in Pittsburgh engaged in public health nursing.

The association was not organized until July 1, 1919; has since united all the independent organizations engaged in visiting nursing.

Although its service is general in character, it has recognized the need for prenatal and infant care, and is emphasizing that feature of its program. The service given in 1920 consisted of home visits, to advise the expectant mother, nursing care for the mother and newborn child, and instructions in infant hygiene and home cleanliness.

This service was extended to all mothers referred to the association by various agencies, to all patients of the university maternity clinics,



to patients coming under private physicians, upon request, and to the policyholders of a large life insurance company.

The association received pay for its work for the insurance company, but was otherwise maintained by private subscription. Its expenditures in 1920 were about \$70,000.

All instructive service to mothers, both before and after the baby's birth, was given free. Nursing service was free to those unable to pay. To others the cost of the service was graduated in accordance with each family's financial resources.

The association had an average of 42 field nurses on its staff in 1920 for service in Allegheny County. Since all the nurses received general assignments, the exact amount of time given to infant and maternal service can not be measured, but it is estimated that at least one-third of the cases handled can be so classed. About 3,000 mothers came under the care of the association from July 1, 1919, to December 31, 1920.

The map on page 21 shows the location of the six substations of the association in 1920, from which it carried on its prenatal service and infant hygiene work.

The University of Pittsburgh maintained seven free maternity clinics in 1920. The location of these are shown on the map on page 21. The staff for this work was composed of a graduate physician, a nurse, and a social worker. Each dispensary was open one day a week. Prenatal service was given and the physician in charge attended all confinement cases in the homes. Nursing care following the confinement was given by the public health nursing association, with which the university clinics cooperate.

Medical students at the university secure their obstetrical training through the work of these dispensaries, but each delivery is under the direction of a trained obstetrician.

The community and settlement houses at which the university clinics and the substations of the Public Health Nursing Association were located gave generous cooperation to the work and contributed to the equipment by supplying free quarters for the services.

Out-patient maternity service was supplied in 1920 by seven Pittsburgh hospitals, which maintained dispensaries for patients to be confined in the hospitals. Special clinics for infants were maintained by two hospitals, and a well-baby clinic was operated by the Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

The Pittsburgh and Allegheny Milk and Ice Association operated a baby clinic and distributed milk and ice free to needy families having young children. Milk was delivered to the homes of 463 families in 1920. The expenditures of the association, which is wholly financed by private subscriptions, were \$23,000 in 1920. More than \$17,000 of this amount was expended for milk.

CONCLUSIONS.

The need for an amplification of such services in Pittsburgh is evidenced by the infant mortality rate of 110 in 1920.

Experts have estimated that a city should have one public health nurse for every 2,000 of population in order to protect adequately the health of its mothers and children.² On this basis Pittsburgh, with a population of 588,343 in 1920, needed 294 public health nurses, a force far in excess of that provided.

It must be noted, too, that the public health nursing association had rounded out only its first year of existence on July 1, 1920, so that the results of its prenatal and infant-welfare work could not be fully measured for 1920.

A further standard for public protection of maternity and infancy requires maternity or prenatal centers sufficient to provide for all cases not receiving prenatal supervision from private physicians.² An example of the inadequacy of this service in Pittsburgh is illustrated by the map on page 21, which shows that only one ward in the entire south-side section of the city had prenatal clinic service in 1920.

To comply with minimum standards set up, additional health centers to give health instruction under medical supervision for all infants not under the care of a private physician also are needed.

In the city department of health the staff of the bureau of child welfare was used largely for medical inspections in the schools. An increased force which would permit of a staff of physicians and nurses giving full-time service to infant-welfare work is needed, and has been requested by the superintendent of the bureau.

Figures of the bureau show that for the maintenance of milk stations by the city the amount spent for milk was \$21,798 and for salaries \$14,578.

An adjustment that would permit of a larger proportion of expenditures for salaries to provide instruction for the mothers and less for milk would be in accordance with the practice of a number of cities where work for the reduction of infant mortality has been effective.

Speaking of the reduction of infant mortality in New York City, Dr. S. Josephine Baker, director bureau of child hygiene, New York City Department of Health, says:

The evolution of the infants' milk station is essential. Pure milk, however desirable, will never alone solve the infant mortality problem. Without overlooking the value of pure milk, I believe this problem must primarily be solved by educational measures. In other words, the solution of the problem of infant

² Minimum Standards for Child Welfare, adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919, Children's Bureau Publication No. 62, Washington, 1919.

mortality is 20 per cent pure milk and 80 per cent training of the mothers. The infants' milk stations will serve their wider usefulness when they become educational centers for prenatal instruction and the encouragement of breast feeding and teaching better hygiene, with the mother instructed to buy the proper grade of milk at a place most convenient to her home.³

Only by complete and prompt birth registration can Pittsburgh measure the extent of its infant mortality and locate the areas where the problem is most pressing.

A campaign for better birth registration would awaken the public to the importance of complete local records. Many cities have enlisted the interest of parents by sending them copies of their babies' birth certificates.

Physicians, midwives, and others who fail to report births as required by law should be vigorously prosecuted.

The large number of infant deaths occurring in the first weeks of life, and the high shaft representing the deaths from natal and prenatal causes indicate that the preventive measures outlined are needed to reduce infant mortality in Pittsburgh.

A study based on an analysis of official records is too limited to afford conclusions in regard to all factors known to be linked with excessive infant losses.

While a survey alone could determine the extent to which economic conditions, poor housing, and poor sanitation have been reflected in high infant death rates for Pittsburgh, it is known that only by community responsibility for decent living conditions can every child be given a fair chance.

³ Transactions of the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, 1912, vol. 8, p. 141.



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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

2.5 CHILDREN'S BUREAU

JULIA C. LATHROP, Chief

STATURES AND WEIGHTS OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE

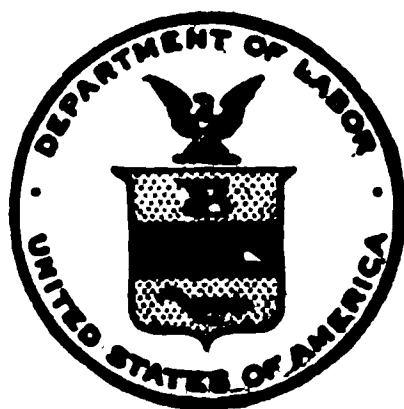
By

ROBERT MORSE WOODBURY, Ph. D.

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COMMUNITY CHILD-WELFARE SERIES No. 3

Bureau Publication No. 87



1
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, May 11, 1921.

SIR: I transmit herewith a report on Statures and Weights of Children Under Six Years of Age.

The material for this report was secured in 1918-19 in the course of the weighing and measuring test of "Children's Year." The plan for the test was drawn up by Dr. Grace L. Meigs (Crowder). The work of tabulation was under the direction of Dr. Robert M. Woodbury, who has written the report.

Grateful acknowledgments are due to the members of the two advisory committees who gave generously of their time and whose recommendations as to the use of material guided the preparation of this report. These committees were:

Committee of the Pediatric Section of the American Medical Association: Dr. J. P. Sedgwick, Dr. Richard M. Smith, Dr. William Weston, Dr. Herman Schwartz, Dr. E. C. Fleischmer.

Statistical Advisory Committee: Prof. Walter F. Willcox, Prof. Irving Fisher, Prof. Thomas S. Adams, Prof. Robert E. Chaddock, Prof. J. W. Glover, Miss Edith Abbott.

To other authorities consulted grateful acknowledgments are also made for valuable suggestions and criticisms. These other authorities included: Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, Dr. Bird T. Baldwin, Dr. Clark Wissler, Dr. Charles R. Bardeen, Dr. Charles B. Davenport, Dr. Louis I. Dublin, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, Dr. F. S. Crum, and Dr. Fritz B. Talbot.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP,
Chief.

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

STATURES AND WEIGHTS OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE.

INTRODUCTION.

During children's year, the second year of this country's participation in the World War, a series of campaigns was undertaken to focus public attention upon infant and child welfare. Experience in other countries had shown the special need of protective measures for children during war time. This need was recognized by President Wilson in his letter to the Secretary of Labor:

Next to the duty of doing everything possible for the soldiers at the front, there could be, it seems to me, no more patriotic duty than that of protecting the children, who constitute one-third of our population * * * I heartily approve the plan of the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense for making the second year of the war one of united activity on behalf of children, and in that sense a children's year. S

A full description of the children's year campaigns is contained in *Children's Year*,¹ a publication of the Children's Bureau, and in an address by Dr. Anna E. Rude at a meeting of the American Public Health Association in December, 1918.²

The present bulletin is concerned solely with the first of these campaigns, that for the weighing and measuring of children. A record blank in two parts was prepared, one for the parents to keep and the other for return to the Children's Bureau. The parents' half of the card contained spaces for the child's stature, weight, and age and for the date of examination, together with spaces for later measurements, to form a continuous record of the child's growth. It contained also a table of average heights and weights with which the child's actual height and weight could be compared.

Though based on the best available data, it was realized that the averages given in the table on the parents' half of the card were far from satisfactory. No complete series covering all ages was available. Three different sources were used—Dr. Holt's averages, based upon about 2,000 measurements made in private practice, for boys and girls at birth and for boys at 3 months;³ Dr. Crum's figures, based

¹ *Children's Year*, a brief summary of work done and suggestions for follow-up work. Children's Bureau publication No. 67. S

² Anna E. Rude, M. D.: "The children's year campaign," in *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. IX, No. 5 (May, 1919), pp. 346-351.

³ L. Emmett Holt, *Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*, 1916, p. 20. Figures for 3 months given in a personal communication.

upon 10,423 "normal babies in 31 States" for the period from 6 to 48 months, inclusive;⁴ and Bowditch's averages, based upon nearly 24,000 Boston school children of native and foreign parentage,⁵ for the period from 5 to 16 years of age. The first two sources named gave weights without clothing, while the last gave weights in ordinary clothing but without shoes. The series from 6 to 48 months had been criticised on the ground that the competitive element present in baby shows, at which the bulk of these measurements were secured, was likely to have produced too high averages. On account of lack of material, gaps in the table were left between birth and 6 months for girls and, except for the figure at 3 months, for boys; and also between 48 months and 66 months, the age to which the first of Bowditch's averages (5 years) corresponds. The continuity of the series was broken in passing from weights without clothing at 48 months to weights in ordinary clothing but without shoes at 5 years. It might be mentioned, further, that the averages from 36 to 48 months were based on relatively few cases (from 9 to 90), while the average for 5 years, the lowest of Bowditch's figures, was probably less reliable than his averages for later years. Yet, as explained on the record blank, the averages presented were not far different from averages drawn from other sources.⁶

The bureau's half of the card contained spaces for the child's stature, weight, sex, and date of birth, for the country of birth of father and mother, and for a statement of whether or not the child was in good health or had physical defects. Spaces were also provided for the date and place of examination and for the signature of the examiner.

As the campaign progressed calls for record blanks quickly exceeded the 500,000 originally printed, and before the campaign was finished over 7,000,000 blanks had been distributed. From these the bureau eventually received over 2,000,000 records. In view of the large demand for cards it was found necessary to concentrate upon children under 6 years of age, and accordingly the great majority of records received were for children under 6.

The bureau was thus put in possession of a far larger mass of data upon heights and weights than was ever before available for children of these ages. In view of the gaps in and the unsatisfactory character of the material previously available for these ages, it seemed a duty to utilize and make available the information contained in these

⁴ Anthropometric Statistics of Children—Ages 6 to 48 months. Frederick S. Crum, Publications of the American Statistical Association, Vol. XV, 1916-17, pp. 332-336.

⁵ Eighth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts, 1877, p. 275.

⁶ Bowditch's averages are in substantial agreement with the table of statures based on over 88,000 children in Boston, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Worcester, Toronto, and Oakland, and the table of weights calculated from the data of 68,000 children in Boston, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. See B. T. Baldwin, Physical Growth and School Progress, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1914, No. 10, whole No. 581, p. 150. The weights based upon "10,423 normal babies" were, however, somewhat higher than those given by Dr. Holt for children under 2 years.

records. The analysis would serve to establish upon adequate material drawn from all parts of the country a complete series of average statures and weights for young children. It might also serve, if another similar mass of material were to be accumulated after an interval of time, as a basic series from which changes in average statures and weights could be measured.

The total number of records received was so great that it was impossible, in view of the limited resources of the bureau, to tabulate the entire mass of material. A smaller number would afford a basis large enough for accurate results, and would permit of a selection of the most reliable part of the data.

Consultations were held with anthropological, statistical, and medical authorities in regard to the subjects and methods of investigation. These conferences were held before the commencement of tabulation, and during the progress of the work as questions arose. Questions of a statistical nature were referred to the statistical advisory committee of the bureau. A special committee of the pediatric section of the American Medical Association cooperated in connection with the medical questions.

In the final tabulation about one-twelfth of the total number of cards was included.

BASIS OF SELECTION.

The basis of selection was fourfold. In the first place only cards signed by physicians were included. If a physician signed the card it might be assumed that he was the examiner or that he exercised supervision over the taking of measurements. Since the main tabulations were to be based on children who were without serious physical defects, it was desirable to select those who had been examined or at least passed under review by physicians. A further discussion of this point is given below.

In the second place, cards were not included in the tables unless a definite statement was received from the examining physician that the children were weighed and measured without clothing. The directions for weighing specified that children under 5 years of age were to be weighed and measured without clothing. A thousand questionnaires sent to physicians selected at random throughout the country showed, however, that many had not followed this direction exactly; some had weighed children in underclothing, others reported weighing with clothing and making deductions before entering weights, still others had measured the children with their shoes on, etc. It was decided, therefore, to send a questionnaire to every physician who had signed a card and to include only cards signed by those who reported weighing and measuring without clothing. The physicians were asked to specify separately the method of weighing children under 1 year of age, from 1 to 5 years, and 5

years of age and over. It frequently happened that physicians reported that children under 1 year of age had been weighed and measured without clothing, while those over 1 year or over 5 years had been weighed differently; in these cases only the cards of children who were weighed without clothing were included. The rule that only children weighed without clothing should be included in the tables was applied to children 5 years of age and over, even though the directions on the record blank had not specified this method of weighing at these ages, since only thus could the series of heights and weights be placed on a uniform basis.⁷

The third basis of selection, as already mentioned, was the absence of physical defects which might affect stature or weight. The defects and diseases which were the basis of exclusion from the tabulation included arthritis, cretinism, curvature of the spine, dwarfism, heart disease, hydrocephalus, idiocy, imbecility, joint disease, marasmus, malnutrition, paralysis, Pott's disease, rachitis, spina bifida, syphilis, and tuberculosis; and any children who were noted as sick at the time of examination were excluded. In general any defect or disease which necessarily interferes with the growth and nutrition of a child excluded the card from tabulation.

In this connection it should be remembered that all children who were included in the tabulation were weighed and measured, examined or reviewed, by physicians. It is probable, therefore, that all cases of the more serious defects included in the list were noted upon the card. The reporting of defects and diseases the diagnosis of which is at all difficult was probably far less uniform. Nevertheless, the group selected for tabulation represents, so far as the physicians' records permitted, children without physical defects which might affect stature or weight.⁸

The fourth basis of selection was the completeness and accuracy of the record. All cards were excluded upon which any one or more

⁷ A small number of cards signed by physicians in California was included even though replies had not been received as to methods used in weighing and measuring. In this State a State-wide campaign was carried on by physicians working under detailed instructions. Answers to the questionnaires were received from about three-fifths of the physicians who had signed record cards; their cards were accepted or rejected in accordance with the general rule stated above. The replies showed, however, that practically all the children were weighed and measured without clothing. The cards of physicians from whom no replies were received were therefore included. The possible error arising from including these cards is small, since it is estimated that of all the California children included, 95 per cent of those under 1 year, 87 per cent of those from 1 to 5 years, and 82 per cent of those 5 years of age were weighed without clothing, and in a large number of the remaining cases the weights were entered after making deductions to allow for the weight of clothing. In the averages for the entire country the possible error arising from this source is negligible, since these children form such a small fraction of the general total.

⁸ The list of defects causing exclusion did not include carious teeth, diseased or enlarged tonsils, or adenoids. In order to learn whether the inclusion of children with these defects affected the general average stature and weight, a tabulation was made of 10,276 California and New York City children with definite diagnoses of diseased or enlarged tonsils, 3,728 children with definite diagnoses of adenoids, and 2,093 children with carious teeth. The results are presented on pp. 74-76, together with an estimate of the effect on the general average of including such children. The effect under 3 years of age is negligible; over 3, the elimination of children with these defects would have raised the general average stature not more than one-twentieth of an inch and the average weight only from 1 to 3 ounces, pp. 74-75.

of the following was not reported: Sex, age, height, weight, or color. Furthermore, cards were excluded upon which obviously impossible errors due to clerical inaccuracies appeared.⁹

ACCURACY OF MEASUREMENT.

The accuracy of the figures depends on three different items. In the first place, as already pointed out, it is obvious that whether the children were weighed and measured with or without clothing is of fundamental importance. Obviously all the children included had to be weighed according to a uniform rule as to clothing, if the results were to be of value. Since weighing without clothing avoids difficulties resulting from variations in the weight of clothing worn in the different seasons, in the North, and in the South, and by the different elements of the population, this method was adopted and specified in the instructions for weighing. If, then, children weighed with clothing were included, the averages would be too high. Error from this source, as already stated, was practically eliminated by the method of selection of the records.

In the second place the technique of weighing and measuring and the type and accuracy of the scales used would affect the result. Whether, for example, the weighing scales were properly balanced, whether in measuring children the best methods were followed to insure that the stature should be accurately secured, all such points are important; but they can not be determined from the records themselves. In connection with the weighing and measuring campaign a leaflet, "Suggestions to Examiners,"¹⁰ was drawn up and distributed. In this leaflet recommendations as to the most satisfactory methods of weighing and measuring were given, and references were made to a previous bulletin of the bureau, *How to Conduct a Children's Health Conference*. While it is impossible to determine to what extent these suggestions were followed, errors in weighing and measuring would tend in general to overstate and to understate the truth in an approximately equal number of cases and to approximately equal degrees. In other words, in a large number of measurements errors from this source would tend to offset one another. Though such errors would increase slightly the standard deviation and the variability of the measurements, the averages themselves would remain practically unaffected.

In the third place, the accuracy with which results were recorded must be considered. Clerical errors or omissions may, of course, have occurred. In some cases these may have been such as to cause

⁹ Such, for example, as a card which gave a stature of 36 inches "at birth." This error was doubtless due to entering the date of examination both for the date of examination and the date of birth. In subtracting the date of birth from the date of examination to find the age, it appears—erroneously—that the child was examined on the same day he was born.

¹⁰ Extracts containing the recommendations for weighing and measuring are given in the appendix.

the rejection of the card; the others would probably tend to offset one another in a large number of measurements. Measurements, furthermore, may not have been recorded with as great accuracy as they were secured; or vice versa, they may have been stated on the card with greater precision than the methods of securing them actually warranted. Stature, for example, may have been accurately secured to the nearest eighth of an inch and have been stated only to the nearest inch; or it may have been secured and stated accurately to the nearest half, quarter, or eighth of an inch; or it may have been stated in eighths without having been so accurately secured. The records themselves, obviously, do not show the accuracy with which the measurements were actually made, but they do show the fineness of the classification used in entering the measurements. Although this information does not furnish any basis for determining the absolute accuracy of the averages, it does throw light upon the relative accuracy and care in measurements made in the different sections of the country and for the white and Negro children included in their respective tables. These comparisons are discussed in the appendix, p. 78.

Except for the possibility of biased errors the precision of an average depends upon the variability, and upon the number of measurements.¹¹ This subject is discussed later in connection with the tables

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT.

In the tabulations height is stated to the nearest inch, weight to the nearest half pound; age is given in completed months, and the upper and lower limits of the ages included are stated in the tables. Cases in which the stated height fell on the even half inch, or on the dividing line between two groups, were divided equally, and half were included in the group below and half in the group above the dividing line. Similarly for weights; cases in which the weight was stated with a fraction of one-fourth or three-fourths of a pound were divided equally, and half were included with the unit next below and half with the unit next above. Thus, half the cases of children whose weights were stated as $15\frac{1}{4}$ pounds, for example, were arbitrarily classed in the group weighing $14\frac{3}{4}$ to $15\frac{1}{4}$ and half in the group weighing $15\frac{1}{4}$ to $15\frac{3}{4}$ pounds. The age was in every case computed from the dates of examination and of birth and classified by months. The average age of the children in each group, therefore, is approximately halfway between the upper and lower limits of age given. In comparing these figures with other series of measurements, the definition of the units, as just stated, must always be borne in mind.

¹¹ The precision of an average in the technical sense varies directly with the square root of the number of measurements and inversely with the square root of the sum of the mean squared deviation from the average.

STATURES AND WEIGHTS.

SIZE OF SELECTED GROUP.

Records for 172,000 children met the tests of selection described, and were tabulated for the general tables of stature and weight. These records included all those among the 2,000,000 cards received which fulfilled every requirement. All but a small number, 1,612, of these children were under 6 years of age. The number of records received for children under 6 years of age represented, therefore, about one-seventh, and the number tabulated about 1.2 per cent, of the total number of children of this age in the country.

The records were divided at the outset into two parts, and those for white and for colored children were tabulated separately. Since the group of white children was large, comprising 167,024, while that for colored children was comparatively small, comprising only 4,976 records, the main discussion is of the group of white children.

WHITE CHILDREN.

Average statures and weights.

Table I gives average statures and weights for white boys and girls for each age up to 72 months.¹ The figures shown in this table have been smoothed to eliminate slight irregularities in the progression of statures and weights.² Charts I and II show in graphic form the increase in stature and weight during the first six years of life.

Boys under 6 years of age are found to be slightly taller and heavier than girls of the same ages. The averages for boys increase from 21.16 inches and 9.11 pounds at under 1 month to 43.87 inches and 41.40 pounds at 71 months. At the same time those for girls increase from 20.89 inches and 8.65 pounds at under 1 month to 43.52 inches and 40.36 pounds at 71 months. The boys average from one-third to one-half inch taller and weigh about a pound more than the girls of the same ages.

¹ Figures in units of the metric system are given in General Table 1, p. 85.

² The method of smoothing is as follows: The differences between the successive averages, indicating monthly growth, are first smoothed by substituting for each figure a new one equal to the average of five values, the figure itself and the two preceding and the two following figures. The process is then repeated a second time upon this first smoothed series. These figures are then adjusted so that the sum of the smoothed is equal to the sum of the original figures indicating growth. These final smoothed growth figures are then used to construct the smoothed series of averages. The first two and the last two averages have been kept unchanged.

Chart I.—Stature and age, by sex.

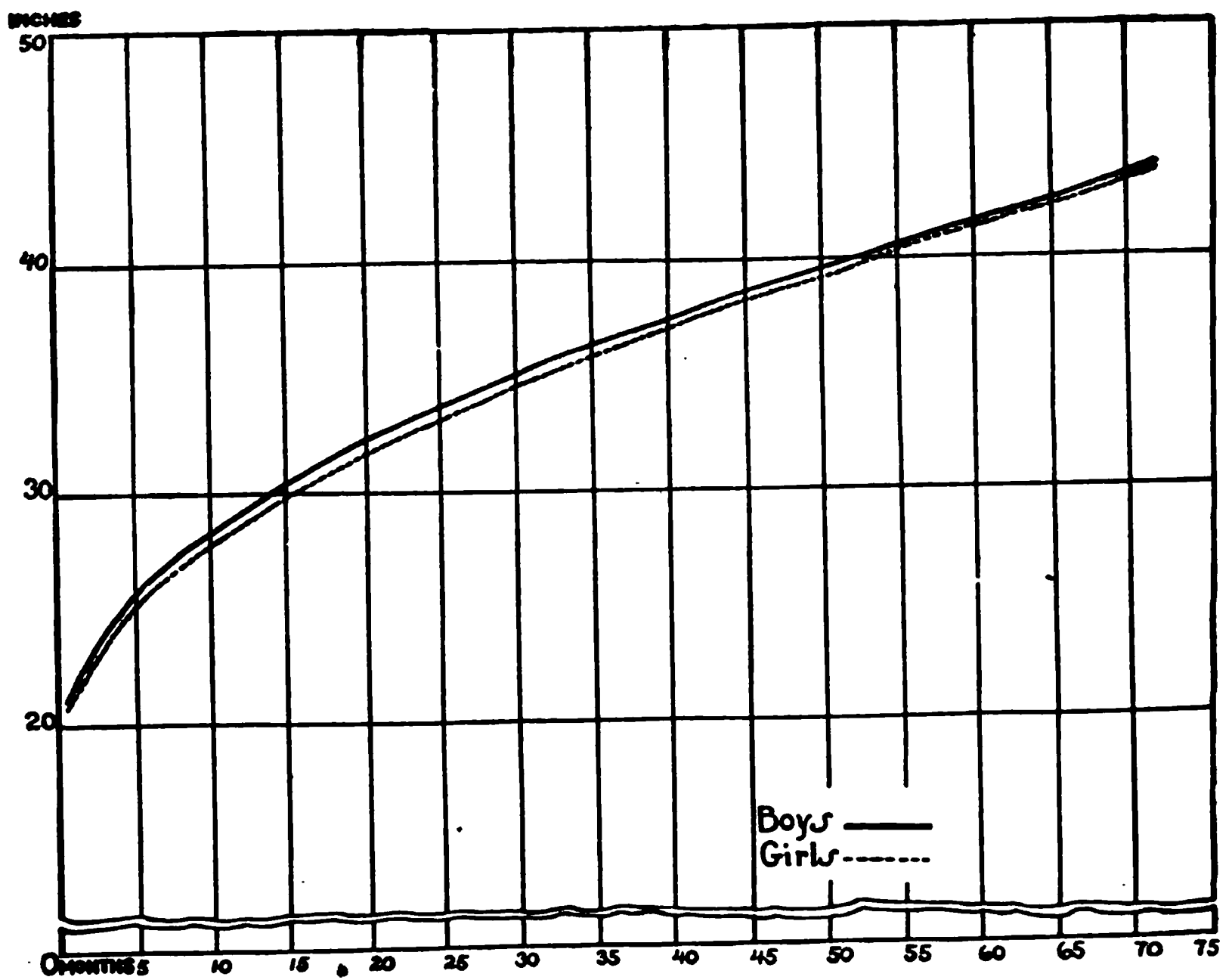


Chart II.—Weight and age, by sex.

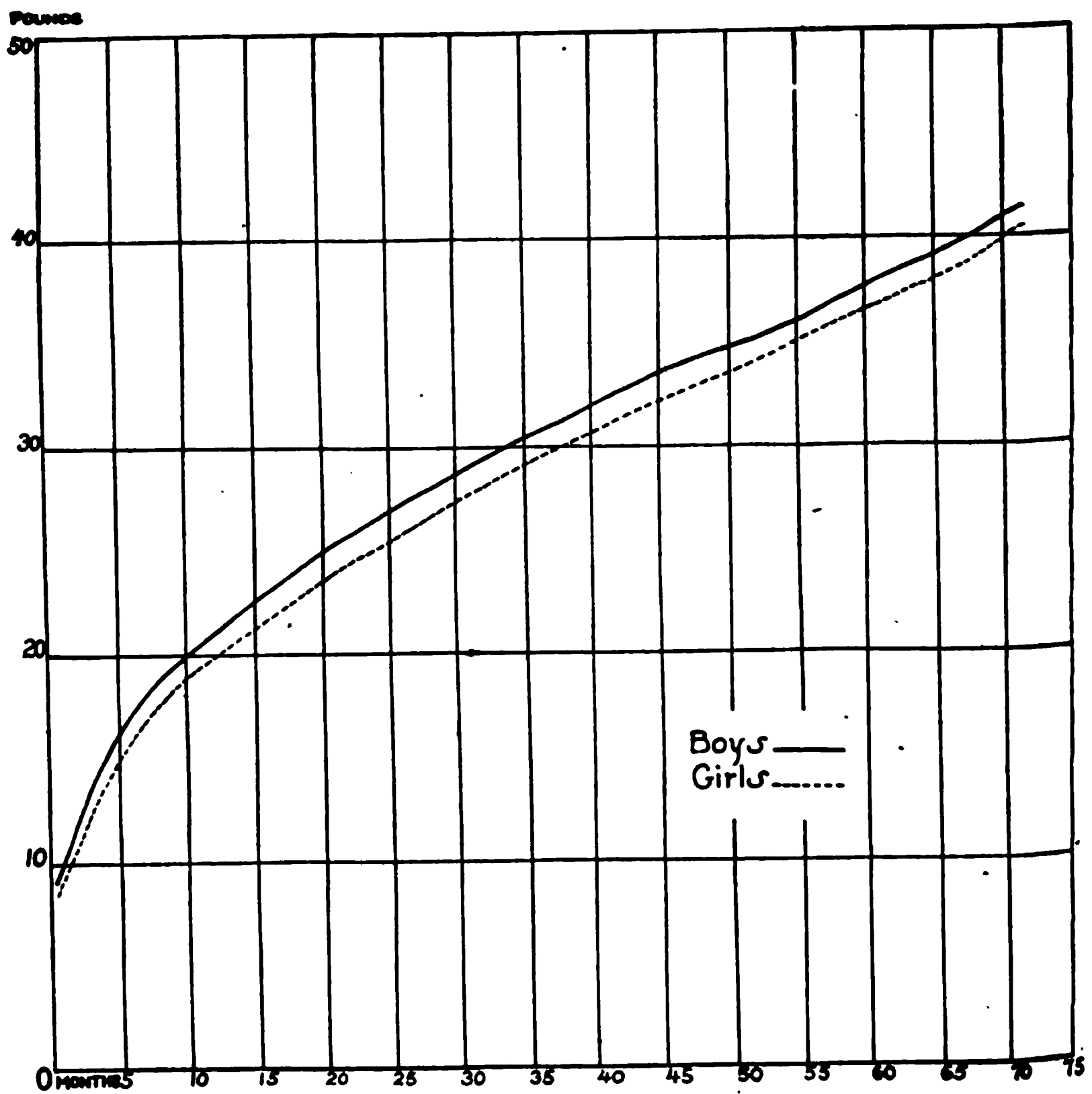


TABLE I.—Average statures and weights, from birth to 6 years, by ages, smoothed figures; white children.¹

Age.	Boys.		Girls.	
	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	21.16	9.11	20.89	8.65
1 month, under 2.....	22.47	10.88	21.92	10.14
2 months, under 3.....	23.58	12.61	23.09	11.71
3 months, under 4.....	24.55	14.07	24.00	13.03
4 months, under 5.....	25.38	15.37	24.83	14.25
5 months, under 6.....	26.10	16.50	25.53	15.32
6 months, under 7.....	26.72	17.47	26.15	16.26
7 months, under 8.....	27.27	18.31	26.70	17.09
8 months, under 9.....	27.76	19.04	27.20	17.81
9 months, under 10.....	28.21	19.68	27.66	18.45
10 months, under 11.....	28.64	20.27	28.10	19.03
11 months, under 12.....	29.06	20.81	28.51	19.56
12 months, under 13.....	29.47	21.32	28.91	20.04
13 months, under 14.....	29.87	21.82	29.30	20.51
14 months, under 15.....	30.26	22.31	29.69	20.96
15 months, under 16.....	30.64	22.78	30.08	21.42
16 months, under 17.....	31.02	23.25	30.47	21.88
17 months, under 18.....	31.39	23.72	30.86	22.35
18 months, under 19.....	31.76	24.18	31.24	22.81
19 months, under 20.....	32.11	24.62	31.60	23.26
20 months, under 21.....	32.44	25.04	31.93	23.68
21 months, under 22.....	32.76	25.45	32.24	24.07
22 months, under 23.....	33.06	25.84	32.53	24.45
23 months, under 24.....	33.34	26.21	32.81	24.81
24 months, under 25.....	33.62	26.58	33.09	25.17
25 months, under 26.....	33.89	26.95	33.37	25.54
26 months, under 27.....	34.16	27.31	33.66	25.92
27 months, under 28.....	34.43	27.68	33.95	26.31
28 months, under 29.....	34.71	28.06	34.24	26.70
29 months, under 30.....	34.99	28.45	34.53	27.09
30 months, under 31.....	35.27	28.83	34.82	27.48
31 months, under 32.....	35.54	29.20	35.09	27.85
32 months, under 33.....	35.79	29.56	35.34	28.20
33 months, under 34.....	36.02	29.88	35.58	28.54
34 months, under 35.....	36.24	30.18	35.81	28.88
35 months, under 36.....	36.46	30.47	36.03	29.20
36 months, under 37.....	36.67	30.75	36.25	29.51
37 months, under 38.....	36.89	31.04	36.48	29.82
38 months, under 39.....	37.11	31.34	36.72	30.13
39 months, under 40.....	37.34	31.67	36.96	30.46
40 months, under 41.....	37.57	32.01	37.21	30.79
41 months, under 42.....	37.81	32.36	37.46	31.12
42 months, under 43.....	38.05	32.71	37.70	31.44
43 months, under 44.....	38.29	33.05	37.92	31.73
44 months, under 45.....	38.51	33.36	38.13	32.00
45 months, under 46.....	38.72	33.65	38.33	32.27
46 months, under 47.....	38.91	33.91	38.52	32.53
47 months, under 48.....	39.09	34.14	38.70	32.78
48 months, under 49.....	39.25	34.36	38.89	33.05
49 months, under 50.....	39.42	34.59	39.08	33.31
50 months, under 51.....	39.59	34.82	39.27	33.57
51 months, under 52.....	39.77	35.06	39.47	33.85
52 months, under 53.....	39.96	35.33	39.69	34.17
53 months, under 54.....	40.18	35.63	39.91	34.48
54 months, under 55.....	40.40	35.94	40.14	34.81
55 months, under 56.....	40.62	36.27	40.36	35.14
56 months, under 57.....	40.83	36.61	40.58	35.45
57 months, under 58.....	41.03	36.94	40.79	35.75
58 months, under 59.....	41.22	37.28	40.98	36.05
59 months, under 60.....	41.40	37.60	41.16	36.35
60 months, under 61.....	41.57	37.91	41.34	36.65
61 months, under 62.....	41.75	38.20	41.52	36.94
62 months, under 63.....	41.93	38.48	41.69	37.23
63 months, under 64.....	42.11	38.75	41.86	37.52
64 months, under 65.....	42.31	39.05	42.03	37.80
65 months, under 66.....	42.51	39.36	42.20	38.09
66 months, under 67.....	42.71	39.69	42.38	38.42
67 months, under 68.....	42.91	40.03	42.58	38.74
68 months, under 69.....	43.10	40.39	42.81	39.14
69 months, under 70.....	43.32	40.72	43.03	39.53
70 months, under 71.....	43.48	41.17	43.39	40.17
71 months, under 72.....	43.87	41.40	43.52	40.36

¹ The figures have been smoothed by using the smoothed figures of monthly growth. For the method of smoothing see p. 15. For equivalents in centimeters and kilograms see General Table 1, p. 85. For averages at exact ages, 1 month, etc., see General Tables 19 and 20, pp. 105, 106.

Averages from the original data are shown in Tables II and III, together with measures of variability and the numbers of cases upon which the averages are based. The number of cases upon which the various averages are based rises to a maximum at about 6 months when over 1,900 boys and 1,800 girls were examined. For all ages except under 1 month and at 60 months and over for boys, and under 1 month and at 56, 57, and 60 months and over for girls, at least 1,000 records were included, a number sufficiently large to insure that the averages are not seriously affected by chance irregularities in the selection of cases.

TABLE II.—Average statures and weights, by age, from birth to 6 years; white boys.¹

Age.	White boys.						
	Number.	Stature.			Weight.		
		Average stature (inches). ²	Standard deviation (inches). ³	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁴	Average weight (pounds). ²	Standard deviation (pounds). ³	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁴
Under 1 month.....	595	21.16	1.43	6.7	9.11	1.77	19.4
1 month, under 2.....	1,431	22.47	1.29	5.8	10.88	1.89	17.4
2 months, under 3.....	1,754	23.58	1.25	5.3	12.61	2.04	16.2
3 months, under 4.....	1,826	24.53	1.30	5.3	14.12	2.19	15.4
4 months, under 5.....	1,863	25.35	1.30	5.1	15.32	2.28	14.9
5 months, under 6.....	1,809	26.08	1.45	5.6	16.58	2.53	15.3
6 months, under 7.....	1,912	26.68	1.49	5.6	17.52	2.59	14.8
7 months, under 8.....	1,851	27.21	1.57	5.8	18.31	2.68	14.6
8 months, under 9.....	1,746	27.59	1.50	5.4	18.96	2.57	13.5
9 months, under 10.....	1,860	28.02	1.47	5.2	19.44	2.57	13.2
10 months, under 11.....	1,814	28.47	1.49	5.2	20.13	2.64	13.1
11 months, under 12.....	1,838	28.91	1.42	4.9	20.67	2.44	11.8
12 months, under 13.....	1,575	29.36	1.43	4.9	21.19	2.58	12.2
13 months, under 14.....	1,364	29.73	1.42	4.8	21.67	2.58	11.9
14 months, under 15.....	1,281	30.15	1.39	4.6	22.22	2.53	11.4
15 months, under 16.....	1,328	30.42	1.38	4.5	22.45	2.59	11.5
16 months, under 17.....	1,216	30.89	1.56	5.0	23.05	2.74	11.9
17 months, under 18.....	1,278	31.26	1.59	5.1	23.61	2.75	11.7
18 months, under 19.....	1,289	31.77	1.74	5.5	24.15	2.93	12.1
19 months, under 20.....	1,206	32.12	1.70	5.3	24.67	2.94	11.9
20 months, under 21.....	1,171	32.34	1.68	5.2	24.78	2.91	11.7
21 months, under 22.....	1,242	32.64	1.67	5.1	25.28	2.95	11.7
22 months, under 23.....	1,300	33.05	1.69	5.1	25.85	2.98	11.5
23 months, under 24.....	1,284	33.23	1.62	4.9	26.02	2.81	10.8
24 months, under 25.....	1,354	33.60	1.65	4.9	26.47	3.06	11.6
25 months, under 26.....	1,272	33.90	1.58	4.7	27.02	3.06	11.3
26 months, under 27.....	1,253	34.08	1.66	4.9	27.16	3.30	12.2
27 months, under 28.....	1,269	34.35	1.63	4.8	27.53	3.27	11.9
28 months, under 29.....	1,321	34.55	1.63	4.7	27.84	3.17	11.4
29 months, under 30.....	1,240	34.95	1.75	5.0	28.40	3.29	11.6
30 months, under 31.....	1,205	35.31	1.79	5.1	28.92	3.47	12.0
31 months, under 32.....	1,201	35.60	1.84	5.2	29.17	3.48	11.9
32 months, under 33.....	1,217	35.85	1.80	5.0	29.67	3.50	11.8
33 months, under 34.....	1,241	36.03	1.72	4.8	29.86	3.43	11.5
34 months, under 35.....	1,311	36.16	1.72	4.7	30.14	3.45	11.5
35 months, under 36.....	1,283	36.48	1.73	4.8	30.49	3.50	11.5

¹ Averages are not shown for 729 boys measured at ages of 72 to 83 months, since the numbers at each age were too small to yield satisfactory averages. For equivalents in centimeters and kilograms see General Table 2, p. 86. The distribution of heights is given in General Table 3 and of weights in General Table 5.

² The "probable errors" of these averages are small. At under 1 month the probable error of average stature is 0.04 inch; from 1 to 12 months, 0.02; from 13 to 41 months, 0.03, except at 14 months, 0.02; from 42 to 59 months, 0.04; and from 60 to 71 months it ranges from 0.05 to 0.08 inch. At under 1 month the "probable error" of the average weight is 0.05 pound; from 1 month to 59 months it ranges from 0.03 to 0.09; and from 60 months to 71 it ranges from 0.11 to 0.18 pound. For an explanation of the significance of this term, see Appendix C, pp. 81-82.

³ The standard deviation is equal to the square root of the mean squared deviation from the average.

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{n}}$$

⁴ The coefficient of variation is found by dividing the standard deviation by the average and expressing the result as a percentage. $V = \frac{100\sigma}{a}$

TABLE II.—Average statures and weights, by age, from birth to 6 years; white boys—
Concluded.

Age.	White boys.						
	Number.	Stature.			Weight.		
		Average stature (inches).	Standard deviation (inches).	Coefficient of variation (per cent).	Average weight (pounds).	Standard deviation (pounds).	Coefficient of variation (per cent).
36 months, under 37.....	1,258	36.67	1.74	4.7	30.78	3.49	11.3
37 months, under 38.....	1,176	36.90	1.68	4.6	30.98	3.46	11.2
38 months, under 39.....	1,171	37.09	1.71	4.6	31.21	3.53	11.3
39 months, under 40.....	1,177	37.31	1.74	4.7	31.64	3.57	11.3
40 months, under 41.....	1,167	37.54	1.70	4.5	31.95	3.47	10.9
41 months, under 42.....	1,188	37.83	1.74	4.6	32.45	3.63	11.2
42 months, under 43.....	1,126	38.09	1.88	4.9	32.77	3.79	11.6
43 months, under 44.....	1,198	38.38	1.90	5.0	33.20	3.86	11.6
44 months, under 45.....	1,164	38.61	1.82	4.7	33.34	3.66	11.0
45 months, under 46.....	1,205	38.87	1.92	4.9	33.87	3.83	11.3
46 months, under 47.....	1,203	38.98	1.86	4.8	34.11	3.83	11.2
47 months, under 48.....	1,236	39.19	1.85	4.7	34.22	3.78	11.0
48 months, under 49.....	1,171	39.21	1.85	4.7	34.37	3.87	11.3
49 months, under 50.....	1,104	39.51	1.85	4.7	34.64	3.75	10.8
50 months, under 51.....	1,127	39.69	1.89	4.8	34.98	3.87	11.1
51 months, under 52.....	1,075	39.81	1.89	4.7	35.09	3.83	10.9
52 months, under 53.....	1,171	39.91	1.94	4.9	35.26	3.58	10.1
53 months, under 54.....	1,068	40.25	1.96	4.9	35.78	4.01	11.2
54 months, under 55.....	1,040	40.47	1.99	4.9	36.02	4.16	11.6
55 months, under 56.....	1,025	40.76	1.98	4.9	36.37	4.18	11.5
56 months, under 57.....	1,028	40.97	1.96	4.8	36.87	4.21	11.4
57 months, under 58.....	1,081	41.21	1.97	4.8	37.04	4.08	11.0
58 months, under 59.....	1,052	41.27	1.95	4.7	37.45	4.18	11.2
59 months, under 60.....	1,028	41.49	1.99	4.8	37.77	4.29	11.3
60 months, under 61.....	624	41.60	1.98	4.8	37.98	4.26	11.2
61 months, under 62.....	582	41.96	1.81	4.3	38.51	4.05	10.5
62 months, under 63.....	527	42.10	2.11	5.0	39.07	4.65	11.9
63 months, under 64.....	499	42.05	2.05	4.9	38.62	4.34	11.2
64 months, under 65.....	508	42.34	2.01	4.8	39.12	4.32	11.1
65 months, under 66.....	492	42.59	2.10	4.9	39.32	4.70	12.0
66 months, under 67.....	405	42.93	2.11	4.9	39.90	4.73	11.8
67 months, under 68.....	404	43.22	1.90	4.4	40.68	4.63	11.4
68 months, under 69.....	433	43.20	1.95	4.5	40.71	4.41	10.8
69 months, under 70.....	385	43.32	1.93	4.5	40.72	4.38	10.8
70 months, under 71.....	380	43.48	2.35	5.4	41.17	5.24	12.7
71 months, under 72.....	368	43.87	1.97	4.5	41.40	4.78	11.6

TABLE III.—Average statures and weights, by age, from birth to 6 years; white girls.¹

Age.	White girls.						
	Number.	Stature.			Weight.		
		Average stature (inches). ²	Standard deviation (inches). ³	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁴	Average weight (pounds). ²	Standard deviation (pounds). ³	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁴
Under 1 month.....	543	20.89	1.39	6.6	8.65	1.72	19.9
1 month, under 2.....	1,360	21.92	1.30	5.9	10.14	1.84	18.2
2 months, under 3.....	1,631	23.09	1.24	5.4	11.71	1.92	16.4
3 months, under 4.....	1,835	23.96	1.27	5.3	13.05	2.05	15.7
4 months, under 5.....	1,791	24.72	1.35	5.5	14.28	2.25	15.8

¹ Averages are not shown for 796 girls measured at ages 72 to 83 months, since the numbers at each age were too small to yield satisfactory averages. For equivalents in centimeters and kilograms see General Table 2, p. 86. The distribution of heights is given in General Table 4 and of weights in General Table 6.

² The "probable errors" of these averages are small. At under 1 month the probable error of average stature is 0.04 inch; from 1 to 11 months, 0.02, except at 7 months, 0.03; from 12 to 39 months, 0.03, except at 29, 31, 32 months, 0.04; from 40 to 59 months, 0.04; and from 60 to 71 months it ranges from 0.05 to 0.07 inch. At under 1 month the "probable error" of average weight is 0.05 pound; from 1 to 59 months it ranges from 0.03 to 0.09; and from 60 to 71 months it ranges from 0.11 to 0.17 pound. For an explanation of the significance of this term see Appendix C, pp. 81-82.

³ See note 3, Table II, p. 18.

⁴ See note 4, Table II, p. 18.

TABLE III.—Average statures and weights, by age, from birth to 6 years; white girls—
Concluded.

Age.	White girls.						
	Number.	Stature.			Weight.		
		Average stature (inches).	Standard deviation (inches).	Coefficient of variation (per cent).	Average weight (pounds).	Standard deviation (pounds).	Coefficient of variation (per cent).
5 months, under 6.....	1,701	25.40	1.43	5.8	15.39	2.36	15.4
6 months, under 7.....	1,816	26.06	1.54	5.9	16.25	2.40	14.8
7 months, under 8.....	1,800	26.57	1.60	5.9	17.11	2.59	15.1
8 months, under 9.....	1,773	27.01	1.53	5.7	17.75	2.47	13.9
9 months, under 10.....	1,773	27.45	1.43	5.2	18.33	2.42	13.2
10 months, under 11.....	1,814	27.91	1.50	5.4	18.94	2.51	13.3
11 months, under 12.....	1,656	28.33	1.48	5.2	19.48	2.55	13.1
12 months, under 13.....	1,407	28.70	1.42	5.0	19.87	2.47	12.4
13 months, under 14.....	1,293	29.16	1.43	4.9	20.42	2.41	11.8
14 months, under 15.....	1,285	29.50	1.43	4.8	20.72	2.51	12.1
15 months, under 16.....	1,275	29.88	1.42	4.8	21.22	2.47	11.7
16 months, under 17.....	1,295	30.22	1.49	4.9	21.59	2.64	12.2
17 months, under 18.....	1,179	30.71	1.58	5.1	22.22	2.71	12.2
18 months, under 19.....	1,268	31.20	1.71	5.5	22.77	2.74	12.0
19 months, under 20.....	1,266	31.55	1.74	5.5	23.22	2.94	12.6
20 months, under 21.....	1,156	31.88	1.72	5.4	23.63	2.90	12.3
21 months, under 22.....	1,192	32.12	1.65	5.1	23.92	2.83	11.9
22 months, under 23.....	1,163	32.36	1.63	5.0	24.34	2.84	11.7
23 months, under 24.....	1,208	32.68	1.61	4.9	24.66	2.88	11.7
24 months, under 25.....	1,276	32.99	1.57	4.8	25.08	3.03	12.1
25 months, under 26.....	1,192	33.22	1.55	4.7	25.39	2.90	11.4
26 months, under 27.....	1,249	33.57	1.51	4.5	25.78	2.95	11.4
27 months, under 28.....	1,182	33.78	1.61	4.8	26.13	2.98	11.4
28 months, under 29.....	1,232	34.06	1.68	4.9	26.59	3.27	12.3
29 months, under 30.....	1,184	34.48	1.80	5.2	26.99	3.27	12.1
30 months, under 31.....	1,167	34.79	1.74	5.0	27.44	3.39	12.4
31 months, under 32.....	1,210	35.15	1.83	5.2	27.94	3.31	11.9
32 months, under 33.....	1,142	35.23	1.81	5.1	28.07	3.49	12.4
33 months, under 34.....	1,264	35.48	1.75	4.9	28.37	3.35	11.8
34 months, under 35.....	1,219	35.80	1.72	4.8	28.93	3.42	11.8
35 months, under 36.....	1,188	35.92	1.74	4.8	29.09	3.37	11.6
36 months, under 37.....	1,204	36.21	1.72	4.8	29.54	3.49	11.8
37 months, under 38.....	1,133	36.40	1.74	4.8	29.75	3.62	12.2
38 months, under 39.....	1,124	36.63	1.71	4.7	29.97	3.50	11.7
39 months, under 40.....	1,164	36.89	1.75	4.7	30.39	3.69	12.2
40 months, under 41.....	1,152	37.05	1.81	4.9	30.62	3.67	12.0
41 months, under 42.....	1,201	37.45	1.95	5.2	31.14	3.66	11.8
42 months, under 43.....	1,103	37.80	1.85	4.9	31.54	3.80	12.0
43 months, under 44.....	1,116	37.93	1.90	5.0	31.91	3.90	12.2
44 months, under 45.....	1,167	38.12	1.85	4.9	31.82	3.62	11.4
45 months, under 46.....	1,195	38.29	1.98	5.2	32.24	3.94	12.2
46 months, under 47.....	1,236	38.52	1.86	4.8	32.52	3.76	11.6
47 months, under 48.....	1,193	38.58	1.81	4.7	32.64	3.78	11.6
48 months, under 49.....	1,269	38.96	1.89	4.9	33.20	3.97	11.9
49 months, under 50.....	1,088	39.12	1.84	4.7	33.31	3.82	11.5
50 months, under 51.....	1,137	39.28	1.83	4.7	33.54	3.84	11.5
51 months, under 52.....	1,114	39.32	1.96	5.0	33.68	3.88	11.5
52 months, under 53.....	1,154	39.59	1.88	4.8	34.12	4.16	12.2
53 months, under 54.....	1,161	39.92	1.99	5.0	34.43	4.09	11.9
54 months, under 55.....	1,048	40.21	1.95	4.9	34.79	4.12	11.8
55 months, under 56.....	1,010	40.40	2.01	5.0	35.39	4.22	11.9
56 months, under 57.....	995	40.66	2.09	5.1	35.65	4.31	12.1
57 months, under 58.....	984	40.76	1.92	4.7	35.53	4.08	11.5
58 months, under 59.....	1,016	41.06	1.95	4.8	36.11	4.21	11.6
59 months, under 60.....	1,045	41.11	1.97	4.8	36.33	4.20	11.5
60 months, under 61.....	634	41.36	1.97	4.8	36.75	4.21	11.4
61 months, under 62.....	540	41.71	2.00	4.8	37.32	4.49	12.0
62 months, under 63.....	572	41.65	2.06	5.0	36.99	4.39	11.9
63 months, under 64.....	513	41.91	1.82	4.3	37.59	4.25	11.3
64 months, under 65.....	478	41.97	2.13	5.1	37.84	4.58	12.1
65 months, under 66.....	480	42.27	2.05	4.8	37.94	4.25	11.2
66 months, under 67.....	471	42.46	2.16	5.1	38.68	4.81	12.4
67 months, under 68.....	415	42.61	1.98	4.6	38.32	4.24	11.1
68 months, under 69.....	402	42.70	1.97	4.6	38.81	4.37	11.3
69 months, under 70.....	379	43.03	1.94	4.5	39.53	4.67	11.8
70 months, under 71.....	409	43.39	2.07	4.8	40.17	5.03	12.5
71 months, under 72.....	366	43.52	2.03	4.7	40.36	4.80	11.9

Variability.

Two measures of variability, one an absolute—the standard deviation—and the other a relative—the coefficient of variation—are presented in Tables II and III.

The standard deviation is a measure of how closely the figures for individual cases are grouped about the average. It gives a statement of the number of inches or pounds above and below the average within which roughly two-thirds of the measurements will be found to lie.³ In general, a single measurement rarely varies from the average by more than three or four times the standard deviation. This deviation affords, then, a criterion for testing an individual case in comparison with the average. Other things being equal, a large standard deviation means that the individuals in the group differ more from one another than if the standard deviation were small. These deviations, calculated separately for the two sexes and for each age, show how the variability of the measurements changes with sex and age.

The standard deviation, in general, increases with age, or, in non-technical language, the number of inches and pounds, as the case may be, within which the bulk of the individual measurements fall increases slightly as the age increases. For stature of boys the standard deviation, after an initial fall from 1.43 inches at under 1 month to 1.25 at 2 months, rises to 1.97 inches at 71 months. A similar trend can be observed for girls; an initial fall from 1.39 inches at under 1 month to 1.24 at 2 months, and then a steady rise to 2.03 inches at 71 months. For weight, the increase is from 1.77 pounds at under 1 month to 4.78 at 71 months for boys, and from 1.72 pounds at under 1 month to 4.80 pounds at 71 months for girls. The difference in the standard deviations for boys and girls is probably not significant. Charts XIV and XV illustrate the variabilities of statures and weights for boys aged 36 months.

The relative measure of variability, the coefficient of variation, is also shown in Tables II and III. The standard deviation of stature or weight is an absolute measure of variability and is expressed in inches or pounds; the coefficient of variation is a relative measure, found by dividing the standard deviation by the average height or weight, and expressing the result as a percentage. For the age group studied, the standard deviations increase with age, but the coefficients of variation found by dividing them by the greater average statures and weights decrease with age.

The coefficient of variation for stature decreases from 6.7 per cent at under 1 month to 4.5 at 71 months for boys, and from 6.6 per cent

³ The standard deviation is equal to the square root of the mean squared deviation from the average.

at under 1 month to 4.7 at 71 months for girls. The decrease is most marked in the early months after birth.

For weight the coefficient of variation decreases from 19.4 per cent at under 1 month to 11.6 at 71 months for boys, and from 19.9 per cent at under 1 month to 11.9 at 71 months for girls. Again the principal decrease appears in the first 12 months of life.

In part explanation of these changes in variability the following points may be mentioned. The decrease in the coefficient of variation is largely the result merely of the fact that growth proceeds at a faster rate than increase in absolute variability. The decrease in absolute variability in stature which is suggested by the figures during the first two months may be explained, perhaps, by the elimination of children at the lowest extreme of variation; as, for example, by the deaths of infants prematurely born. It is well known that the mortality in the first month of life is exceptionally heavy as compared with that in subsequent months, and the mortality of infants prematurely born is much greater than of infants born at full term. No data are available, unfortunately, to show to what extent these considerations apply to the children selected for tabulation.⁴

After the first two months in case of stature, as already stated, and from the first month in case of weight variability as measured in absolute terms increases. The explanation of this tendency is probably to be found in individual differences in growth, some individuals growing rapidly and others being retarded in growth. One important factor in causing retardation in growth is sickness. Charts of the growth of individuals show clearly the marked influence of serious illness upon weight, and to a less extent upon stature. It is impossible to determine to what extent sickness as a factor applies to the groups selected for tabulation. No children who were noted as sick at the time of measurement were included in the tabulation; but, on the other hand, no specific questions as to recent illnesses were asked. In this connection the presence of defects or abnormal conditions as a factor influencing growth should be mentioned, and for further discussion of this point the reader is referred to page 67. Other factors, however, are doubtless of very great importance in influencing growth, such as favorable or unfavorable environment, fresh air, wholesome food, rest, and play—to mention only a few—and obviously differences in these conditions may produce differences in rates of growth. Finally, heredity or racial influences play an important part.

⁴ If mortality exercises a definite selective influence upon the group from which children of the older ages are drawn, obviously differences in the averages at different ages represent the combined result of growth plus selection. This is a defect in the method of comparing averages based upon single measurements of children at different ages, which has been pointed out by Boas, Westergaard, and others.

Growth.

In Tables IV and V the average growth in a month and the average growth in a year are shown. These figures were found by subtracting the statures and weights of the given month, in the one case, from the statures and weights of the succeeding month, and in the other from those of 12 months later. The figures showing the monthly growth have been smoothed to eliminate fluctuations due to chance variations.⁵ Charts III and IV show the information graphically.

The average monthly growth in stature decreases rapidly. For boys it drops from 1.31 inches of growth between the first and second months to 0.40 inch between the twelfth and thirteenth months and 0.18 inch between the sixtieth and sixty-first months, and for girls from 1.03 inches of growth between the first and second months to 0.39 inch between the twelfth and thirteenth months and to 0.18 inch between the sixtieth and sixty-first months. Very little difference appears between the sexes.

The average monthly growth in weight also decreases rapidly, especially during the first year of life. For boys it falls from 1.77 pounds growth between the first and second months to 0.50 pound between the twelfth and thirteenth months and to 0.29 pound between the sixtieth and sixty-first months, and for girls from 1.49 pounds growth between the first and second months to 0.47 pound between the twelfth and thirteenth months and to 0.29 pound between the sixtieth and sixty-first months. Throughout the period there appears to be a gradual slowing down in the rate of growth both in stature and in weight.

When the averages for each month are compared with those 12 months later, the difference measures the yearly growth. This method has the advantage that in taking the growth over a longer period the irregularities that appear in comparing the averages with those of next succeeding months are automatically smoothed. The figures show the same general trend as those based on monthly changes—a decrease in the growth most marked during the months immediately following birth.

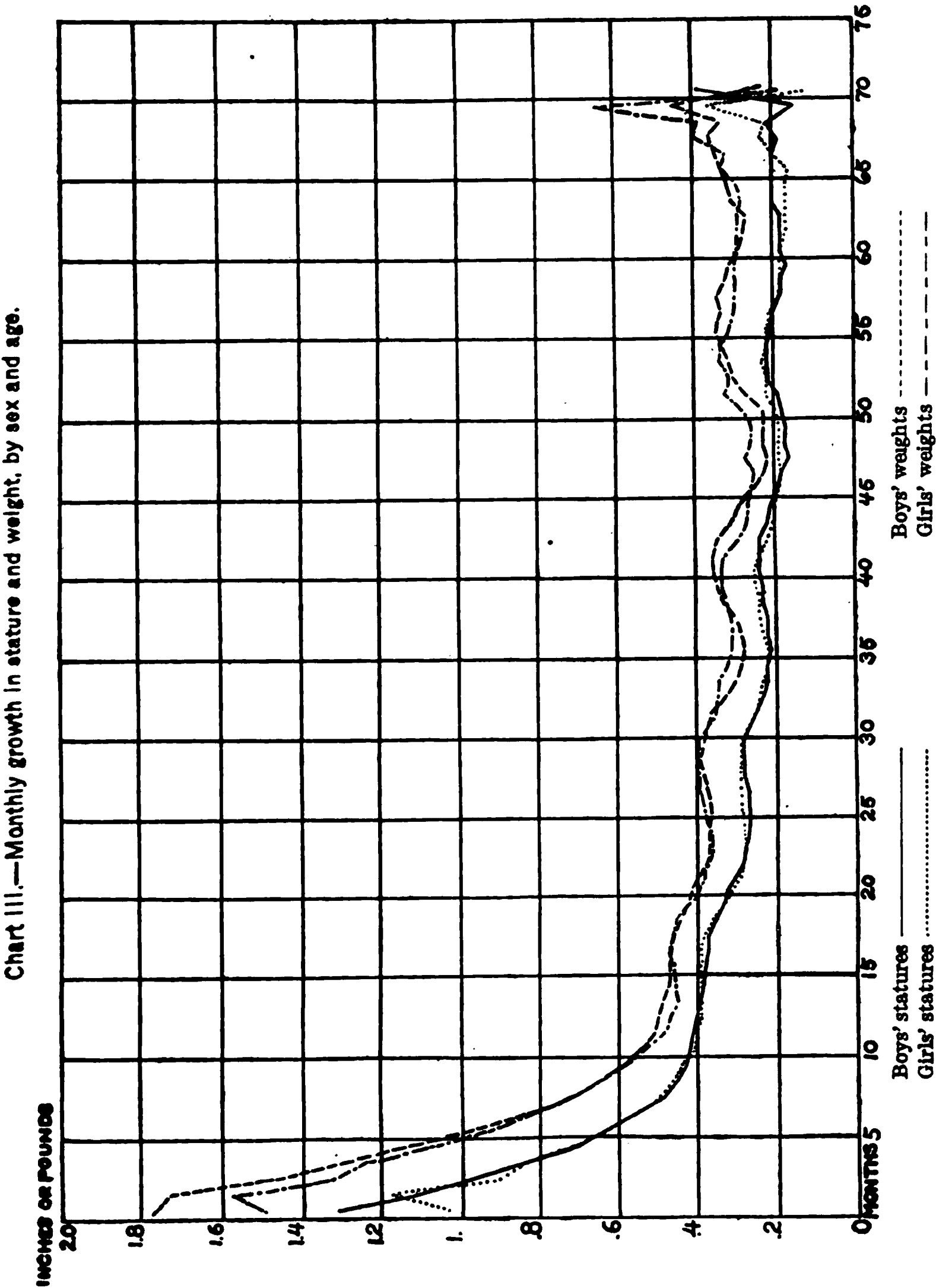
The average annual growth in stature decreases for boys from 8.2 inches during the first year of life to 4.2 inches during the second and to 2.4 inches during the sixth. The figures for girls are substantially the same except for the early months. Thus the yearly growth of girls falls from 7.9 inches during the first to 4.3 inches during the second and 2.4 inches during the sixth year of life.

⁵ As explained previously, the method of smoothing was to replace each figure by a new one derived by taking one-fifth the sum of the figure itself, the two preceding, and the two following. This process was repeated upon the figures secured from the first smoothing; then the final smoothed figures were reduced proportionally so that the sum of the smoothed figures should equal the sum of the original figures. The first two and the last two figures were kept unchanged.

TABLE IV.—*Monthly growth in stature and weight, by sex and age; white children.*

Age.	Difference in average at specified and at succeeding month.							
	Boys.				Girls.			
	Stature (inches).		Weight (pounds).		Stature (inches).		Weight (pounds).	
	Smoothed.	Unadjusted.	Smoothed.	Unadjusted.	Smoothed.	Unadjusted.	Smoothed.	Unadjusted.
Under 1 month.....	(1.31)	1.31	(1.77)	1.77	(1.03)	1.03	(1.49)	1.49
1 month, under 2.....	(1.11)	1.11	(1.73)	1.73	(1.17)	1.17	(1.57)	1.57
2 months, under 3.....	.97	.95	1.46	1.51	.91	.87	1.32	1.34
3 months, under 4.....	.83	.82	1.30	1.20	.83	.76	1.22	1.23
4 months, under 5.....	.72	.73	1.13	1.26	.70	.68	1.07	1.11
5 months, under 6.....	.62	.60	.97	.94	.62	.66	.94	.86
6 months, under 7.....	.55	.53	.84	.79	.55	.51	.83	.86
7 months, under 8.....	.49	.38	.73	.65	.50	.44	.72	.64
8 months, under 9.....	.45	.43	.64	.48	.46	.44	.64	.58
9 months, under 10.....	.43	.45	.59	.69	.44	.46	.58	.61
10 months, under 11.....	.42	.44	.54	.54	.41	.42	.53	.54
11 months, under 12.....	.41	.45	.51	.52	.40	.37	.48	.39
12 months, under 13.....	.40	.37	.50	.48	.39	.46	.47	.55
13 months, under 14.....	.39	.42	.49	.55	.39	.34	.45	.30
14 months, under 15.....	.38	.27	.47	.23	.39	.38	.46	.50
15 months, under 16.....	.38	.47	.47	.60	.39	.34	.46	.37
16 months, under 17.....	.37	.37	.47	.56	.39	.49	.47	.63
17 months, under 18.....	.37	.51	.46	.54	.38	.49	.46	.55
18 months, under 19.....	.35	.35	.44	.53	.36	.35	.45	.45
19 months, under 20.....	.33	.22	.42	.11	.33	.33	.42	.41
20 months, under 21.....	.32	.30	.41	.50	.31	.24	.39	.29
21 months, under 22.....	.30	.41	.39	.57	.29	.24	.38	.42
22 months, under 23.....	.28	.18	.37	.17	.28	.32	.36	.32
23 months, under 24.....	.28	.37	.37	.45	.28	.31	.36	.42
24 months, under 25.....	.27	.30	.37	.55	.28	.23	.37	.31
25 months, under 26.....	.27	.18	.36	.14	.29	.35	.38	.39
26 months, under 27.....	.27	.27	.37	.37	.29	.21	.39	.35
27 months, under 28.....	.28	.20	.38	.31	.29	.28	.39	.46
28 months, under 29.....	.28	.40	.39	.56	.29	.42	.39	.40
29 months, under 30.....	.28	.36	.38	.52	.29	.31	.39	.45
30 months, under 31.....	.27	.29	.37	.25	.27	.36	.37	.50
31 months, under 32.....	.25	.25	.36	.50	.25	.08	.35	.13
32 months, under 33.....	.23	.18	.32	.19	.24	.25	.34	.30
33 months, under 34.....	.22	.13	.30	.28	.23	.32	.34	.56
34 months, under 35.....	.22	.32	.29	.35	.22	.12	.32	.16
35 months, under 36.....	.21	.19	.28	.29	.22	.29	.31	.45
36 months, under 37.....	.22	.23	.29	.20	.23	.19	.31	.21
37 months, under 38.....	.22	.19	.30	.23	.24	.23	.31	.22
38 months, under 39.....	.23	.22	.33	.43	.24	.26	.33	.42
39 months, under 40.....	.23	.23	.34	.31	.25	.16	.33	.23
40 months, under 41.....	.24	.29	.35	.50	.25	.40	.33	.52
41 months, under 42.....	.24	.26	.35	.32	.24	.35	.32	.40
42 months, under 43.....	.24	.29	.34	.43	.22	.13	.29	.37
43 months, under 44.....	.22	.23	.31	.14	.21	.19	.27	-.09
44 months, under 45.....	.21	.26	.29	.53	.20	.17	.27	.42
45 months, under 46.....	.19	.11	.26	.24	.19	.23	.26	.28
46 months, under 47.....	.18	.21	.23	.11	.18	.06	.25	.12
47 months, under 48.....	.16	.02	.22	.15	.19	.38	.27	.56
48 months, under 49.....	.17	.30	.23	.27	.19	.16	.26	.11
49 months, under 50.....	.17	.18	.23	.34	.19	.16	.26	.23
50 months, under 51.....	.18	.12	.24	.11	.20	.04	.28	.14
51 months, under 52.....	.19	.10	.27	.17	.22	.27	.32	.44
52 months, under 53.....	.22	.34	.30	.52	.22	.33	.31	.31
53 months, under 54.....	.22	.22	.31	.24	.23	.29	.33	.36
54 months, under 55.....	.22	.29	.33	.35	.22	.19	.33	.60
55 months, under 56.....	.21	.21	.34	.50	.22	.26	.31	.26
56 months, under 57.....	.20	.24	.33	.17	.21	.10	.30	-.12
57 months, under 58.....	.19	.06	.34	.41	.19	.30	.30	.58
58 months, under 59.....	.18	.22	.32	.32	.18	.05	.30	.22
59 months, under 60.....	.17	.11	.31	.21	.18	.25	.30	.42
60 months, under 61.....	.18	.86	.29	.53	.18	.35	.29	.57
61 months, under 62.....	.18	.14	.28	.56	.17	-.06	.29	-.33
62 months, under 63.....	.18	-.05	.27	-.45	.17	.26	.29	.60
63 months, under 64.....	.20	.29	.30	.50	.17	.06	.28	.25
64 months, under 65.....	.20	.25	.31	.20	.17	.30	.29	.10
65 months, under 66.....	.20	.34	.33	.57	.18	.19	.33	.74
66 months, under 67.....	.20	.29	.34	.78	.20	.15	.32	-.36
67 months, under 68.....	.19	-.02	.36	.03	.23	.09	.40	.49
68 months, under 69.....	.22	.12	.33	.01	.22	.33	.39	.72
69 months, under 70.....	(.16)	.16	.45	.45	(.36)	.36	(.64)	.64
70 months, under 71.....	(.39)	.39	.23	.23	(.13)	.13	(.19)	.19

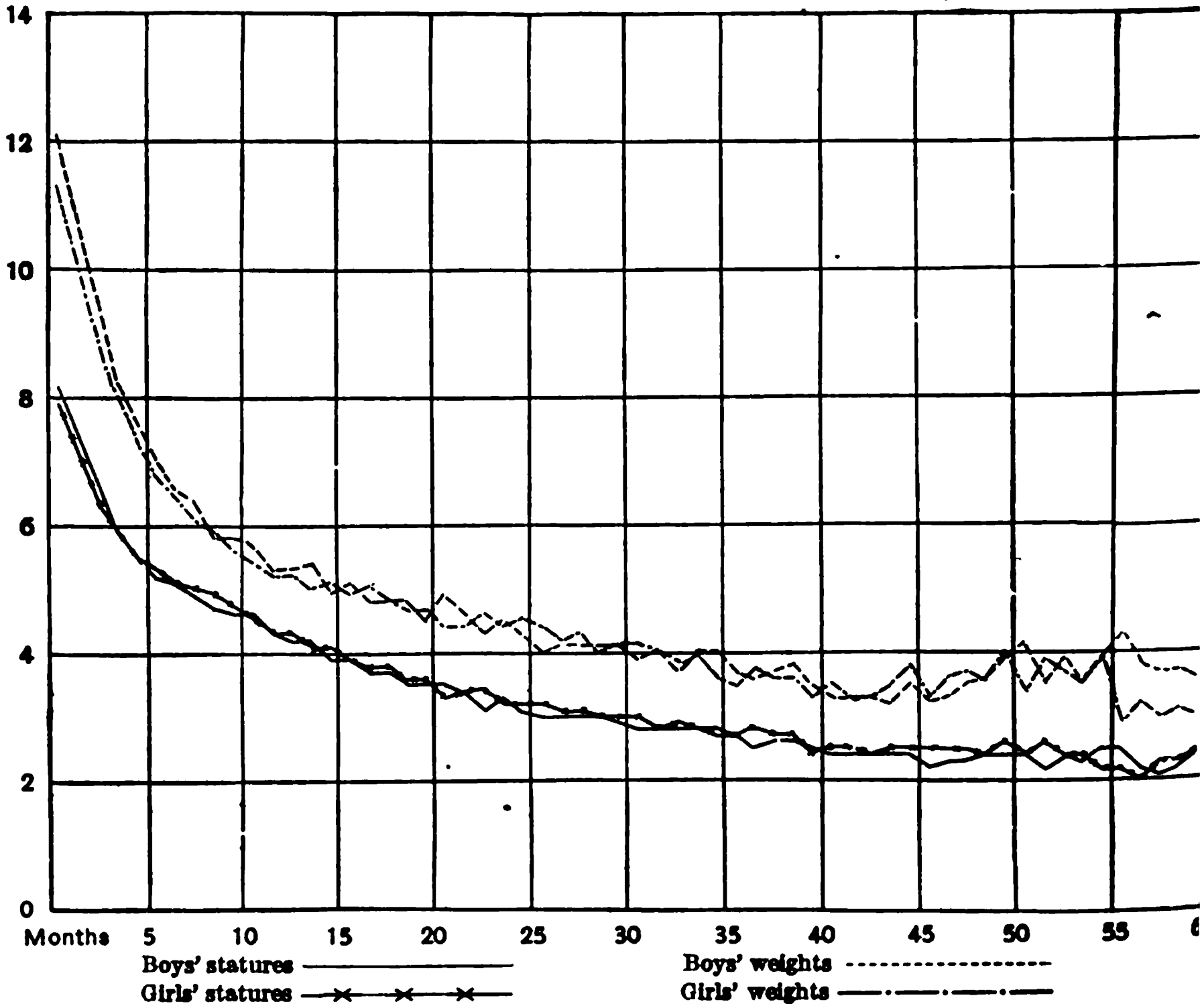
The average annual growth in weight decreases for boys from 12.1 pounds during the first year of life to 5.3 pounds during the second and to a minimum of about 3.2 pounds during the year following the forty-third month of life. For girls the growth falls from 11.3 pounds during the first year to 5.2 pounds during the second and to a low



point of about 3.3 pounds during the year following the forty-third month. After this point the average yearly growth for both sexes appears to rise slightly, reaching nearly 4 pounds at 5 years of age, though the figures for the last year shown are more subject to fluctuations on account of the relatively smaller numbers upon which the averages are based. The tendency for the rate of growth in weight

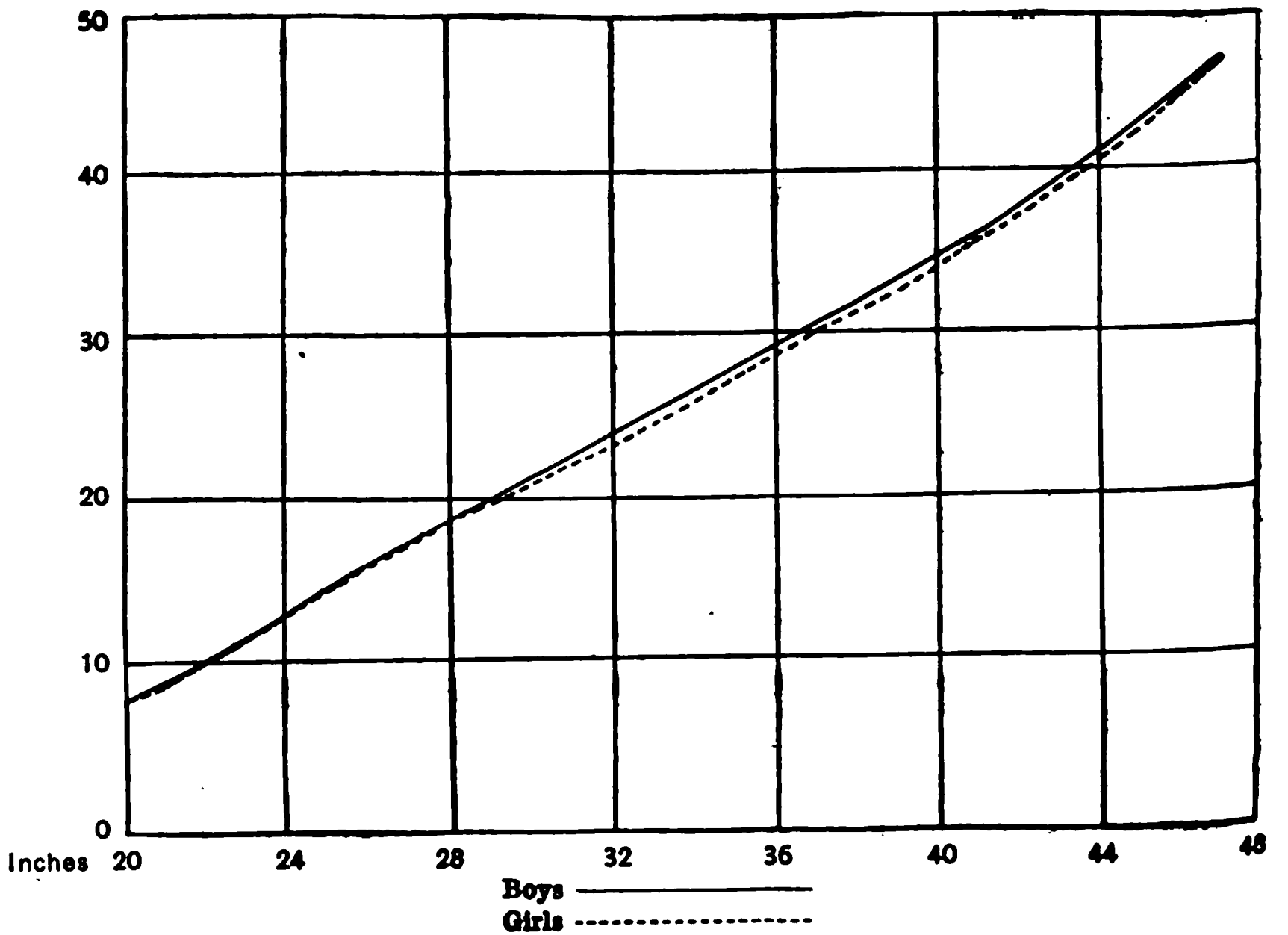
Inches or pounds

Chart IV.—Yearly growth in stature and weight, by sex and age.



Pounds

Chart V.—Weight for stature, by sex.



to increase toward the close of the age period studied is shown more clearly in the graphs.

TABLE V.—*Twelve months' growth in stature and weight, by sex and age; white children.*

Age.	Difference in average at specified age and 12 months older.			
	Boys.		Girls.	
	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	8.2	12.1	7.9	11.3
1 month, under 2.....	7.3	10.8	7.2	10.3
2 months, under 3.....	6.6	9.6	6.4	9.0
3 months, under 4.....	5.9	8.3	5.9	8.2
4 months, under 5.....	5.5	7.7	5.5	7.3
5 months, under 6.....	5.2	7.0	5.3	6.8
6 months, under 7.....	5.1	6.6	5.1	6.5
7 months, under 8.....	4.9	6.4	5.0	6.1
8 months, under 9.....	4.7	5.8	4.9	5.9
9 months, under 10.....	4.6	5.8	4.7	5.6
10 months, under 11.....	4.6	5.7	4.5	5.4
11 months, under 12.....	4.3	5.3	4.3	5.2
12 months, under 13.....	4.2	5.3	4.3	5.2
13 months, under 14.....	4.2	5.4	4.1	5.0
14 months, under 15.....	3.9	4.9	4.1	5.1
15 months, under 16.....	3.9	5.1	3.9	4.9
16 months, under 17.....	3.7	4.8	3.8	5.0
17 months, under 18.....	3.7	4.8	3.8	4.8
18 months, under 19.....	3.5	4.8	3.6	4.7
19 months, under 20.....	3.5	4.5	3.6	4.7
20 months, under 21.....	3.5	4.9	3.3	4.4
21 months, under 22.....	3.4	4.6	3.4	4.4
22 months, under 23.....	3.1	4.3	3.4	4.6
23 months, under 24.....	3.3	4.5	3.2	4.4
24 months, under 25.....	3.1	4.3	3.2	4.5
25 months, under 26.....	3.0	4.0	3.2	4.4
26 months, under 27.....	3.0	4.1	3.1	4.2
27 months, under 28.....	3.0	4.1	3.1	4.3
28 months, under 29.....	3.0	4.1	3.0	4.0
29 months, under 30.....	2.9	4.1	3.0	4.1
30 months, under 31.....	2.8	3.9	3.0	4.1
31 months, under 32.....	2.8	4.0	2.8	4.0
32 months, under 33.....	2.8	3.7	2.9	3.8
33 months, under 34.....	2.8	4.0	2.8	3.9
34 months, under 35.....	2.8	4.0	2.7	3.6
35 months, under 36.....	2.7	3.7	2.7	3.5
36 months, under 37.....	2.5	3.6	2.8	3.7
37 months, under 38.....	2.6	3.7	2.7	3.6
38 months, under 39.....	2.6	3.8	2.7	3.6
39 months, under 40.....	2.5	3.5	2.4	3.3
40 months, under 41.....	2.4	3.3	2.5	3.5
41 months, under 42.....	2.4	3.3	2.5	3.3
42 months, under 43.....	2.4	3.3	2.4	3.3
43 months, under 44.....	2.4	3.2	2.5	3.5
44 months, under 45.....	2.4	3.5	2.5	3.8
45 months, under 46.....	2.2	3.2	2.5	3.3
46 months, under 47.....	2.3	3.3	2.5	3.6
47 months, under 48.....	2.3	3.5	2.5	3.7
48 months, under 49.....	2.4	3.6	2.4	3.6
49 months, under 50.....	2.4	3.9	2.6	4.0
50 months, under 51.....	2.4	4.1	2.4	3.4
51 months, under 52.....	2.2	3.5	2.6	3.9
52 months, under 53.....	2.4	3.9	2.4	3.7
53 months, under 54.....	2.3	3.5	2.4	3.5
54 months, under 55.....	2.5	3.9	2.2	3.9
55 months, under 56.....	2.5	4.3	2.2	2.9
56 months, under 57.....	2.2	3.8	2.0	3.2
57 months, under 58.....	2.1	3.7	2.3	4.0
58 months, under 59.....	2.2	3.7	2.3	4.1
59 months, under 60.....	2.4	3.6	2.4	4.0

Weight for stature.

In Table VI average weights are shown for boys and girls of different statures. The previous tables have shown that boys were not only taller on the average, but that they weighed more than girls of

the same ages. In this table it appears that boys are not only heavier than girls of the same ages, but are also heavier than girls of the same statures. These facts are shown graphically in Chart V.

Of special interest is the fact that the standard deviations of weight are much smaller when the weights are classified by inches of stature than when they are classified by ages. The coefficients of variation are also markedly less. Thus, from 29 to 47 inches, including roughly children aged from 12 to 71 months, the variability of the weights for boys decreases from about 10 per cent to 7 per cent, while that for girls decreases from about 10 per cent to between 8 and 9 per cent. When classified by age, on the other hand, the variabilities of the weights of these children were around 10 and 12 per cent. It follows that for the range of ages and statures included in the group studied, the weights of children, or the average weight of a group can be more accurately predicted if their statures are known than if only their ages are known. The relative variabilities of weights when classified by age and by stature are shown in Charts XV and XVI for boys 36 months of age and for boys 37 inches in stature.

normal The coefficients of variation given in Table VI can be used to illumine the meaning of such a statement as that an individual child is, for example, 10 per cent below average weight for height. At 28 inches the standard deviation—or the number of pounds above or below the average within which roughly two-thirds of the measurements fall—is 10 per cent for girls and approximately the same for boys. At this stature about one-sixth, then, of all the cases will fall 10 per cent or more below average weight for height. It is clear, however, from the way in which the coefficient of variation increases below this stature and decreases above it, that at other heights the proportion falling below a dividing line so defined will vary considerably from this percentage. A much larger proportion of children whose statures are under 28 inches, and a much smaller proportion of those whose statures are over 28 inches, will be more than 10 per cent below average weight for height. In other words, the statistical significance of being 10 per cent below average weight for height differs considerably with the stature, depending at each inch of stature upon the distribution of cases about the average.

The standard deviation offers, in a sense, a convenient standard by which to define a zone of ordinary variation. Such zones might be variously defined; the distance of the boundary lines from the average might, for example, be equal to, or it might be some multiple or some fractional part of the standard deviation. The lines in Charts XII and XIII show zones whose boundaries are distant from the average by an amount equal to the standard deviation. The material available on the records throws no light on the question

whether a zone so defined, as applied to children of different ages, has a uniform significance in terms of nutrition or physical condition.

TABLE VI.—Average weights, by stature and sex; white children under 7 years of age.¹

Stature (inches). ²	White boys.						White girls.					
	Number.	Average weight (pounds). ³	Difference between successive averages (pounds).	Standard deviation (pounds). ⁴	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁵	Weight per inch (pounds).	Number.	Average weight (pounds). ³	Difference between successive averages (pounds).	Standard deviation (pounds). ⁴	Coefficient of variation (per cent). ⁵	Weight per inch (pounds).
20.....	206	8.19	1.28	1.36	16.7	0.41	310	8.13	1.15	1.33	16.4	0.41
21.....	486	9.47	1.08	1.61	17.0	.45	654	9.28	1.25	1.49	16.0	.44
22.....	905	10.55	1.39	1.58	14.9	.48	1,121	10.53	1.35	1.82	17.2	.48
23.....	1,352	11.94	1.53	1.73	14.5	.52	1,635	11.88	1.45	1.65	13.9	.52
24.....	1,994	13.47	1.54	1.81	13.5	.56	2,318	13.33	1.49	1.74	13.1	.56
25.....	2,496	15.01	1.59	1.93	12.9	.60	2,866	14.82	1.53	1.82	12.3	.59
26.....	3,068	16.60	1.43	1.93	11.6	.64	3,179	16.35	1.31	1.88	11.5	.63
27.....	3,525	18.03	1.36	1.94	10.7	.67	3,561	17.66	1.35	1.92	10.9	.65
28.....	3,775	19.39	1.29	1.99	10.3	.69	3,471	19.01	1.19	1.92	10.1	.68
29.....	3,605	20.68	1.37	2.00	9.7	.71	3,425	20.20	1.10	2.01	9.9	.70
30.....	3,671	21.98	1.26	2.03	9.2	.73	3,563	21.30	1.30	2.03	9.5	.71
31.....	3,834	23.24	1.32	2.11	9.1	.75	3,750	22.60	1.21	2.11	9.4	.73
32.....	3,803	24.56	1.24	2.22	9.0	.77	3,805	23.81	1.25	2.23	9.4	.74
33.....	4,075	25.80	1.32	2.29	8.9	.78	3,951	25.06	1.35	2.28	9.1	.76
34.....	4,533	27.12	1.29	2.46	9.1	.80	4,405	26.41	1.34	2.45	9.3	.78
35.....	4,698	28.41	1.31	2.55	9.0	.81	4,596	27.75	1.38	2.54	9.1	.79
36.....	5,159	29.72	1.37	2.69	9.1	.83	4,919	29.13	1.24	2.67	9.2	.81
37.....	5,074	31.09	1.35	2.65	8.5	.84	4,974	30.37	1.34	2.67	8.8	.83
38.....	5,265	32.44	1.40	2.66	8.2	.85	4,973	31.71	1.28	2.75	8.7	.83
39.....	5,133	33.84	1.44	2.73	8.1	.87	4,823	32.99	1.50	2.81	8.5	.85
40.....	4,769	35.28	1.55	2.83	8.0	.88	4,505	34.49	1.53	2.87	8.3	.86
41.....	4,181	36.83	1.55	2.88	7.8	.90	3,894	36.02	1.47	3.04	8.4	.88
42.....	3,393	38.38	1.75	2.94	7.7	.91	3,002	37.49	1.74	3.06	8.2	.89
43.....	2,312	40.13	1.60	3.06	7.6	.93	2,020	39.23	1.71	3.29	8.4	.91
44.....	1,598	41.73	1.77	3.16	7.6	.95	1,341	40.94	1.85	3.24	7.9	.93
45.....	857	43.50	1.91	3.22	7.4	.97	703	42.79	2.21	3.40	8.0	.95
46.....	423	45.41	1.88	3.32	7.3	.99	349	45.00	1.85	3.70	8.2	.98
47.....	193	47.29	.....	3.35	7.1	1.01	143	46.85	.....	4.16	8.9	1.00

¹ Averages are not shown for 83 boys and 121 girls who were under 20 inches high, or for 109 boys and 72 girls who were 48 inches and over, since the numbers at each stature are too small to give satisfactory averages. For equivalents in centimeters and kilograms see General Table 21, p. 107. The distribution of weights for each inch in stature is shown in General Table 7 for boys and in General Table 8 for girls.

² The statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half were classed with the unit above and half with the unit below—"20 inches" means 19.5 to 20.5; "21 inches," 20.5 to 21.5, etc.

³ The "probable errors" of these average weights are small. For boys at 20 inches the probable error was 0.06 pound; at 21 inches, 0.05; at 22 inches, 0.04; from 23 to 25 inches, 0.03; from 26 to 34 inches, 0.02; from 35 to 42 inches, 0.03, except at 38 inches, 0.02; at 43 inches, 0.04; at 44, 0.05; at 45, 0.07; at 46, 0.11; and at 47 inches, 0.16 pound. For girls, at 20 inches the probable error was 0.05 pound; at 21 and 22 inches, 0.04; at 23 inches, 0.03; from 24 to 33 inches, 0.02; from 34 to 41 inches, 0.03; at 42 inches, 0.04; at 43, 0.05; at 44, 0.06; at 45, 0.09; at 46, 0.13; and at 47 inches, 0.23 pound. For the explanation of this term see appendix, pp. 81-82.

⁴ The standard deviation is equal to the square root of the mean squared deviation from the average.

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{n}}$$

⁵ The coefficient of variation is found by dividing the standard deviation by the average and expressing the result as a percentage. $V = 100 \frac{\sigma}{a}$

Table VI shows also the increase in weight for each inch of stature. Between 20 and 21 inches the increase in weight for an inch of stature is 1.28 pounds for boys and 1.15 pounds for girls; it rises to 1.88 pounds for boys and 1.85 pounds for girls between 46 and 47 inches. The weight per inch columns state this tendency in another way. The gain in pounds is proportionately greater than the gain in inches, and the weight per inch rises from 0.41 pound per inch for both boys and girls at 20 inches to 1.01 pounds per inch for boys

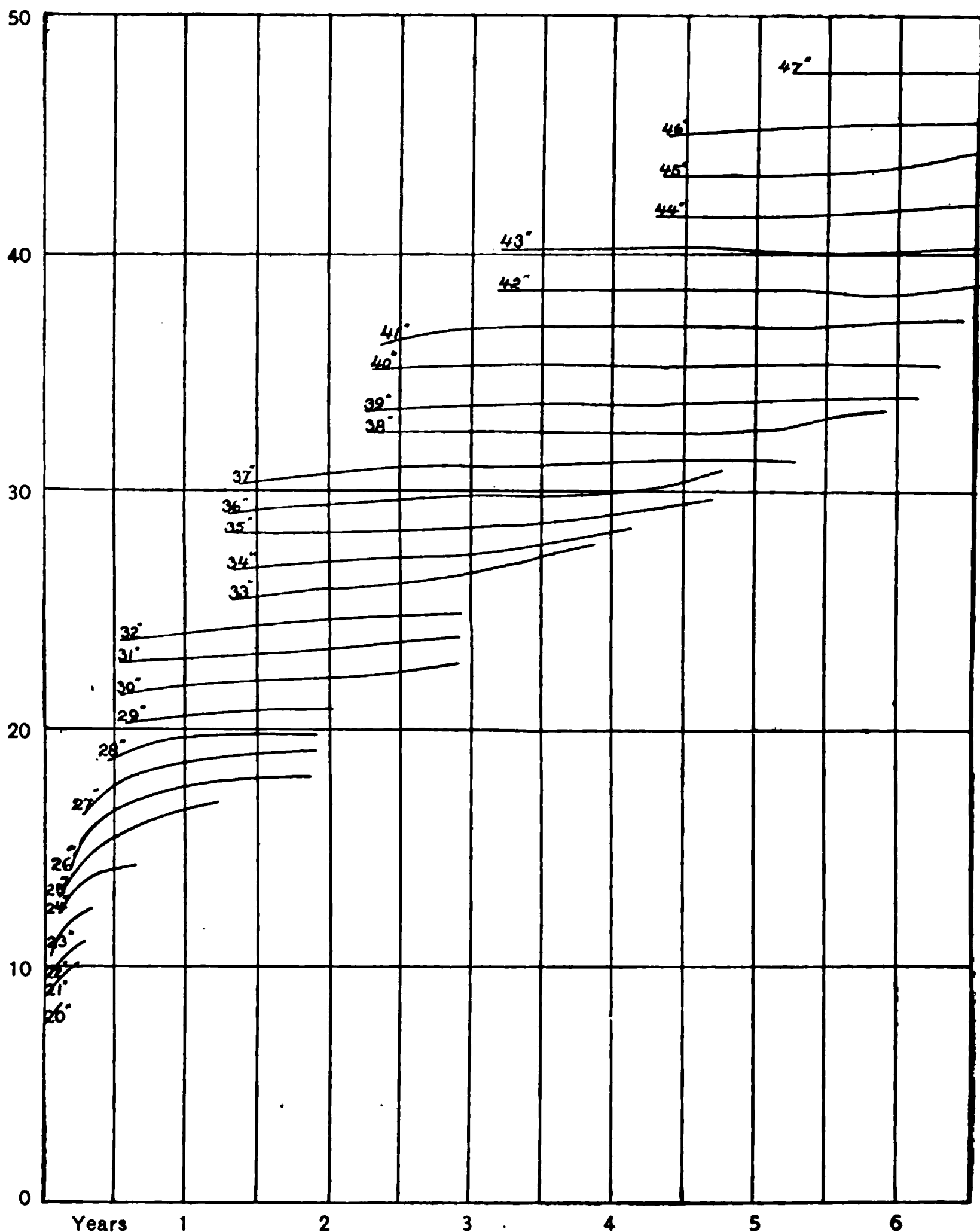
and 1 pound per inch for girls at 47 inches. The gain is proportionately greater below 26 inches than at higher statures.

Weight for stature and age.

In Tables VII and VIII the relation between weight, stature, and age is shown for boys and girls separately. Under 1 year of age the older

Chart VI.—Weight for stature and age; boys.

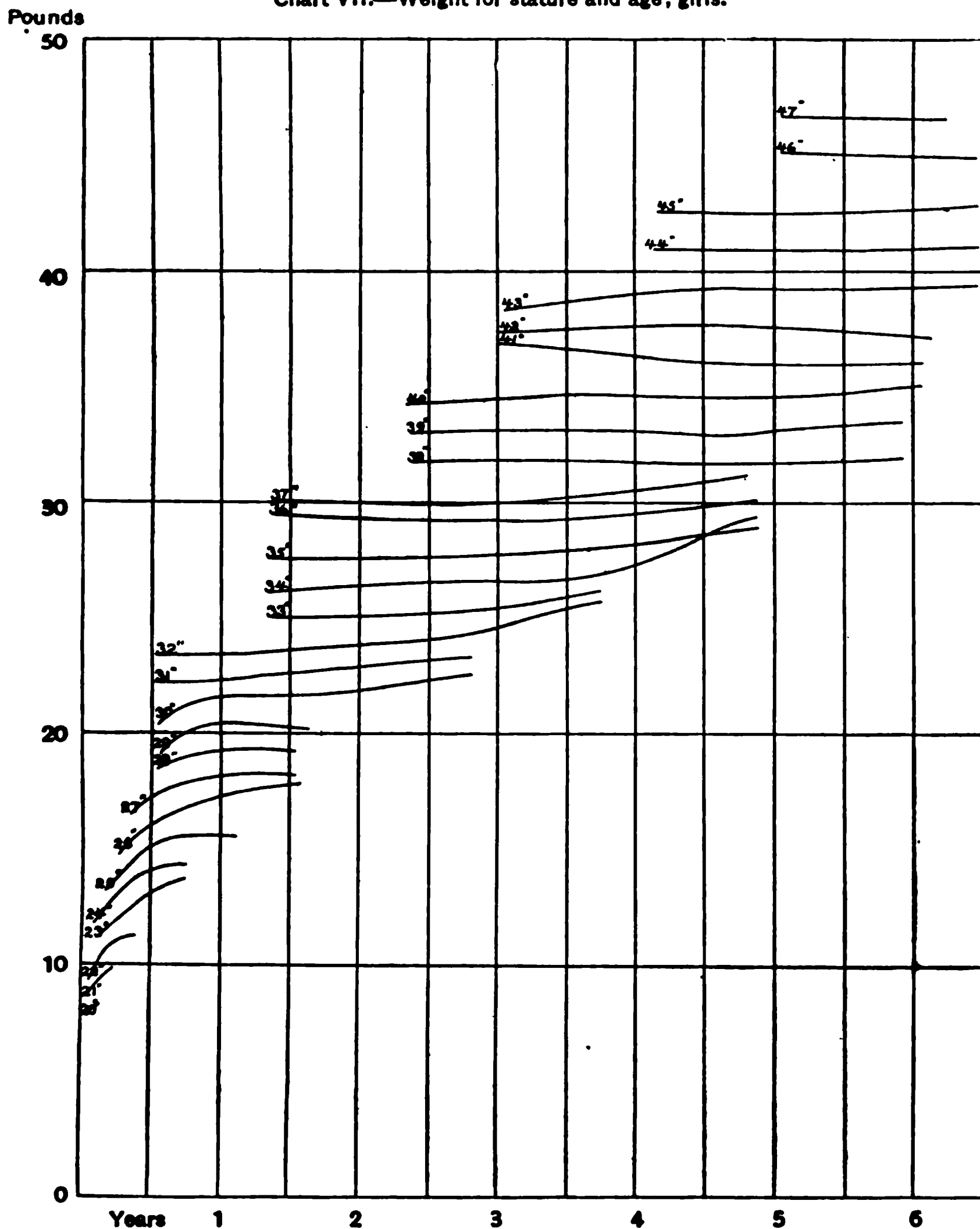
Pounds.



children appear to weigh slightly more than the younger children of the same stature. After the first year of life is passed, however, and within the limits of the ages included in the study, practically no difference in weight for height appears between the older and the younger children of the same statures. Only at the extremes is a slight variation noticeable; the children who are exceptionally tall

for their ages appear to weigh very slightly less, and the children who are exceptionally short for their ages appear to weigh somewhat more, than average children of the same heights. It should be noted, however, that the groups which show this tendency are usually much smaller than the others, and it may well be that with a larger number

Chart VII.—Weight for stature and age; girls.



of cases the differences between the average weights of the children who are exceptionally advanced or exceptionally retarded in growth and those of average children would be lessened or even disappear. Charts VI and VII show in graphic form the relation of average weights to height and age.

TABLE VII.—Average weights, by stature and age; white boys included in stature and weight tables.¹

Stature (inches). ²	Average weight of white boys of specified ages.					
	Under 1 month.	4 months, under 5.	5 months, under 6.	6 months, under 9.	3 years, under 4.	6 years, under 7.
20.....	(7.94) (89)	(8.50) (72)				
21.....	9.08 (100)	(10.01) (61)				
22.....	9.73 (132)	10.98 (230)	(11.12) (68)			
23.....	(10.50) (54)	12.05 (475)	12.41 (235)	(12.54) (95)		
24.....	12.25 (226)	13.21 (502)	13.72 (543)	13.92 (313)	14.19 (111)	
25.....	(13.05) (52)	13.94 (305)	14.64 (588)	15.03 (573)	15.84 (488)	(16.44) (81)
26.....		(14.29) (56)	15.59 (258)	16.01 (502)	16.66 (581)	17.42 (207)
27.....			(16.41) (82)	17.00 (525)	17.65 (422)	18.81 (199)
28.....				18.69 (137)	19.20 (1,212)	19.63 (752)
29.....					20.34 (455)	20.67 (1,455)
30.....					21.71 (137)	21.83 (781)
					(22.01) (2,676)	(22.45) (89)
31.....					23.03 (246)	23.17 (8,180)
32.....					(23.92) (86)	24.46 (2,774)
						(24.89) (825)

STATURES AND WEIGHTS.

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33.	25.09 (2,057)	26.36 (1,811)	27.25 (98)	28.36 (1,811)	29.25 (98)	30.36 (1,811)	31.25 (98)	32.36 (1,811)	33.25 (98)
34.	26.84 (1,245)	27.14 (2,881)	27.62 (349)	28.38 (3,239)	29.05 (1,884)	29.77 (2,477)	30.51 (247)	31.22 (592)	32.38 (1,256)
35.	28.24 (524)	28.38 (3,239)	28.52 (841)	29.05 (2,756)	29.77 (1,884)	30.51 (247)	31.22 (592)	32.38 (1,256)	33.25 (98)
36.	29.29 (258)	29.65 (2,756)	29.77 (1,884)	30.51 (247)	31.22 (592)	32.38 (1,256)	33.25 (98)	34.12 (1,256)	35.00 (98)
37.	30.52 (86)	31.15 (1,715)	31.03 (2,633)	32.44 (2,965)	33.99 (2,494)	35.44 (1,606)	36.96 (809)	38.34 (998)	39.51 (89)
38.	32.43 (908)	33.51 (375)	33.99 (2,494)	35.44 (1,606)	36.96 (809)	38.34 (998)	39.51 (89)	40.05 (97)	40.05 (97)
39.	33.51 (375)	35.23 (136)	35.44 (1,606)	36.96 (809)	38.34 (998)	39.51 (89)	40.05 (97)	41.67 (911)	42.07 (137)
40.	35.23 (136)	36.33 (55)	36.96 (809)	38.34 (998)	39.51 (89)	40.05 (97)	41.67 (911)	43.43 (518)	44.21 (135)
41.	36.33 (55)	38.54 (372)	38.54 (372)	40.06 (1,008)	41.59 (507)	43.28 (191)	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	47.27 (114)
42.	38.54 (372)	40.06 (1,008)	40.06 (1,008)	41.59 (507)	43.28 (191)	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	49.05 (135)
43.	40.06 (1,008)	41.59 (507)	41.59 (507)	43.28 (191)	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	50.82 (135)	50.82 (135)
44.	41.59 (507)	43.28 (191)	43.28 (191)	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	50.82 (135)	52.59 (135)	52.59 (135)
45.	43.28 (191)	45.09 (53)	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	50.82 (135)	52.59 (135)	54.36 (135)	54.36 (135)
46.	45.09 (53)	47.27 (114)	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	50.82 (135)	52.59 (135)	54.36 (135)	56.13 (135)	56.13 (135)
47.	47.27 (114)	49.05 (135)	49.05 (135)	50.82 (135)	52.59 (135)	54.36 (135)	56.13 (135)	57.90 (135)	57.90 (135)

¹ The number of cases upon which each average is based is shown in parentheses immediately below the average. Averages based on less than 100 cases are placed in parentheses; averages are not shown if the number of cases is less than 50. Children 7 years of age and over and those less than 20 inches or over 47 inches do not appear in this table.

a Statures are classified to the nearest inch. Cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally, and half were classed with the unit above and half with the unit below. "20 inches" means 19.5 to 20.5; "21 inches," 20.5 to 21.5; etc.

TABLE VIII.—Average weights, by stature and age; white girls included in stature and weight tables.¹

Stature (inches). ²	Average weight of white girls of specified ages.					
	Under 1 month.	1 month, under 2.	4 months, under 5.	9 months, under 12.	1 year, under 2.	6 years, under 7.
20.	7.90 (135)	8.28 (122)				
21.	8.70 (152)	9.30 (320)	9.67 (119)			
22.	9.22 (94)	10.22 (440)	10.78 (328)	11.13 (158)		
23.		11.18 (306)	12.06 (409)	12.51 (199)	(12.95) (75)	(13.41) (64)
24.		11.87 (108)	12.54 (438)	13.22 (648)	13.92 (203)	14.16 (269)
25.			13.37 (424)	14.56 (606)	14.97 (575)	15.37 (149)
26.			14.97 (106)	15.50 (203)	15.97 (443)	16.86 (607)
27.				(16.57) (68)	(17.10) (84)	17.87 (1,360)
28.					18.66 (626)	19.04 (1,551)
29.					19.45 (187)	20.22 (2,185)
30.					20.67 (109)	21.34 (342)
31.					(22.21) (74)	22.52 (2,963)
32.					(23.41) (50)	23.96 (1,261)
						(25.25) (62)

[illegible]

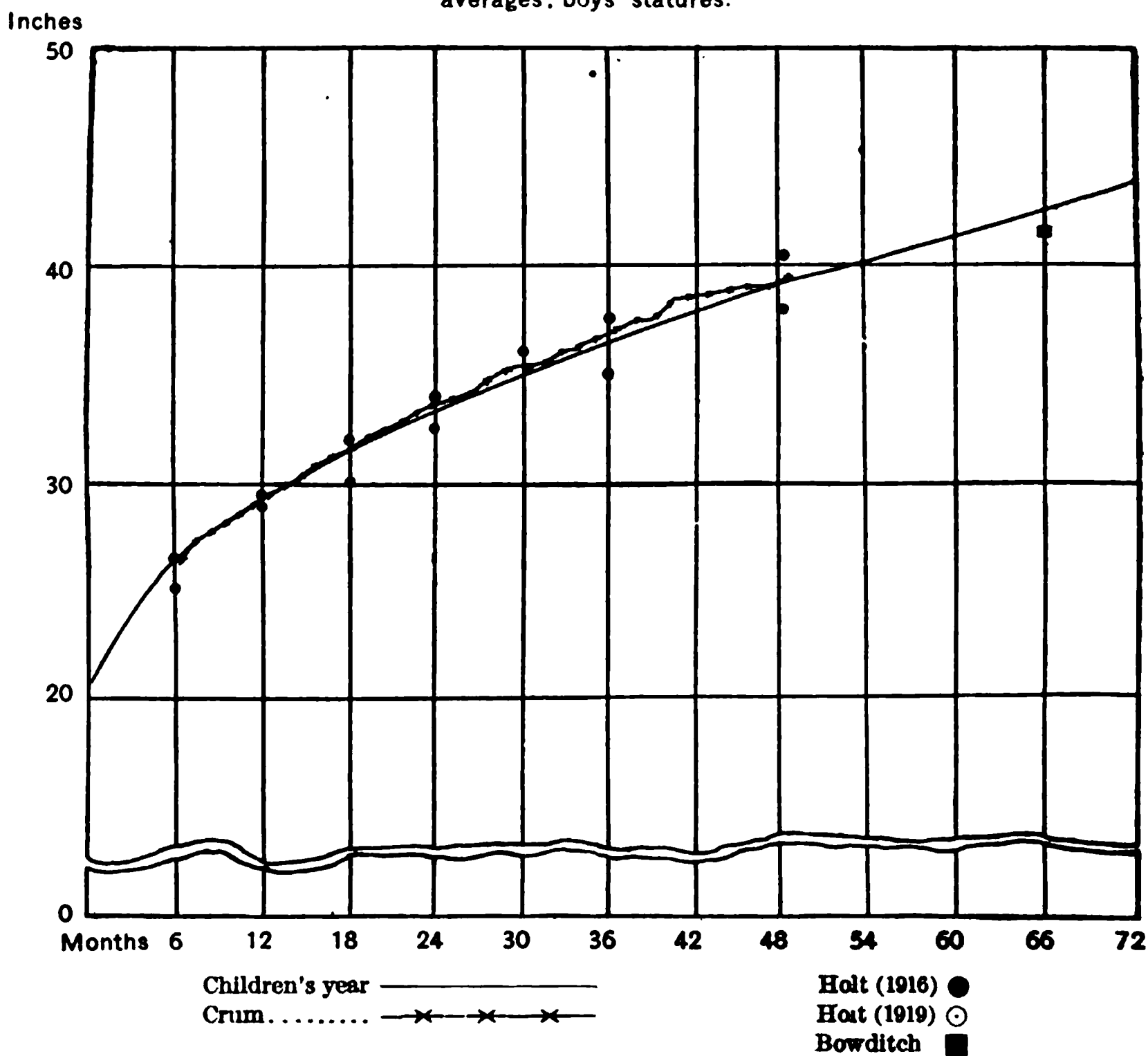
The number of cases upon which each average is based is shown in parentheses immediately below the average. Averages based on less than 100 cases are placed in parentheses;

5

Comparison with other series.

For the ages included in this study the series of average statures and weights which, excepting the present, is based upon the largest numbers is that prepared by Dr. F. S. Crum for the American Medical Association.⁶ As already stated, these measurements were printed on the children's year card to furnish a standard for the ages from 6 to 48 months, with which parents could compare the actual statures and weights of their children. The series was based on a much smaller number of children, 10,423, than are included in the children's

Chart VIII.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages: boys' statures.



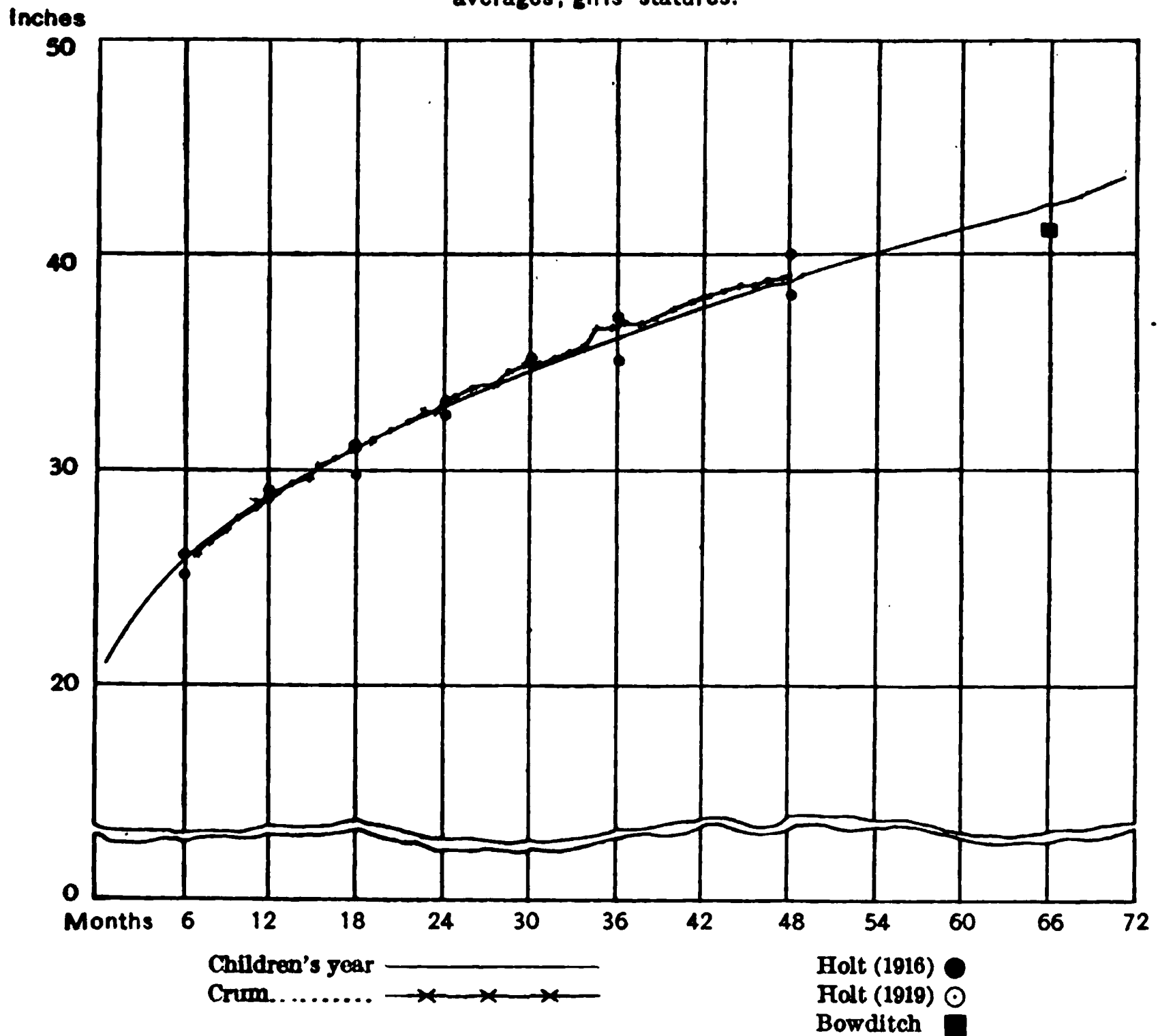
year tables. When Dr. Crum's figures are subdivided by sex and by age in months, therefore, they give relatively small numbers in each group. This is especially true of ages over 3 years; at these ages the numbers for each sex and age group range from 9 to 90, averaging about 28. The children were selected from 31 different States.

A summary statement of the differences between Dr. Crum's figures and those compiled from the children's year material is given in Table IX, and the differences are shown graphically in Charts

⁶ Anthropometric Statistics of Children—Ages 6 to 48 months. Frederick S. Crum, Publications of the American Statistical Association, Vol. XV, 1916-1917, pp. 332-336.

VIII to XIII. In Dr. Crum's table the statures are slightly above those in the children's year tables, the excess averaging nearly a quarter of an inch for boys and a fifth of an inch for girls. The difference is greatest at from 3 to 4 years of age, but even here it is only two-fifths of an inch for boys and three-tenths of an inch for girls. Dr. Crum's averages at these ages, it may be pointed out, are based on relatively few cases. The percentage excess is only 0.7 for boys and 0.6 for girls.

Chart IX.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages; girls' statures.



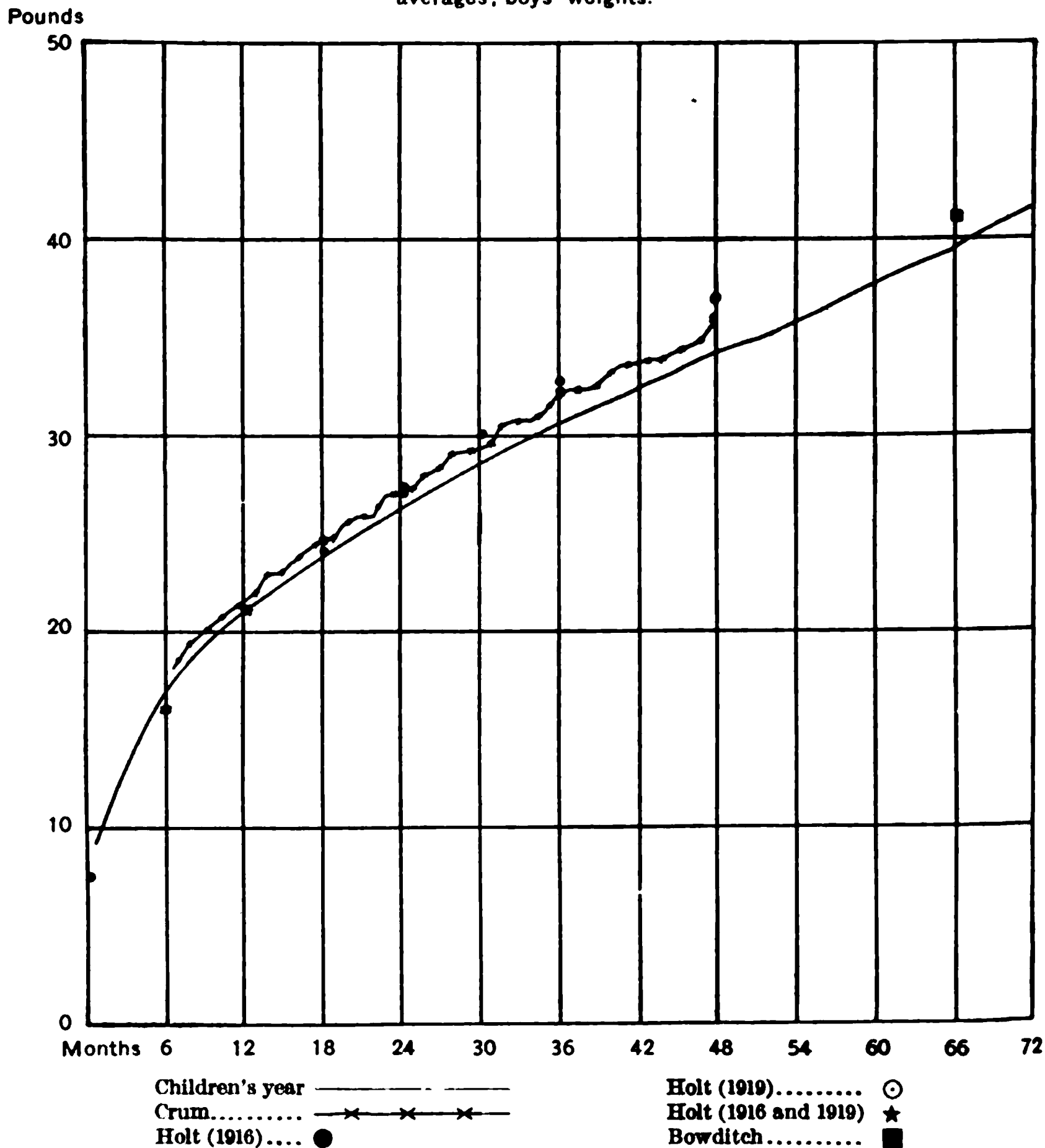
The excess in weight is somewhat greater, averaging about 15 ounces for boys and 12 ounces for girls. These average excesses amount to about 3.5 per cent of the weights. The average excess in weight is much smaller for the age groups from 6 to 12 months, only 6 and 4 ounces for boys and girls, respectively, and increases with age to slightly over a pound. The percentage excess, however, is fairly constant, ranging from 3 to 4 per cent.

The explanation of these differences probably lies in differences in the method of selection of the cases which formed the basis of the two series. The smaller series is based upon infants who were brought for baby health conferences, or "baby shows," in many of

which prizes were given the most perfectly developed children, and there may well have been a tendency to bring only the more well-developed babies. The children's year campaign was conducted without any such element of competition, and mothers of all classes in all States brought their children to be weighed and measured.

Another series of statures and weights of American children up to 4 years of age is that given by Dr. L. Emmett Holt in *Diseases of*

Chart X.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages; boys' weights.



Infancy and Childhood. Two series of averages between 6 months and 4 years of age have been published; the earlier one is contained in the editions of 1916 and preceding years and the later one in the edition of 1919. Both series are based upon children weighed and measured in private practice. The number of children upon which the later series was based was about 2,000. A comparison between the children's year figures and these two series is shown in Charts VIII to XIII.

Chart XI.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages; girls' weights.

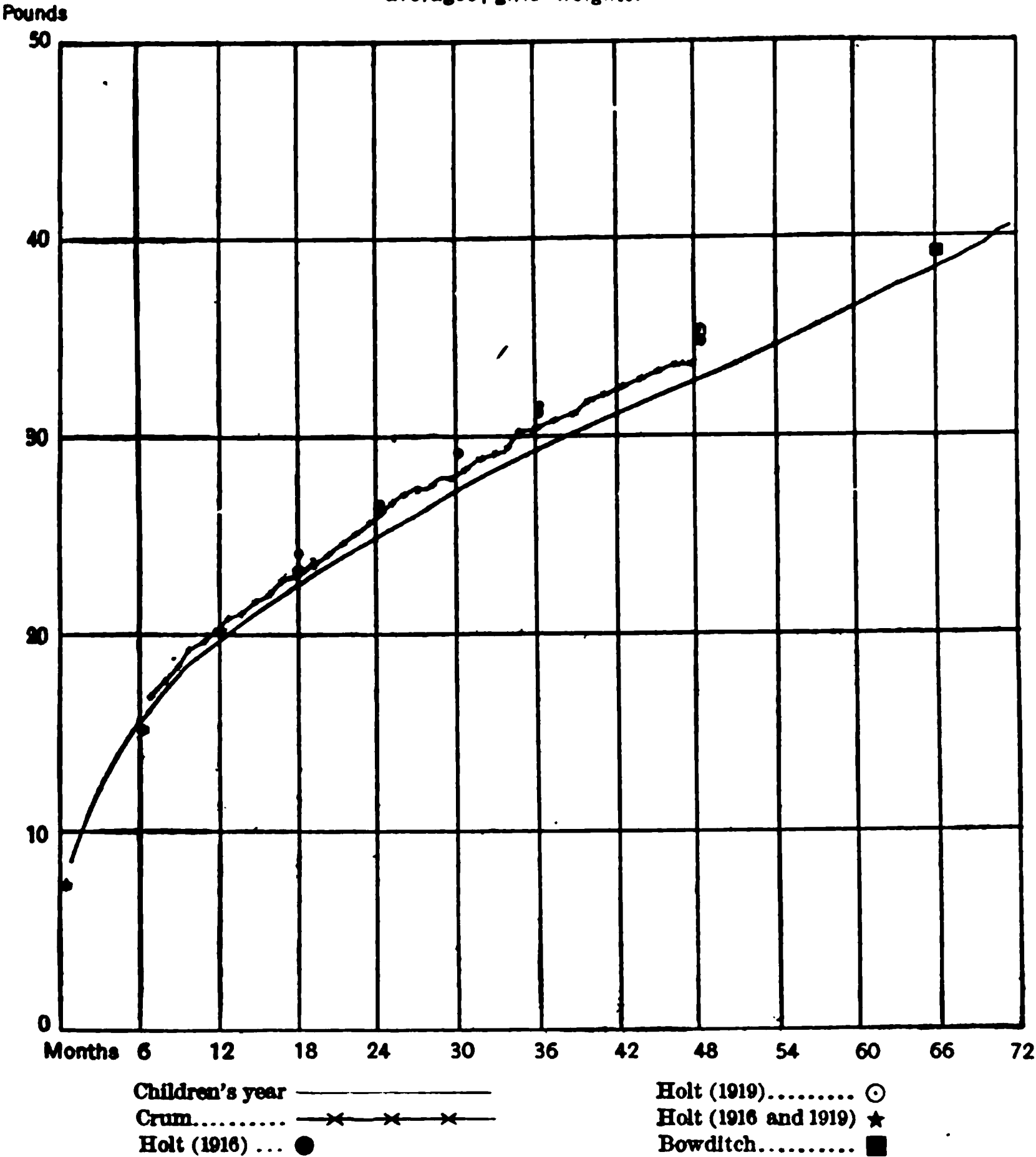


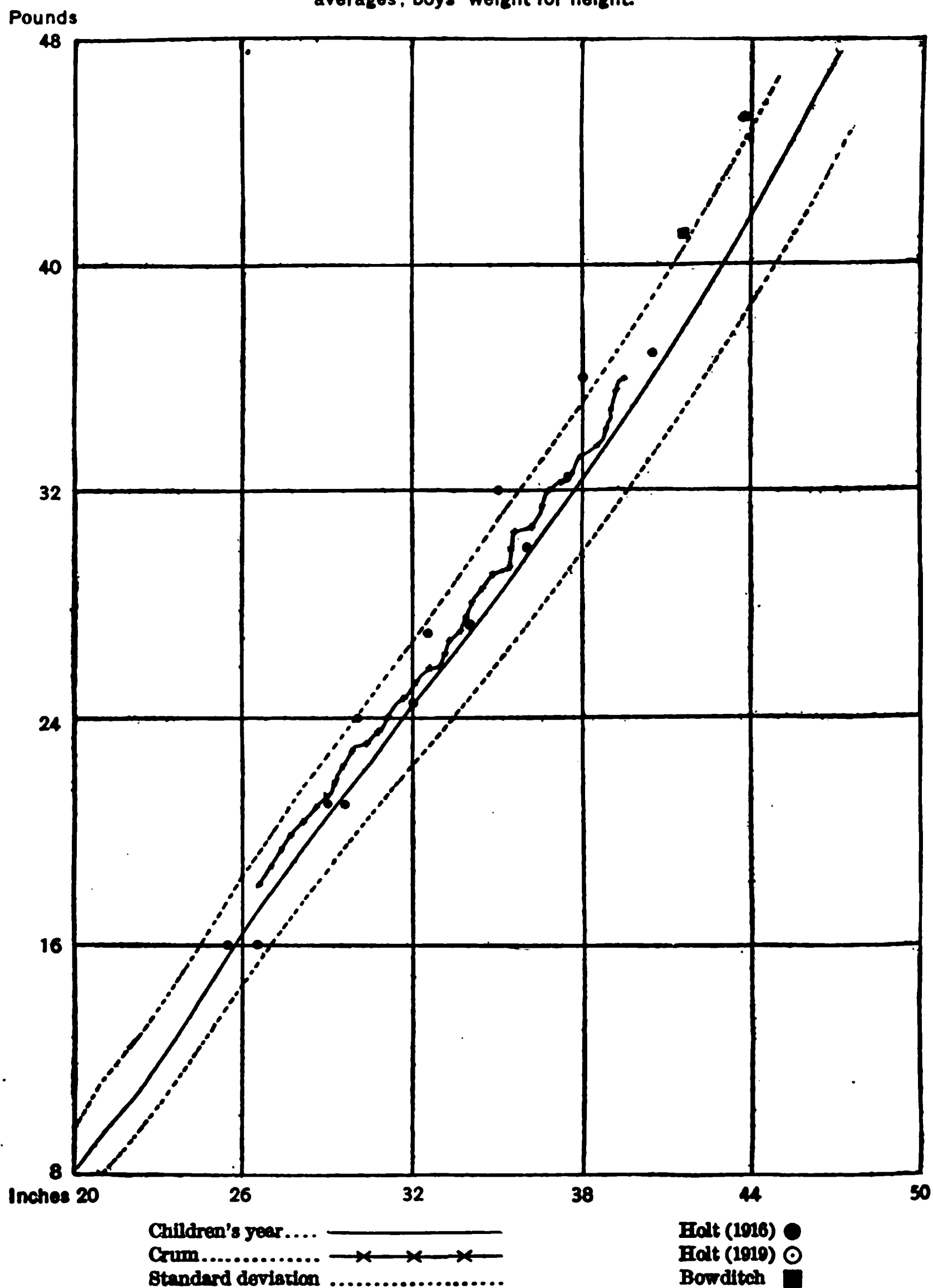
TABLE IX.—Comparison of average stature and weight of "10,423 normal babies in 31 States" with averages for all white children included in stature and weight tabulation.

Age.	White boys.				White girls.			
	Stature.		Weight.		Stature.		Weight.	
	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.
All ages.....	+0.23	+0.7	+0.94	+3.6	+0.19	+0.6	+0.78	+3.5
6 months, under 12.....	+ .01	+ .1	+ .37	+3.9	- .01	- .0	+ .27	+3.0
12 months, under 24.....	+ .18	+ .6	+ .88	+3.7	+ .04	+ .1	+ .75	+3.4
24 months, under 36.....	+ .21	+ .6	+1.02	+3.6	+ .31	+ .9	+1.08	+4.0
36 months, under 49.....	+ .39	+1.1	+1.03	+3.4	+ .31	+ .9	+ .96	+3.4

¹ Excess of averages based on "10,423 normal babies in 31 States" over averages based on children weighed and measured during children's year. Excess stated as positive; deficiency, negative. Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the two series of averages.

Considerable difference in stature appears between Dr. Holt's earlier and his later series. The average statures of the children examined during children's year fall between the two series of measure-

Chart XII.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages; boys' weight for height.

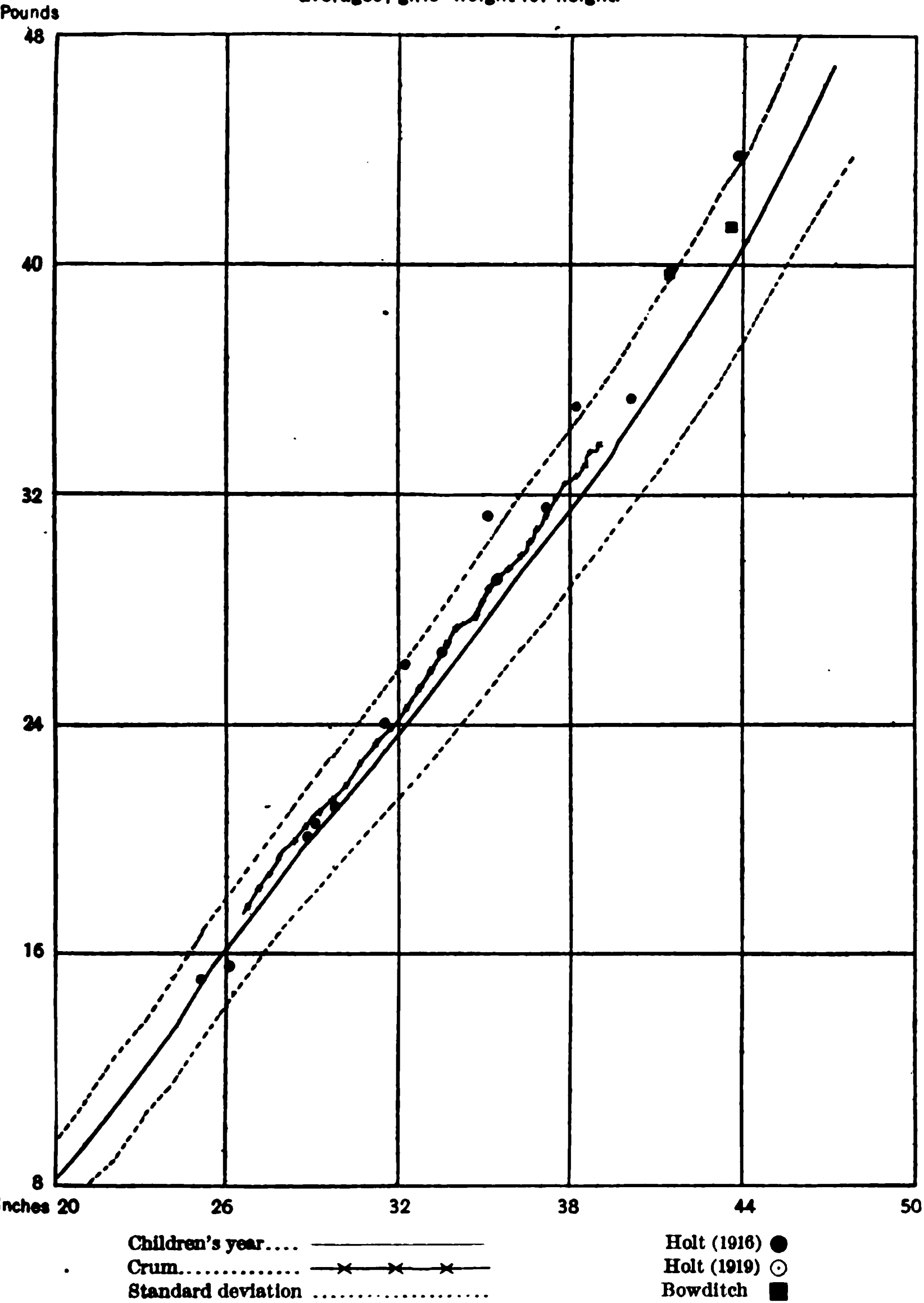


ments given by Dr. Holt, being relatively closer to the later than to the earlier figures.

In weight comparatively little difference appears between Dr. Holt's earlier and his later series. At 6 months and at 1 year the

two series are identical, but at 2 years, 3 years, and 4 years the children in the later series averaged about half a pound heavier. A comparison of the average weights of the children examined during

Chart XIII.—Comparison of children's year averages with Dr. Crum's, Dr. Holt's, and Bowditch's averages; girls' weight for height.

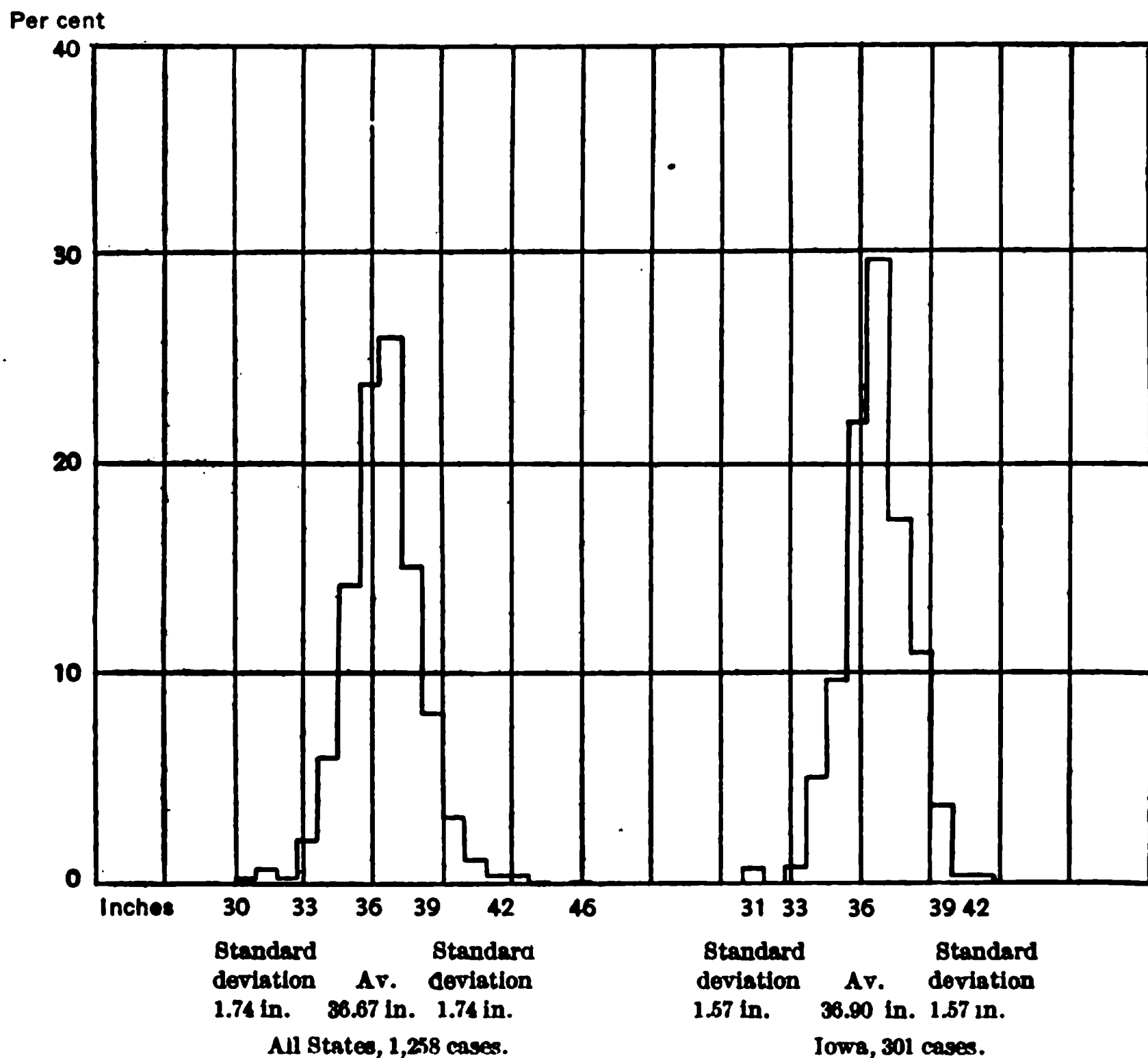


children's year with those examined by Dr. Holt shows that Dr. Holt's figures at 6 months for both boys and girls are somewhat lower, at 12 months practically identical for boys but somewhat higher for girls, and at older ages for both boys and girls somewhat

higher than the children's year figures. In regard to weight for age, the children's year figures are somewhat closer to Dr. Holt's earlier than to his later averages.

A third point of comparison is in regard to weight for height. The relationship of the children's year averages to Dr. Crum's and Dr. Holt's figures is indicated in Charts XII and XIII. In weight for height, the children's year figures are somewhat below Dr. Crum's, but are practically identical with those of Dr. Holt's later series.

Chart XIV.—Distribution of statures of white boys aged 36 Months in all States and in Iowa.



The charts give also a comparison with Bowditch's averages for children at 5½ years, weighed in ordinary clothing. In stature the children's year series is slightly above Bowditch's averages; in weight, when allowance is made for the weight of clothing, the children's year series appears to agree fairly well with Bowditch at the point of juncture.

Composition of selected group.

An important question in regard to any table of average statures and weights based upon a sample is whether the sample is typical of the whole. Are these figures typical of American children?

Chart XV.—Distribution of weights of white boys aged 36 months in all States and Iowa.

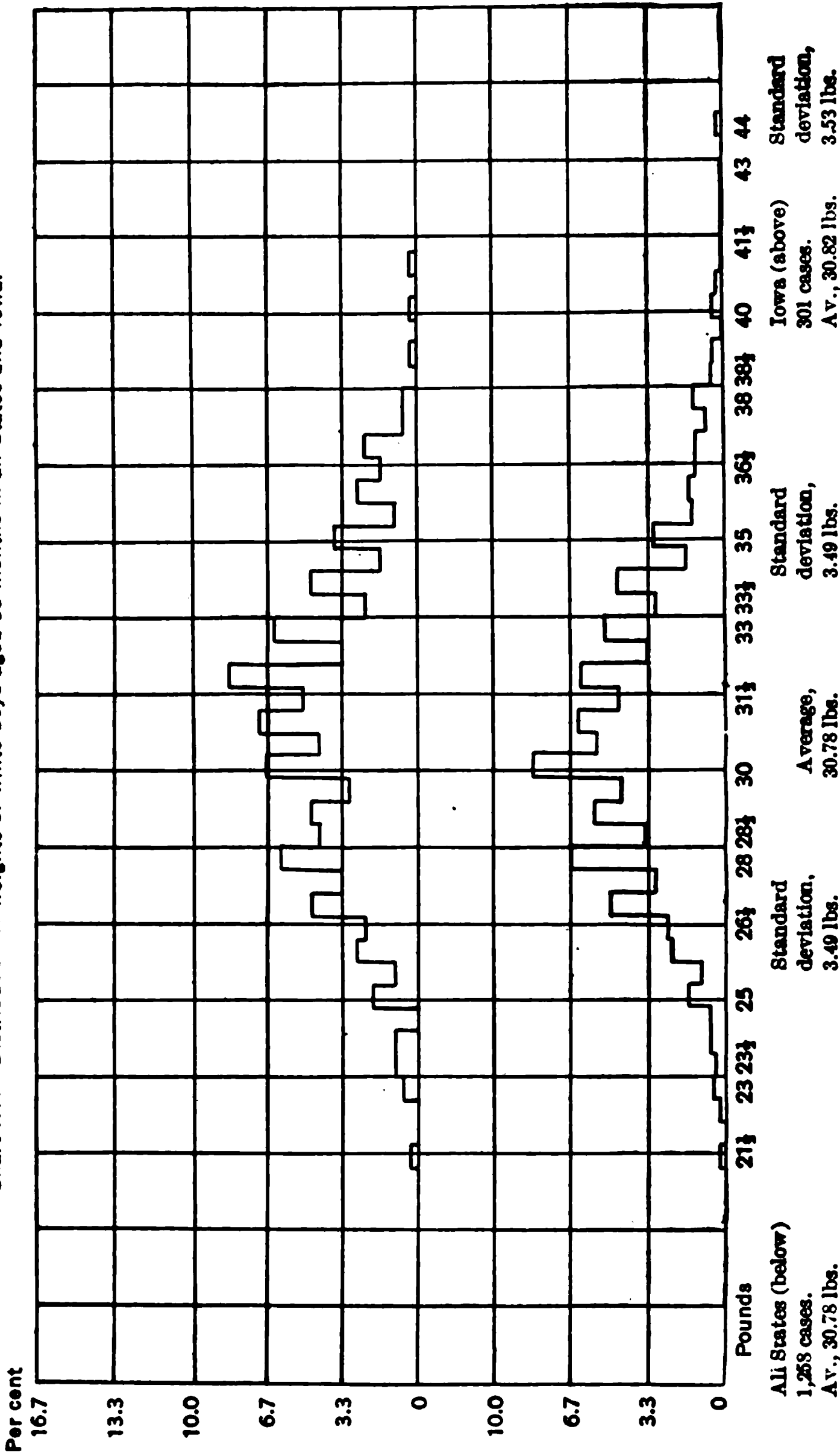


TABLE VIII.—Average weights, by stature and age; white girls included in stature and weight tables.¹

Stature (inches). ²	Average weight of white girls of specified ages.												
	Under 1 month.	1 month, under 2.	2 months, under 3.	3 months, under 4.	4 months, under 5.	5 months, under 6.	6 months, under 7.	9 months, under 12.	1 year, under 2.	2 years, under 3.	3 years, under 4.	4 years, under 5.	6 years, under 7.
20.	7.90 (135)	8.28 (122)											
21.	8.70 (152)	9.30 (230)	9.67 (119)										
22.	9.23 (94)	10.22 (440)	10.78 (322)	11.13 (158)	11.08 (55)								
23.		11.16 (305)	11.63 (540)	12.06 (409)	12.51 (199)	12.95 (75)	13.41 (64)						
24.		11.37 (106)	12.54 (438)	13.22 (643)	13.62 (510)	13.92 (283)	14.16 (299)						
25.			13.37 (147)	13.96 (424)	14.58 (605)	14.97 (575)	15.40 (918)	15.37 (149)					
26.				14.97 (106)	15.50 (263)	15.97 (443)	16.42 (1,573)	16.96 (607)	17.78 (127)				
27.					16.57 (68)	17.10 (84)	17.49 (1,477)	17.87 (1,360)	18.13 (440)				
28.							18.66 (626)	19.04 (1,551)	19.19 (1,208)				
29.							19.45 (187)	20.22 (955)	20.22 (2,185)				
30.							20.67 (109)	21.34 (342)	21.25 (2,900)	22.24 (160)			
31.							22.21 (74)	21.99 (116)	22.62 (2,953)	23.09 (516)			
32.							23.41 (50)	23.07 (67)	22.71 (2,340)	23.95 (1,201)	24.26 (63)		

STATURES AND WEIGHTS.

[illegible]

! The number of cases upon which each average is based is shown in parentheses immediately below the average. Averages based on less than 100 cases are placed in parentheses; averages are not shown if the number of cases is less than 50. Children 7 years of age and over and those less than 20 inches or over 47 inches do not appear in this table.

² Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half were classed with the unit above and half with the unit below—"20 inches" means 19.5 to 20.5; "21 inches," 20.5 to 21.5; etc.

closely related, though the Scandinavians in particular are considerably taller and heavier than the English.

TABLE XI.—*Parental nativity, by sections; white children included in stature and weight tables.*

Nativity of parents.	White children.							
	All sections.		New England and Middle Atlantic.		Southern.		East North-Central.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹
Total.....	167,024	100.0	23,729	100.0	9,044	100.0	54,779	100.0
Both parents native.....	115,818	69.3	9,560	40.3	8,264	91.4	38,992	71.2
Both parents foreign born.....	32,511	19.5	10,322	43.5	408	4.5	10,977	20.0
In same country.....	29,577	17.7	9,534	40.2	360	4.0	10,181	18.6
In different countries.....	2,907	1.7	783	3.3	47	.5	788	1.4
Not reported.....	27	.....	5	.....	1	.....	8	.....
One native, one foreign born.....	17,441	10.4	3,538	14.9	325	3.6	4,446	8.1
One or both not reported.....	1,254	.8	309	1.3	47	.5	364	.7

Nativity of parents.	White children.					
	Iowa.		Western.		California.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹
Total.....	37,033	100.0	23,170	100.0	19,269	100.0
Both parents native.....	30,458	82.2	16,512	71.3	12,032	62.4
Both parents foreign born.....	2,922	7.9	3,276	14.1	4,606	23.9
In same country.....	2,653	7.2	2,855	12.3	3,994	20.7
In different countries.....	258	.7	419	1.8	612	3.2
Not reported.....	11	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
One native, one foreign born.....	3,539	9.6	3,206	13.8	2,387	12.4
One or both not reported.....	114	.3	176	.8	244	1.3

¹ Per cent not shown if less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Since the native-born parents of children under 6 years of age in 1918 were for the most part born in this country before 1895, some light can be thrown upon the racial stocks represented among the grandparents of the children by a study of the nationality composition of the population at the census of 1890. Since such a study, however, shows only the more recent additions to the population, and since no account is taken of differing birth rates, the conclusions that can be drawn as to the racial stocks of the children of the 1890 population are necessarily somewhat uncertain. In 1890 the foreign-born white population represented 16.6 per cent of the total white population. The principal elements were the British and Irish, including British Canadian, with 6.9 per cent; the German, with 5.1 per cent; and the Scandinavian with 1.7 per cent of the total white population. The remainder included French Canadians, Austro-Hungarians, Russians, Italian, French, Swiss, etc. It is worthy of

especial note that all foreign-born Italians, Russians, and Austro-Hungarians together constituted only 1.2 per cent of the total white population.

The nationality or racial composition of the children of native parentage included in the group selected for tabulation may have been somewhat affected by the unequal weighting of the different sections of the country. An examination of the proportions of foreign-born white in the different sections in 1890 indicates, however, the extent of bias from this cause. Thus Iowa, the State with the largest proportion of children included in the tabulation, had in 1890 a somewhat larger proportion of foreign-born Germans and Scandinavians than the country as a whole, respectively 6.7 per cent and 3.8 per cent of the total white population. Likewise in the East North-Central States, also somewhat overweighted in the tabulation, the foreign-born Germans constituted 8 per cent, and the foreign-born Scandinavians 2.1 per cent of the total white population. In California the foreign-born Germans constituted only 5.5 per cent and the foreign-born Scandinavians 2 per cent, while the group of foreign-born Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese together constituted 2.6 per cent of the total white population. In the New England and Middle Atlantic States, which in proportion to population were somewhat underweighted in the tabulation, the proportion of foreign-born Germans was not far from that in the country as a whole, 5.2 per cent, while the proportion of Scandinavian was considerably less, only 0.7 per cent. In the Western group of States the percentage of foreign-born Germans was 5.3 per cent, while that of foreign-born Scandinavians was 5. In the Southern States the foreign-born Germans constituted only 1.5 per cent, and the foreign-born Scandinavians a negligible proportion of the total white population.

Though these figures are only the percentages of the foreign born and do not, therefore, show the true proportions of the different racial stocks, yet they do give a clear indication of the bias caused by the unequal weighing of States in the group of children selected for tabulation. Thus, if a sample of the population of 1890 were drawn from the several States and sections in the same proportions as the children selected for tabulation, the foreign-born Germans would represent 6.3 per cent and the foreign-born Scandinavians 2.4 per cent of such a sample, instead of 5.1 and 1.7 per cent, respectively, as in the entire country. It is clear, therefore, that in the group of children of native parentage the German and the Scandinavian racial stocks were probably somewhat more liberally represented than in the whole population.

Table XII, which shows the countries of birth of the mothers of the children included in the tabulation, throws light upon the racial stocks represented among the children of foreign parentage. As

already stated, practically seven-tenths of the children had both parents born in the United States; 6.2 per cent more had mothers who were native, but fathers foreign born. This table shows further that, of those whose mothers were foreign born, a considerable proportion were of racial stocks similar to the native American. Thus, 4.2 per cent had mothers born in the United Kingdom and British possessions, that is, who were English, Scotch, Irish, or Welsh.

On the other hand, 2.3 per cent had mothers born in Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, 2 in Germany, 4.1 in Italy, 2.9 per cent in Russia, 1.3 per cent in Poland, and 4 per cent in Austria-Hungary.

TABLE XII.—*Country of birth of parents; white children included in stature and weight tables.*

Country of birth of mother.	White children included in stature and weight tables.			
	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different countries.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
All countries.....	¹ 167,024	100.0	145,395	20,348
United States.....	127,212	76.2	115,839	11,373
United Kingdom and British possessions.....	7,030	4.2	3,675	3,355
England.....	1,755	1.1	913	842
Scotland.....	714	.4	389	325
Wales.....	44	.....	16	28
Ireland.....	1,702	1.0	1,030	672
British possessions.....	2,815	1.7	1,327	1,488
Italy.....	6,817	4.1	6,618	199
Austria-Hungary ²	6,743	4.0	5,975	768
Austria.....	4,211	2.5	3,701	510
Bohemia.....	487	.3	382	105
Hungary.....	1,012	.6	942	70
Croatia.....	48	.....	48	.....
Transylvania.....	5	.....	5	.....
Not specified.....	980	.6	897	83
Russia.....	4,886	2.9	4,501	385
Scandinavia.....	3,764	2.3	2,354	1,410
Denmark.....	697	.4	471	226
Sweden.....	1,644	1.0	1,095	549
Norway.....	1,423	.9	788	635
Germany.....	3,370	2.0	1,625	1,745
Poland ³	2,231	1.3	1,990	241
All other ⁴	3,690	2.2	2,818	872

¹ Includes 1,271 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.

² As constituted before the war, except Austrian Poland, which is included with Poland.

³ Includes Russian, German, and Austrian Poland as constituted before the war.

⁴ Including West Indies, Cuba, Central and South America, Luxemburg, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Serbia, Armenia, Syria, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Turkey, Mexico, Atlantic and Pacific islands, Africa, Japan, China, India, Asia n. o. s., Europe n. o. s.

Of these races the German is slightly and the Scandinavian considerably taller and heavier, while the Italian and the Jewish are considerably shorter and lighter than the native American stock. A considerable proportion of the mothers who reported their country of birth as Russia or Poland was probably of Jewish race. The mothers who reported Austria-Hungary as their country of birth probably include a number of races, some Germans, some Czechs, some Magyars, and others.

Of the white children, then, who formed the basis of the stature and weight tables, 76 per cent had mothers born in the United States, 4 per cent had mothers born in Great Britain or Ireland; and the remainder—about one-fifth—were of stocks of taller or of shorter stature.

Comparison of the figures showing countries of birth of the foreign-born mothers of the children included in the tabulation with similar data for the United States as a whole is rendered difficult because no census figures are available showing country of birth of parents of young children. An approximation can be reached by comparing the countries of birth of the mothers of children included in the tables with the countries of birth of the foreign-born population of both sexes in 1910, as in Table XIII. It may be pointed out that, while the foreign-born mothers of the children weighed and measured were for the most part in the United States in 1910, the representation of the different nationalities among children under 6 years of age in 1918 depends upon the proportion of women in the 1910 population and also upon the relative birth rates.

TABLE XIII.—*Comparison of the distribution by mothers' country of birth of children of foreign-born mothers included in main tabulation with the distribution by country of birth of the foreign-born population in the United States in 1910.*

Country of birth. ¹	Per cent distribution.	
	Children of foreign-born mothers included in tabulation. ¹	Foreign-born population 1910. ²
All foreign countries.....	100.0	100.0
United Kingdom and British possessions.....	17.7	28.1
England.....	4.4	6.5
Scotland.....	1.8	1.9
Wales.....	.1	.6
Ireland.....	4.3	10.0
British possessions.....	7.1	³ 9.1
Italy.....	17.1	9.9
Austria-Hungary.....	⁴ 16.9	12.4
Russia.....	⁴ 12.3	12.8
Scandinavia.....	9.5	9.3
Denmark.....	1.8	1.3
Sweden.....	4.1	4.9
Norway.....	3.6	3.0
Germany.....	⁴ 8.5	18.5
Poland.....	5.6	(⁵)
All others.....	9.3	18.1

¹ Children included in the tabulation are classified by country of birth of mother.

² Thirteenth Census, Vol. I, Population from p. 791. The foreign born used as the basis of these percentages include about 1.3 per cent colored.

³ Includes Canada and Newfoundland, and Australia.

⁴ As constituted before the war, except that if the mother's country of birth is stated as Poland it is classed as Poland.

⁵ Not shown separately.

This comparison indicates that among the children selected for tabulation Italy and Austria-Hungary and perhaps Poland were represented in somewhat larger, and Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland in somewhat smaller, proportions than among the foreign-born population of 1910. These differences, however, may merely reflect the effect of differences in birth rates. The greatest differences, it may be pointed out, are in the large proportion of Italian, on the one hand, and in the small proportion of German, on the other—differences which suggest that even allowing for differences in birth rates perhaps an undue proportion of children of Italian mothers and too small a proportion of children of German mothers were included in the tabulation.

The effect of bias in selection of racial stocks may now be summed up. The average statures and weights of children of German parentage are very slightly above, those of Scandinavian parentage considerably above, and those for children of Italian parentage considerably below, the averages for all white children.⁸ The analysis has indicated that probably the German, and especially the Scandinavian, stocks are somewhat overweighted in the group of children of native parentage, while the German may be slightly underweighted and the Italian overweighted in the group of children of foreign-born parentage. The amount of error in the general averages from each of these elements is small, since even with overstatement the various groups form comparatively small proportions of the total numbers. Furthermore, the errors tend to offset one another, since the bias toward overstatement of the averages due to overweighting the Scandinavian stock among the children of native parentage tends to be offset by the bias toward understatement of the averages due to overweighting the Italian stock among the children of foreign parentage, and the overweighting of German stock among the children of native parentage tends to be offset by the underweighting of German stock among the children of foreign parentage. Though the analysis is suggestive only rather than conclusive, it does indicate that so far as racial stocks are concerned the averages may be considered fairly typical of all white children under 6 years of age in the United States.

The averages might have been affected, however, not only by a bias in racial stocks represented among the children selected but by a method of selection tending to secure an unduly large proportion of measurements for children who were taller and heavier than the average. So far as the general conditions connected with the conduct of the weighing and measuring test are concerned, it was sought to reach children of all classes equally. Though the methods of organization were different in different States, and perhaps achieved

⁸ See pp. 56-61.

different degrees of success in reaching all classes, probably on the whole the use of local organizations already established and the wide publicity given to the weighing and measuring test served to secure a representative group of children. The fact already discussed that a fairly representative sample of the children of the different nationality groups was secured would tend to indicate that the sample was also typical in other respects.

Furthermore, if there had been a tendency for the tallest and heaviest children to be brought to the weighing and measuring centers, then, other things being equal, the larger the proportion of children included in the tabulation the more children of only average and of less than average stature and weight would have been included; and hence the larger the proportion of children included in any given area the lower would be the averages for that area. The proportion of children included in the tabulation varied considerably in the different States. Thus, in Iowa approximately 13 per cent of the children under 6 years of age were included, and in California about 6.6 per cent; in other areas the proportions were much smaller. If, then, there was a definite tendency to bring the tallest and heaviest children to be weighed and measured, it would be expected that the averages in California, and especially in Iowa, would be lower than the averages in all States. As will be shown, however, the averages in Iowa are substantially the same as the general averages, while those in California are markedly higher than in the country as a whole. Though this evidence is far from conclusive, it tends to suggest that the averages may be considered as free from any bias toward selecting only the tallest and heaviest children.

Comparative stature and weight in different sections.

To determine whether in different sections of the country there are significant differences in stature and weight, analysis has been made of three groups of children. The children of Iowa formed one group with a high percentage of children of native parentage; the children of California showing a smaller proportion with native parentage than those of Iowa, but living under exceptionally favorable climatic conditions, formed a second group; and the children of New York City, who were largely of foreign parentage and who included a considerable proportion of children of short-statured races, formed a third group. The New York City children, though not included in the general averages on account of having been weighed with underclothing, are presented in this connection to indicate the effect of the nationality composition of the group upon average stature. In all three areas the size of the sample was fairly large. These comparisons show roughly the range of sectional variations in average stature and weight.

Table XIV, which gives the information in summary form, shows that measurements of the Iowa children approximate those of children in the country as a whole, with a slight excess—a fifth of an inch—in stature. The children under 1 year of age are nearly 3 ounces heavier, but those from 1 to 6 years are from 1 to 3 ounces lighter than the average in the country as a whole. The California children, on the other hand, average two-fifths of an inch taller than all children included in the general table, and exceed the general average weight by approximately three-fourths of a pound. The New York City children, on the other hand, show a marked deficiency in stature amounting to as much as half an inch.

TABLE XIV.—Comparative stature and weight, by age; comparison of white children under 6 years of age, Iowa, California, and New York City, with averages for all white children.

Age and section.	White children.			
	Boys.		Girls.	
	Average excess. ¹		Average excess. ¹	
	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).
California.....	+0.40	² +0.75	+0.36	² +0.75
Under 1 year.....	+ .23	+ .22	+ .26	+ .17
1 year, under 2.....	+ .33	+ .75	+ .26	+ .74
2 years, under 3.....	+ .39	+ .87	+ .34	+ .82
3 years, under 4.....	+ .36	+1.01	+ .48	+1.01
4 years, under 5.....	+ .44	+ .92	+ .38	+1.00
5 years, under 6.....	+ .64	+1.11	+ .43	+1.09
Iowa.....	+0.20	−0.04	+0.14	−0.06
Under 1 year.....	+0.20	+0.18	+0.19	+0.17
1 year, under 2.....	+ .14	− .21	+ .15	− .13
2 years, under 3.....	+ .13	− .17	+ .15	− .12
3 years, under 4.....	+ .21	− .06	+ .17	− .23
4 years, under 5.....	+ .23	− .04	+ .23	− .19
5 years, under 6.....	+ .31	− .16	+ .03	− .16
New York City.....	−0.52	(³)	−0.49	(³)
Under 1 year.....	−0.45	(³)	−0.35	(³)
1 year, under 2.....	− .56	(³)	− .45	(³)
2 years, under 3.....	− .52	(³)	− .45	(³)
3 years, under 4.....	− .55	(³)	− .54	(³)
4 years, under 5.....	− .45	(³)	− .52	(³)
5 years, under 6.....	− .56	(³)	− .62	(³)

¹ Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the averages for the section specified at the different months in the years specified, with the corresponding averages for all white children.
² Figures for California based only upon children reported weighed and measured without clothing.
³ Weights not comparable since children in New York City were weighed in underclothing.

The proportion of children whose parents were born in the United States was highest in Iowa, 82.2 per cent; next in California, 62.4 per cent; and very low in New York City, only 22.7 per cent. So far as the racial stocks represented in the children of native parentage can be inferred from the nativity of their parents, Iowa and California are not far different; Iowa has slightly larger proportions of the German and the Scandinavian and California of the southern European races—but in both States the main racial

stock is the British. The nationalities represented among the children of foreign-born mothers included in Iowa the Scandinavian with 2.8 per cent of the total, the German with 2.6 per cent, and the British and Irish with 1.1 per cent; the Italian was represented by only 0.8 per cent. In California, however, the Italian had the largest proportion of any of the foreign nationalities with 8 per cent, the British and Irish came second with 5.2 per cent, while the Scandinavian nationalities had 2 per cent, the Russian 1.7 per cent, and the German only 1.6 per cent of the total number. In New York City Italy was most largely represented with 20.7 per cent, followed by Russia, with 17.7 per cent, Austria-Hungary with 13.2 per cent, Great Britain, Ireland and British possessions with 9.5 per cent (Ireland alone, 7.5 per cent), Germany with 1.9 per cent, and Poland with 1.7 per cent.

It is clear from these figures that the excess stature and weight in California, as compared with Iowa and other States, is not due to the racial stocks represented in her population. It must be due, therefore, to some other factor—selection of the tallest and heaviest in the process of migration, or favorable environmental conditions such as climate. The deficiency in stature in New York City, on the other hand, is probably to be accounted for by the large proportion of children of short-statured races, such as the Italian and the Jewish.

Comparative stature and weight of city and country children.

In order to determine whether there is any significant difference in stature and weight between city and country children, the children of native parentage in Iowa and in the East North-Central section were tabulated by the size of the communities in which they were examined, whether "rural," which was defined as places under 10,000 population, or "urban," which was divided into places of from 10,000 to 25,000 population and places of 25,000 and over. The results are shown in Table XV.

In this table the statures and weights of the children in each group are compared with those of children in all States. The difference between urban and rural children is therefore shown in the relative difference. The probable errors of the figures are also shown in the table.

Both in stature and weight the averages for children in rural areas are above those for children in urban areas. This difference appears for both boys and girls. So far as stature is concerned, no significant difference appears between the smaller and the larger urban communities, and the slight difference which occurs between the averages for children in the smaller and in the larger urban communities of both sections is seen on analysis to be due solely to a difference in the East North-Central section.

TABLE XV.—Comparative stature and weight of city and country children; white children under 6 years of age of native parentage in Iowa and East North-Central sections compared with general averages for all white children.

White children of native parentage.															
Size of community and section of country.	Children.					Boys.				Girls.					
	Number.	Stature (inches).		Weight (pounds).		Number.	Stature (inches).		Weight (pounds).		Number.	Stature (inches).		Weight (pounds).	
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error.		Average excess. ¹	Probable error.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error.					
SOUTH SECTIONS.	45,226	+0.13	±0.01	+0.04	±0.01	22,300	+0.13	±0.01	+0.07	±0.02	22,326	+0.12	±0.01	-0.01	±0.03
	9,680	- .12	± .01	- .13	± .02	4,917	- .11	± .02	- .18	± .03	4,763	- .14	± .02	- .17	± .03
	14,041	- .06	± .01	- .29	± .02	7,071	- .11	± .01	- .35	± .03	6,970	- .04	± .01	- .24	± .03
IOWA.	22,270	+ .28	± .01	+ .03	± .02	11,207	+ .24	± .01	+ .06	± .02	10,963	+ .21	± .01	- .02	± .02
	2,063	+ .06	± .02	- .29	± .06	1,072	+ .06	± .03	- .24	± .07	1,021	+ .03	± .04	- .44	± .07
	5,991	+ .04	± .01	- .23	± .03	2,019	- .00	± .02	- .26	± .04	2,972	+ .06	± .02	- .30	± .04
EAST NORTH-CENTRAL.	22,865	+ .21	± .01	+ .04	± .02	11,563	+ .03	± .01	+ .06	± .02	11,372	+ .03	± .01	+ .00	± .02
	7,557	- .17	± .01	- .12	± .06	3,645	- .15	± .02	- .14	± .04	3,742	- .19	± .02	- .09	± .04
	8,050	- .17	± .01	- .27	± .03	4,052	- .20	± .02	- .35	± .04	3,998	- .14	± .02	- .19	± .04

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of white children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in all States.

Only children whose parents were native born were included in this table, and the effect of differences in racial composition between rural and urban areas is therefore eliminated so far as the material at hand permits. The children are the offspring of parents born in this country for the most part before 1895, and include no appreciable proportion of the short-statured races, such as the Italian and the Jewish. The States chosen contain, it is true, many persons of Scandinavian descent, but so far as the evidence indicates this element is found more largely in cities than in country districts, and therefore would not explain the difference in average stature and weight in favor of the country.⁹

Comparative stature and weight of children of native parentage.

The inclusion in the group selected for study of a considerable number of children whose parents were not born in the United States raises the question whether the averages secured are fairly typical of children of native parentage. To throw light upon this question a special tabulation was made of children of native parentage in Iowa and in the East North-Central section. The tabulation included 68,946 boys and girls under 6 years of age, both of whose parents were reported born in the United States, Table XVI.

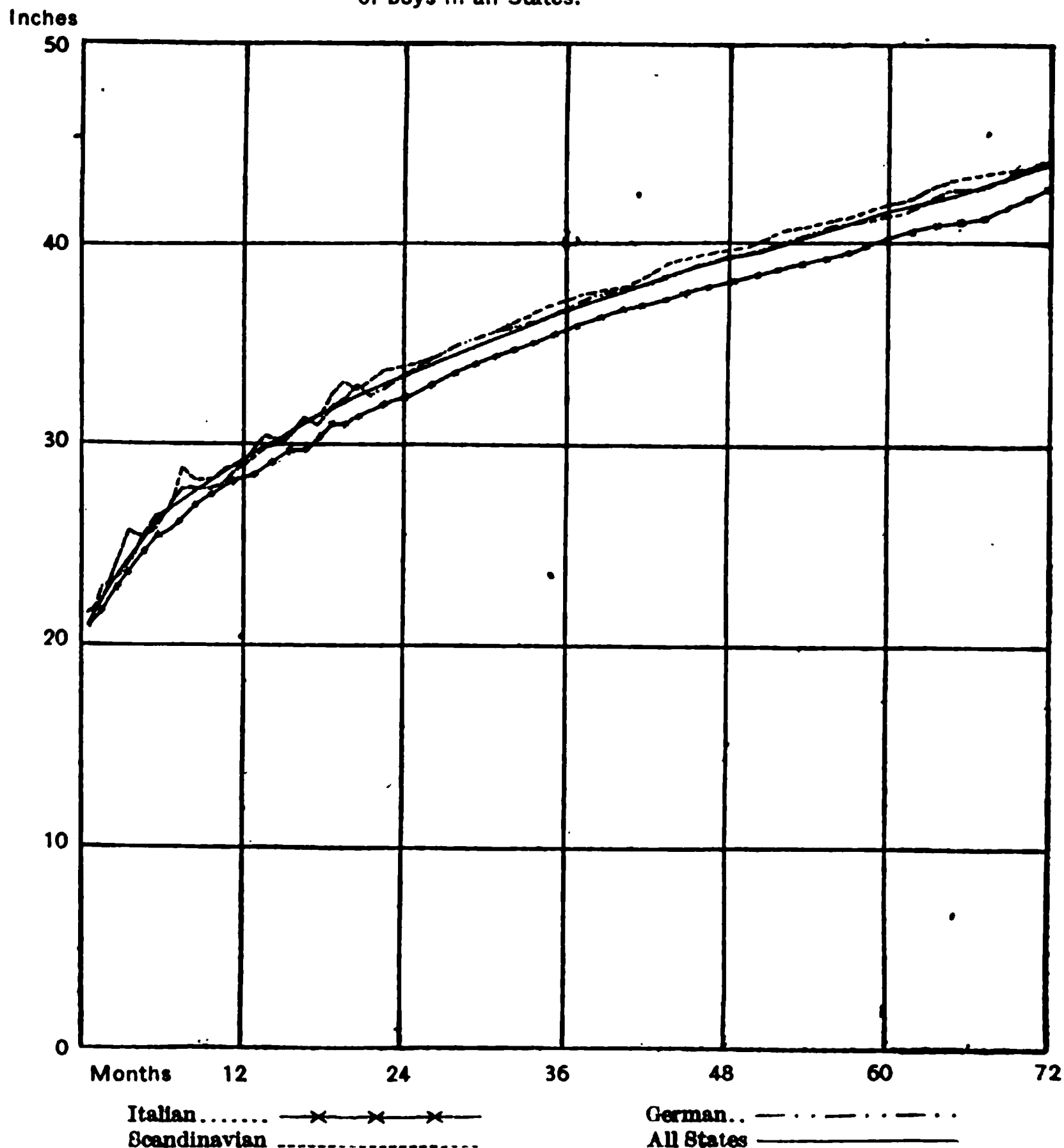
TABLE XVI.—Comparison of stature and weight of children of native parentage with general averages; white children under 6 years of age; Iowa and East North-Central sections.

Age and section.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number.	Average excess. ^a		Number.	Average excess. ^a	
		Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).		Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).
Both sections.....	34, 878	+0.05	−0.05	34, 068	+0.05	−0.08
Under 1 year.....	8, 358	+ .06	+ .03	8, 054	+ .07	+ .04
1 year, under 2.....	6, 456	+ .02	− .17	6, 189	+ .02	− .14
2 years, under 3.....	6, 413	+ .02	− .10	6, 292	+ .03	− .09
3 years, under 4.....	6, 012	+ .04	− .05	5, 894	+ .02	− .16
4 years, under 5.....	5, 374	+ .13	+ .06	5, 407	+ .11	− .05
5 years, under 6.....	2, 265	− .00	− .15	2, 232	+ .05	− .12
Iowa.....	15, 398	+ .18	− .05	14, 956	+ .17	− .11
Under 1 year.....	3, 567	+ .17	+ .16	3, 413	+ .22	+ .16
1 year, under 2.....	3, 010	+ .13	− .17	2, 920	+ .12	− .20
2 years, under 3.....	3, 002	+ .13	− .19	2, 944	+ .15	− .12
3 years, under 4.....	2, 883	+ .21	− .03	2, 773	+ .15	− .26
4 years, under 5.....	2, 395	+ .26	− .08	2, 359	+ .26	− .16
5 years, under 6.....	541	+ .25	− .06	547	+ .03	− .24
East North-Central.....	19, 480	− .05	− .05	19, 112	− .05	− .05
Under 1 year.....	4, 791	− .03	− .07	4, 641	− .03	− .05
1 year, under 2.....	3, 446	− .07	− .17	3, 269	− .08	− .09
2 years, under 3.....	3, 411	− .07	− .03	3, 348	− .07	− .07
3 years, under 4.....	3, 129	− .12	− .08	3, 121	− .10	− .08
4 years, under 5.....	2, 979	+ .03	+ .17	3, 048	− .01	+ .04
5 years, under 6.....	1, 724	− .09	− .18	1, 665	− .06	− .09

^a Excess is stated as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of white children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in all States.
⁹ Figures for 1890 show that in the East North-Central States 1.9 per cent of the population of rural districts and cities under 25,000 population, while 2.9 per cent of the population of cities of 25,000 and over, were born in one of the Scandinavian countries. Thirteenth Census, Vol. I, Population. Compiled from p. 847.

The results in general show a close agreement with the averages already presented. The children of native parentage in the selected States were very slightly lighter in weight, but the amount is so slight as to be negligible for comparative purposes. Thus the weight of these children averaged only about an ounce less than that of all those included in this study. Figures for Iowa are in substantial agreement with those for the East North-Central

Chart XVII.—Comparative statures of boys of Italian, Scandinavian, and German parentage, and of boys in all States.



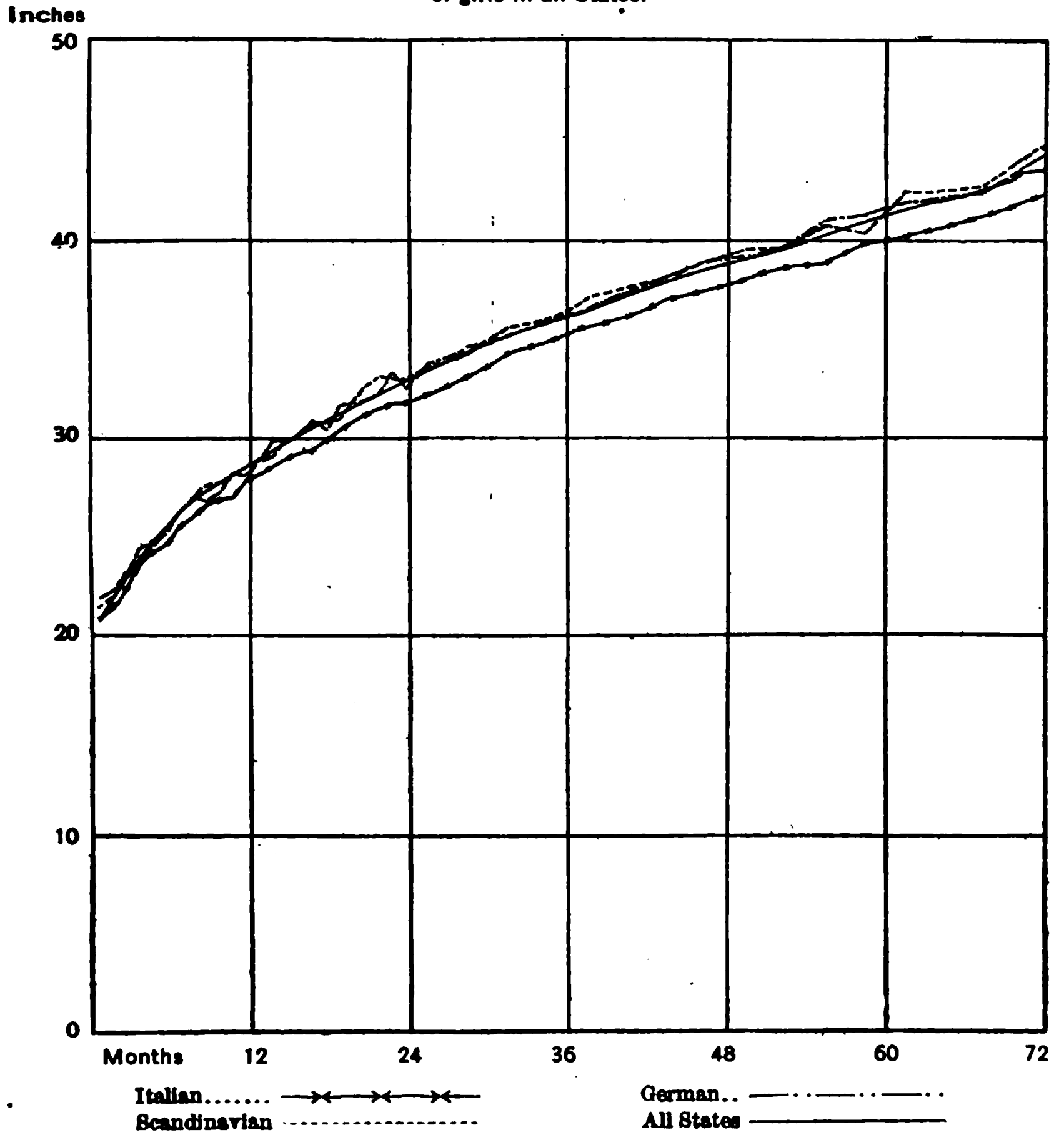
group, except that at under 1 year the Iowa figures show a slight excess in weight. The amount of variation from the average is so slight that in many cases the differences are negligible.

Comparative stature and weight of children of Italian, Scandinavian, and German parentage.

Three nationality groups were tabulated separately to show differences in average statures and weights from the averages for all white children included in the general tables. Since the informa-

tion on the record blank gave only the country of birth of father and mother, but not the racial stock, the choice of nationalities in which racial stock could reasonably be inferred from the country of birth was limited. The nationalities selected for tabulation were the Italian, the Scandinavian, and the German, and the children from all parts of the country whose mothers were reported born in Italy, in Scandinavia (Denmark, Sweden, or Nor-

Chart XVIII.—Comparative statures of girls of Italian, Scandinavian, and German parentage, and of girls in all States.

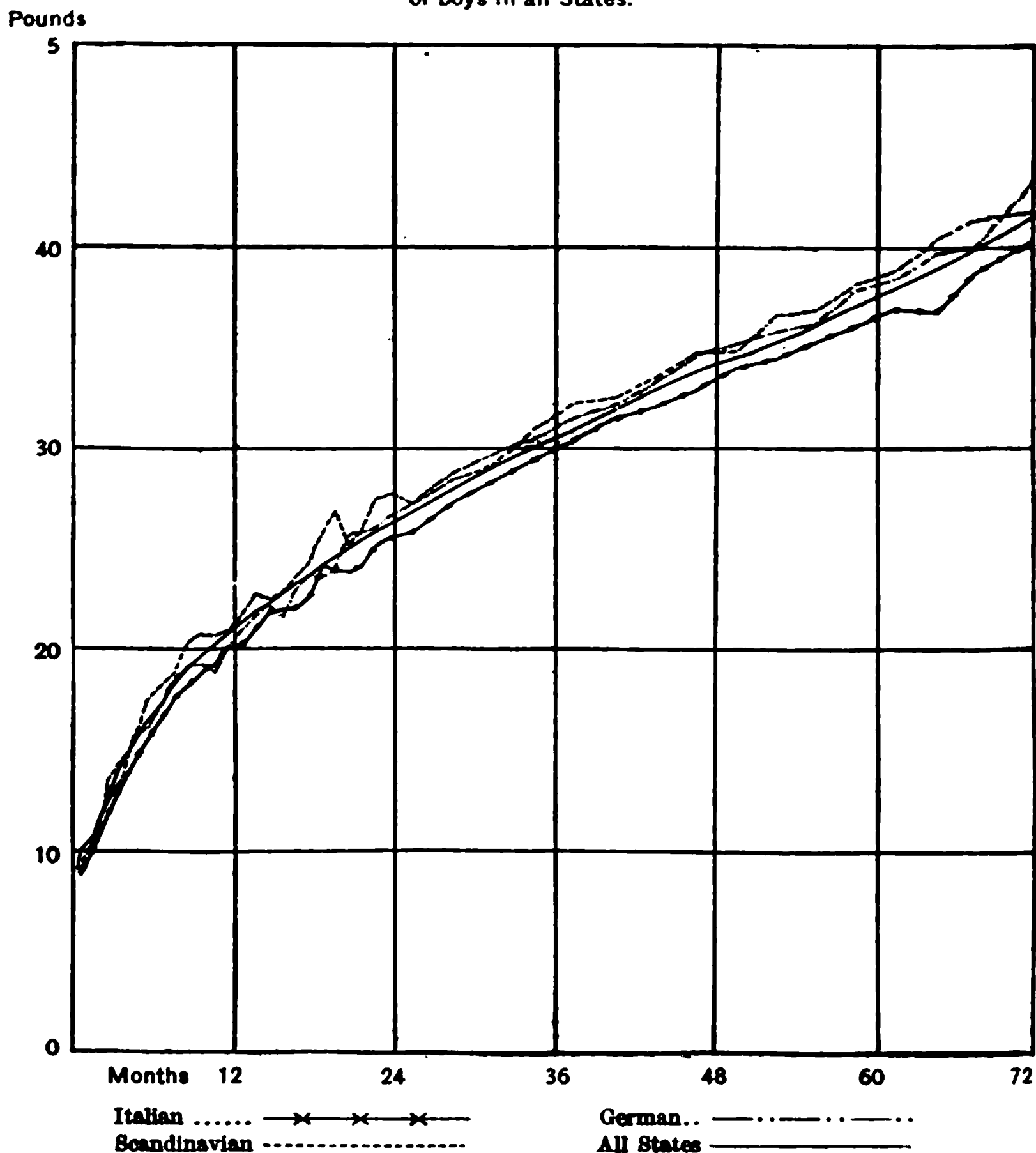


way), and in Germany were included in the respective nationality tables.

Table XVII shows the distribution of the children of these different nationalities by sections. In the tables for these selected nationalities a certain number of children in New York City were included who had been excluded from the main tables on account of having been weighed in underclothing. This fact would not affect materially the conclusions as to relative weight and stature of children of

these nationalities, since few children of the taller and heavier groups were from New York City, while nearly half the group of Italian children, who were shorter and lighter than average, were from New York. The inclusion of the New York City children would tend, therefore, to understate the difference between the Italian children and the general average.

Chart XIX.—Comparative weights of boys of Italian, Scandinavian, and German parentage, and of boys in all States.

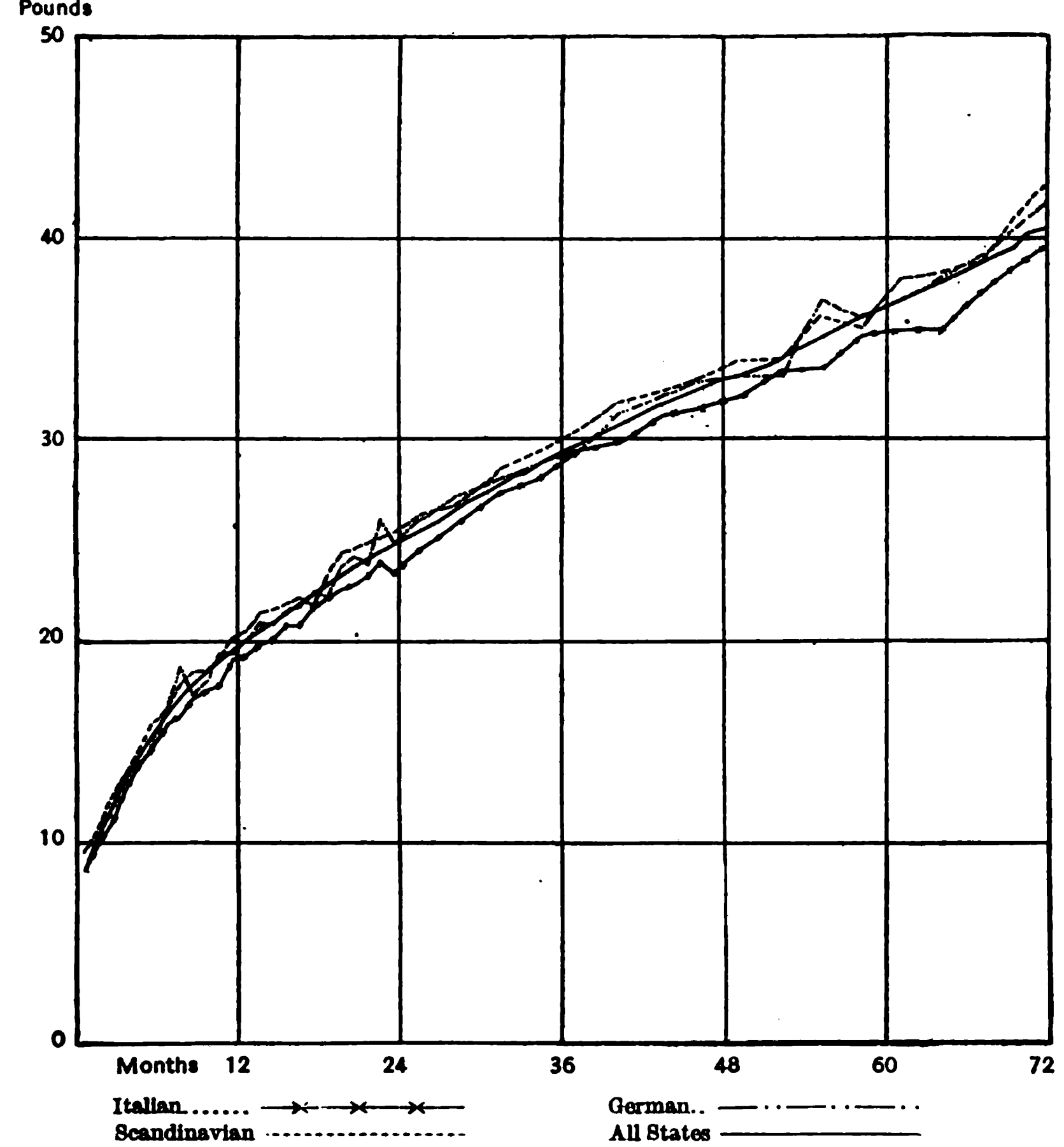


Children of Italian parentage.—Comparing the figures for children of mothers born in Italy with those for all children, it appears (Table XVIII) that Italian children are shorter and lighter than the average. The average deficiency in stature is slightly over an inch for both boys and girls, and that in weight is 15 ounces for boys and 14 for girls. The absolute deficiencies are smaller for the younger children and increase with age. The percentage of deficiency, however, is more nearly uniform. The averages themselves and the number of cases upon which they are based are shown in general Table 15.

TABLE XVII.—*Parental nativity and section, white children included in special nationality tables.*

Section.	White children.		
	Italian parent-age.	Scandinavian parent-age.	German parent-age.
Total.....	14,246	4,164	4,066
New England and Middle Atlantic.....	3,501	313	255
New York City.....	7,429	400	696
Southern.....	74	22	57
East North-Central.....	1,265	684	1,186
Iowa.....	296	1,017	975
Western.....	131	1,319	596
California.....	1,550	379	301

Chart XX.—Comparative weights of girls of Italian, Scandinavian, and German parentage, and of girls in all States.



The curve of average growth of children of Italian parentage is shown in Charts XVII to XX in comparison with that of all children and of children of Scandinavian and children of German parentage.

TABLE XVIII.—Comparison of stature and weight of children of Italian parentage with averages for all white children; white children under 6 years of age.

Age and sex.	White children of mothers born in Italy.			
	Stature.		Weight.	
	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.
BOYS.				
All ages under 6.....	−1.05	−2.9	−0.94	−3.3
Under 1 year.....	−.73	−2.8	−.76	−4.7
1 year, under 2.....	−.91	−2.9	−.67	−2.8
2 years, under 3.....	−1.01	−2.9	−.83	−2.9
3 years, under 4.....	−1.05	−2.8	−.82	−2.5
4 years, under 5.....	−1.30	−3.2	−.97	−2.7
5 years, under 6.....	−1.29	−3.0	−1.61	−4.0
GIRLS.				
All ages under 6.....	−1.03	−2.9	−0.88	−3.1
Under 1 year.....	−.58	−2.3	−.58	−3.8
1 year, under 2.....	−.83	−2.7	−.70	−3.1
2 years, under 3.....	−1.06	−3.1	−.71	−2.6
3 years, under 4.....	−1.05	−2.8	−.67	−2.1
4 years, under 5.....	−1.32	−3.3	−1.15	−3.3
5 years, under 6.....	−1.48	−3.5	−1.49	−3.9

¹ Excess stated as positive; deficiency, negative. Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the averages for children of mothers born in Italy and the general averages for all white children. See general Table 15.

TABLE XIX.—Comparison of stature and weight of children of Scandinavian parentage with averages for all white children; white children under 6 years of age.

Age and sex.	White children of mothers born in Scandinavia.			
	Stature.		Weight.	
	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.
BOYS.				
All ages under 6.....	+0.42	+1.2	+0.71	+2.7
Under 1 year.....	+ .40	+1.5	+ .66	+4.1
1 year, under 2.....	+ .46	+1.5	+ .92	+3.9
2 years, under 3.....	+ .31	+ .9	+ .43	+1.5
3 years, under 4.....	+ .46	+1.2	+ .67	+2.1
4 years, under 5.....	+ .40	+1.0	+ .71	+2.0
5 years, under 6.....	+ .51	+1.2	+ .90	+2.3
GIRLS.				
All ages under 6.....	+ .31	+ .9	+ .56	+2.1
Under 1 year.....	+ .16	+ .6	+ .42	+2.8
1 year, under 2.....	+ .40	+1.3	+ .68	+3.1
2 years, under 3.....	+ .20	+ .6	+ .55	+2.0
3 years, under 4.....	+ .39	+1.0	+ .78	+2.3
4 years, under 5.....	+ .13	+ .3	+ .23	+ .7
5 years, under 6.....	+ .56	+1.3	+ .74	+1.9

¹ Excess stated as positive; deficiency, negative. Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the average for children of mothers born in Scandinavia and the general averages for all white children. See general Table 17.

Children of Scandinavian parentage.—In Table XIX a similar comparison is made for children of mothers born in Denmark, Sweden, or Norway. These children are taller and heavier than the average; the average excess in stature is four-tenths of an inch for boys and three-tenths for girls, while that in weight is 11 ounces for boys and 9 ounces for girls. The percentage excess is about 1 per cent of the stature and 2.4 per cent of the weight. The averages themselves and the number of cases upon which they are based are shown in General Table 17.

Children of German parentage.—Table XX shows the average statures and weights of children of mothers born in Germany in comparison with the general averages. These children are slightly taller and heavier than the average but not so much so as the children of some Scandinavian parentage. The average excess in stature is only an eighth of an inch for boys and a sixth of an inch for girls; the average excess in weight is about 5 ounces for boys and 4 ounces for girls. The percentage of excess is less than one-half of 1 per cent in stature and about 1 per cent in weight. The averages and the number of cases upon which they are based are given in general Table 16.

TABLE XX.—*Comparison of stature and weight of children of German parentage with averages for all white children; white children under 6 years of age.*

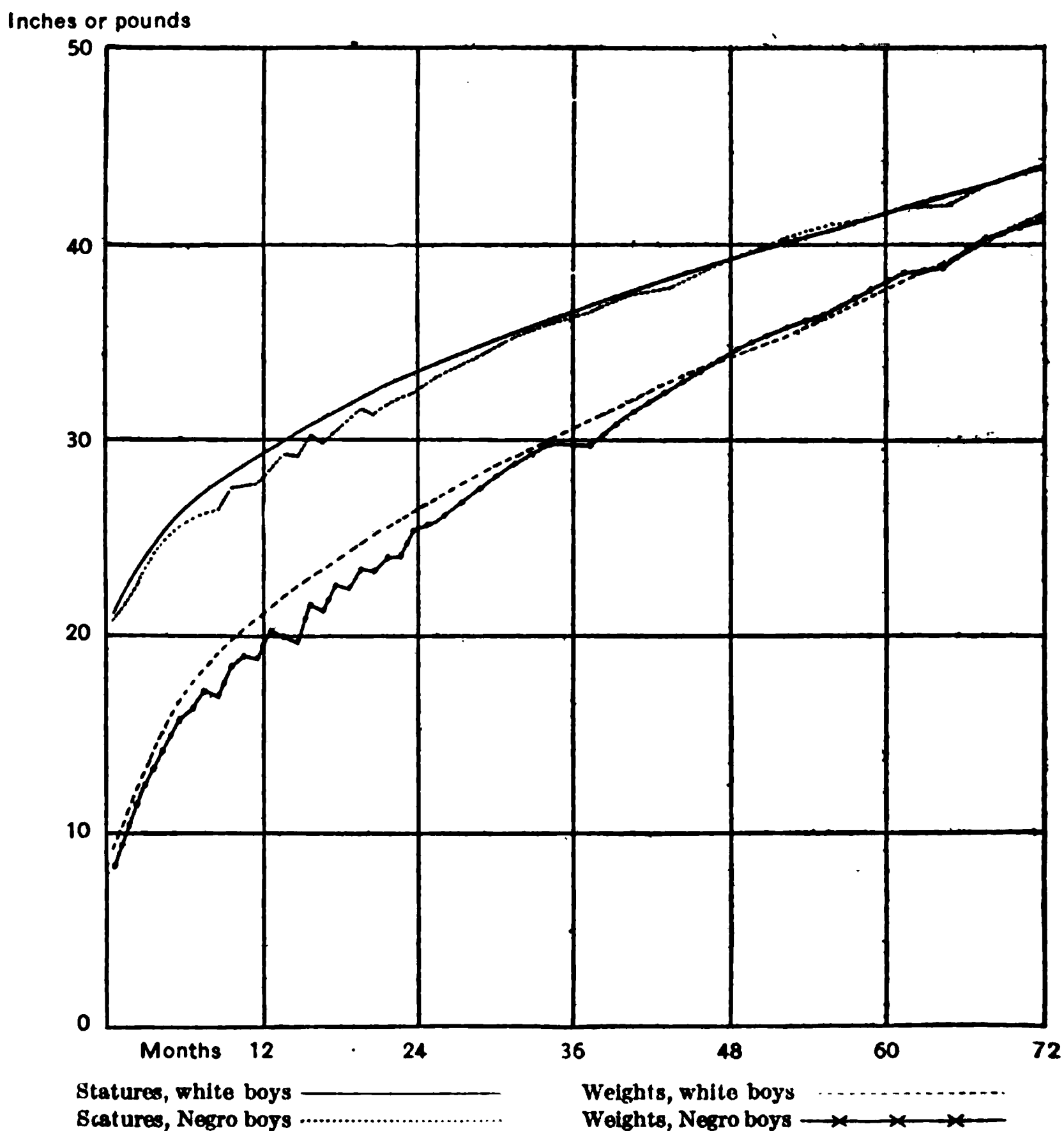
Age and sex.	White children of mothers born in Germany.			
	Stature.		Weight.	
	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.
BOYS.				
All ages under 6.....	+0.12	+0.3	+0.32	+1.0
Under 1 year.....	+ .03	+ .1	— .03	— .2
1 year, under 2.....	+ .10	+ .3	+ .33	+1.4
2 years, under 3.....	+ .20	+ .6	+ .47	+1.7
3 years, under 4.....	+ .14	+ .4	+ .34	+1.1
4 years, under 5.....	+ .09	+ .2	+ .37	+1.0
5 years, under 6.....	+ .13	+ .3	+ .45	+1.1
GIRLS.				
All ages under 6.....	+ .17	+ .5	+ .25	+ .9
Under 1 year.....	+ .09	+ .4	+ .05	+ .3
1 year, under 2.....	+ .16	+ .5	+ .30	+1.3
2 years, under 3.....	+ .21	+ .6	+ .38	+1.4
3 years, under 4.....	+ .19	+ .5	+ .27	+ .9
4 years, under 5.....	+ .25	+ .6	+ .14	+ .4
5 years, under 6.....	+ .11	+ .3	+ .37	+1.0

¹Excess stated as positive; deficiency, negative. Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the averages for children of mothers born in Germany and the general averages for all white children. See general Table 16.

NEGRO CHILDREN.

In addition to the records of white children, a comparatively small number of records, 4,976, of Negro children were tabulated. Of these, 224 were weighed and measured in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, 2,567 in the Southern States, 564 in the East North-Central group of States, 217 in Iowa, 106 in the Western group, and 126 in California; besides those who were reported weighed

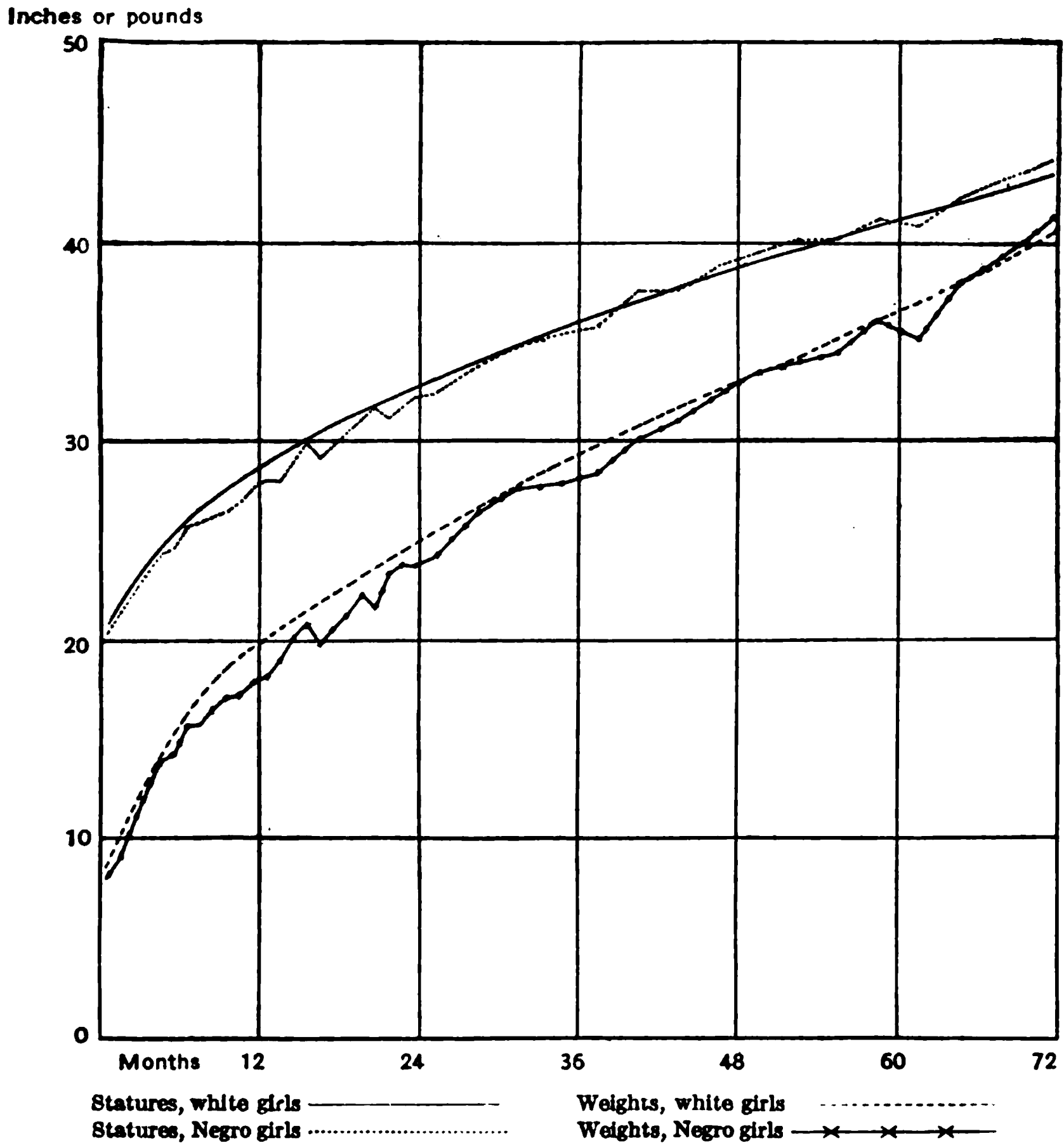
Chart XXI.—Comparative statures and weights of white and Negro boys.



and measured without clothing 1,172 who were weighed and measured in New York City (in underclothing) were included to make a group large enough to be tabulated. As previously explained in connection with the Italian group, the inclusion of these children weighed in underclothing tends to understate the differences between the averages of the white and the Negro children. The average statures and weights of these Negro children are given in general Table 18.

For convenience in comparison, the average and percentage excesses or deficiencies, as compared with the averages of white children, are shown in Table XXI. The average deficiency in stature is about two-fifths of an inch, or 1.3 per cent, for boys, and one-fifth of an inch, or 0.8 per cent, for girls. In weight the average deficiency is nearly 11 ounces for boys and 9 ounces for girls, 3 per cent and 2.5 per cent, respectively. The deficiency in both stature and weight

Chart XXII.—Comparative statures and weights of white and Negro girls.



is much greater at under 1 year and at 1 year of age than at other ages; in fact after 4 years this deficiency is either converted into an excess or is very small.

To explain this change is difficult. The great deficiency at the younger ages may be connected in some way with poor nutrition and with bad social and economic conditions, which result in the well-known high mortality among colored infants; and this high mortality

may itself result in a surviving group with less variation from the normal. It may, on the other hand, be connected with some racial difference in the rate of growth, with relative retardation in the early years followed by an acceleration. In Charts XXI and XXII the growth of Negro children is compared with that of white children.

TABLE XXI.—Comparison of stature and weight of Negro children with averages for white children; children under 6 years of age.

Age and sex.	Negro children.			
	Stature.		Weight.	
	Average excess (inches). ¹	Per cent excess.	Average excess (pounds). ¹	Per cent excess.
BOYS.				
All ages under 6.....	−0.40	−1.3	−0.69	−3.0
Under 1 year.....	−.76	−2.9	−1.14	−7.0
1 year, under 2.....	−.81	−2.6	−1.46	−6.1
2 years, under 3.....	−.48	−1.4	−.71	−2.5
3 years, under 4.....	−.38	−1.0	−.83	−2.6
4 years, under 5.....	+ .09	+ .2	+ .16	+ .4
5 years, under 6.....	− .06	− .1	− .13	− .3
GIRLS.				
All ages under 6.....	− .22	− .8	− .55	−2.5
Under 1 year.....	− .55	−2.2	− .88	−5.8
1 year, under 2.....	− .64	−2.1	−1.03	−4.6
2 years, under 3.....	− .36	−1.0	− .52	−1.9
3 years, under 4.....	− .15	−.4	− .66	−2.1
4 years, under 5.....	+ .23	+ .6	− .07	− .2
5 years, under 6.....	+ .14	+ .3	− .12	− .3

¹ Excess stated as positive; deficiency, negative. Average excess is the unweighted average difference between the averages for Negro children and the general averages for all white children. See general Table 18.

COMPARATIVE STATURE AND WEIGHT OF CHILDREN WITH CERTAIN DEFECTS.

In addition to data on stature and weight, the record blanks contained spaces for notes of defects and diseases. In California and New York City, on account of the detailed instructions given physicians in charge of examinations, such defects were doubtless much more completely recorded than elsewhere. These two areas, containing a comparatively large number of cases, were therefore selected as the basis for a special study of the influence of defects on height and weight. For this part of the study all the cards which had been rejected for the main stature and weight tables because the children had serious defects—rachitis, malnutrition, heart disease, etc.—as given on page 12, were included along with the cards for normal children and those with minor defects only.

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN WITH EACH DEFECT.

The proportion of children with each main kind of defect—defects which did not as well as those which did cause exclusion from the general stature and weight tables—are shown in Tables XXII and XXIII. It should be emphasized that these figures have a considerable margin of error, which varies with the different defects according both to difficulties in diagnosis and to differences in the degrees of defect used as standards by the various physicians reporting.

The defect most often reported was diseased or enlarged tonsils, 17.7 per cent of the children under 7 years of age who were examined being reported as having abnormal tonsils. It is obvious that in case of a defect like diseased or enlarged tonsils the degree of abnormality is of considerable importance. In the tabulation no distinction could be made, however, between serious and slight degrees of defect, nor was it possible even to show the proportion of serious or slight defects in the group. Probably most of the cases of serious abnormality among the children brought for examination were reported.

The proportion of children with diseased or enlarged tonsils increased rapidly during the first three years; only 3.7 per cent of those under 1 year, as compared with 27 per cent of those from 3 to 7 years of age, were reported as having diseased or enlarged tonsils.

Adenoids were less frequently reported. Six and four-tenths per cent of the children examined were reported as having adenoids. The percentages increase from 1.7 for children under 1 year to 11.6 for children 6 years of age. In regard to uniform diagnosis the comment made on the figures for abnormal tonsils applies with equal force to adenoids.

TABLE XXII.—*Number and per cent of children with each specified defect; white children under 7 years of age examined by physicians, California and New York City.*

Defect.	Children with specified defect.		Defect.	Children with specified defect.	
	Number.	Per cent of total children examined. ¹		Number.	Per cent of total children examined. ¹
Tonsils enlarged or diseased	10,276	17.7	Crippled.	62	0.1
Tonsils removed.	133	.2	Infantile paralysis.	50	.1
Adenoids present.	3,728	6.4	Injury at birth.	9	.....
Adenoids removed.	86	.1	Accident.	2	.....
Carious teeth.	2,093	3.6	Resulting from tuberculosis.	1	.....
Enlarged neck glands.	1,230	2.1	Mental deficiency.	57	.1
Rupture.	793	1.4	Discharging ears.	46	.1
Rachitis.	683	1.2	Deaf.	20	.....
Malnutrition.	591	1.0	Enlarged thyroid.	10	.....
Heart abnormality.	444	.8	Blind, one or both eyes.	6	.....
Bowlegs, knockknees, or both. . . .	375	.6	Spina bifida.	2	.....
Strabismus.	272	.5	Pott's disease. . . . .	.....	.....

¹ Not shown if less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

NOTE.—The total number of children examined in California and New York City—the base upon which the percentages are calculated—was 57,977.

TABLE XXIII.—*Per cent of children with each specified defect, by age; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.*

Age.	White children examined by physicians.												
	Total.	With rachitis.		With mal-nutrition.		Heart abnormality.		Carious teeth.		Diseased or enlarged tonsils.		Adenoids.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
All ages under 7.....	57,977	683	1.2	591	1.0	444	0.8	2,093	3.6	10,276	17.7	3,728	6.4
Under 1 year.....	17,897	139	.8	311	1.7	34	.2	5	(1)	662	3.7	304	1.7
1 year, under 2.....	10,605	205	1.9	96	.9	39	.4	43	.4	1,648	15.5	617	5.8
2 years, under 3....	8,379	129	1.5	41	.5	39	.5	176	2.1	2,153	25.7	744	8.9
3 years, under 4....	8,087	92	1.1	51	.6	90	1.1	450	5.6	2,203	27.3	765	9.5
4 years, under 5....	7,556	75	1.0	46	.6	113	1.5	714	9.4	2,002	26.5	696	9.2
5 years, under 6....	4,813	36	.7	38	.8	108	2.2	611	12.7	1,430	29.7	529	11.0
6 years, under 7....	640	7	1.1	8	1.2	21	3.3	94	14.7	178	27.8	74	11.6

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The figures for carious teeth are particularly unsatisfactory. No account could be taken of the number of teeth that were decayed, nor of the seriousness of the defect, whether the teeth were in ad-vanced stages of decay or whether decay had just commenced. Though doubtless most of the worst cases were reported, great differences probably existed also in the care with which physicians examined the teeth. The true proportions of children with this defect are probably, therefore, greatly understated.

The percentages of children with carious teeth show an increase with age, similar to that in the percentages with adenoids and abnor-mal tonsils. While the percentage at 2 years of age is only 2.1, at 6 years of age it is 14.7.

A small proportion, 1.2 per cent, of the children brought for examination were diagnosed as having rachitis, and their records were therefore excluded from the main stature and weight tables. The proportion appears largest at 1 year of age, when 1.9 per cent were found with rachitis. It should perhaps be emphasized that these percentages are based on the children brought for examination, who may have included a smaller proportion with this defect than would be found among the entire number of children in the areas studied. Even of the children brought for examination, the proportion reported as having rachitis is doubtless less than the true proportion.

A somewhat smaller percentage, 1, were reported as malnourished—another cause of exclusion from the main tables. The largest percentage of malnourished children, 1.7, was found among those under 1 year of age. Probably only the more obvious cases of malnutrition were noted. The proportion of malnourished children is probably therefore much less than the true proportion among all children in the areas studied.

A few of the children, 0.8 per cent, had heart abnormalities. The percentages increase from 0.2 at under 1 year to 3.3 at 6 years of age.

For the other defects listed, as well as for those already mentioned, the percentages of children with each stated defect doubtless understates the true proportion among all the children of these ages, either because the children with the defect—especially the more serious ones—were not brought for examination, or because the diagnosis was not made and noted uniformly, or for both reasons.

RELATION OF DEFECT TO STATURE AND WEIGHT.

The data secured were analyzed to determine the correlation, if any; between certain of the defects and deficiency in stature and weight. In considering this comparison the points already noted in regard to the definition and diagnosis of the different defects must be borne in mind. In determining, for example, the relation between defective tonsils and deficiency in weight, it must be remembered that the differences in degrees of defect are not known. If in a large proportion of cases the defect was present only in a slight degree, this fact would obviously reduce the amount of the deficiency in weight associated with the presence of abnormal tonsils. At the same time it should be borne in mind that, to show whether or not a given defect influences stature and weight, it is not essential that the group of children with the particular defect should include all those examined who had the defect. Nor would even the inclusion in the group with the defect of a considerable number of normal children make a material difference. Such errors in general would merely lessen the amount of the differences between the average statures or weights

of the two groups compared; in other words, it would reduce the size of the deficiency associated with the defect studied.

In interpreting the amount of deficiency found, it should be remembered that the average heights and weights, to which those of the children with defects are compared, are for a group which includes some children with adenoids, diseased or enlarged tonsils, and carious teeth, and probably other children whose defects were not noted. The amount of error due to this inclusion of children with adenoids, diseased or enlarged tonsils, and carious teeth is estimated below as about 0.02 inch and 0.07 pound at 3 years, and 0.05 inch and 0.20 pound at 4 and 5 years of age.¹⁰ To correct the figures for this source of error, therefore, these amounts should be added to the deficiencies shown in Tables XXIV to XXIX.

TABLE XXIV.—Comparative stature and weight of children with rachitis; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with rachitis.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	683	—1.12	±0.04	—3.4	—1.90	±0.08	—7.2
Under 1 year.....	139	— .64	.08	—2.4	—1.80	.13	—10.4
1 year, under 2.....	205	—1.07	.07	—3.6	—1.79	.13	—7.8
2 years, under 3.....	129	—1.42	.10	—4.1	—2.18	.20	—7.8
3 years, under 4.....	92	—1.27	.13	—3.4	—1.90	.26	—5.9
4 years, under 5.....	75	—1.29	.15	—3.2	—1.69	.32	—4.7
5 years, under 6.....	36	—1.41	.23	—3.4	—2.24	.51	—5.7
6 years, under 7.....	7	— .64	.53	—1.5	—2.14	1.26	—5.2

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

TABLE XXV.—Comparative stature and weight of children with malnutrition; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with malnutrition.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ^a	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ^a	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	591	—1.32	±0.04	—4.4	—3.41	±0.08	—15.7
Under 1 year.....	311	—1.63	.05	—6.6	—3.57	.09	—24.8
1 year, under 2.....	96	— .78	.11	—2.6	—3.02	.19	—13.5
2 years, under 3.....	41	—1.17	.18	—3.4	—4.37	.35	—15.5
3 years, under 4.....	51	— .90	.17	—3.4	—3.52	.35	—10.9
4 years, under 5.....	46	—1.13	.19	—2.9	—3.23	.40	—9.2
5 years, under 6.....	38	—1.12	.22	—3.7	—1.93	.50	—5.0
6 years, under 7.....	8	—1.45	.50	—3.3	—5.75	1.18	—13.7

^a Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

¹⁰ See Table XXX, p. 74.

The figures showing deficiencies are valuable so far as they show existence of a definite correlation between a defect and deficiency in stature or weight, even though they are not conclusive as to the amount of such correlation.

Rachitis.

In California and New York City 683 children under 7 years of age were diagnosed as having rachitis. Table XXIV shows that these children, in comparison with average children of the same sexes and ages, showed a deficiency in stature of $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, or 3.4 per cent. A tendency appears for this deficiency in stature to increase with age. Thus among children 2 years of age the deficiency is over twice as great as among those less than 1 year of age. The percentage of deficiency in stature increases at the same time from 2.4 under 1 year to 4.1 at 2 years of age.

The deficiency in weight is even more marked. Thus the average deficiency for all children under 7 was nearly 2 pounds, or 7.2 per cent. The deficiency in weight appears to increase somewhat with age in absolute amount, though the percentage diminishes from slightly over 10 at less than 1 year of age to about 5 at from 4 to 6 years of age.

The average deficiencies are in most cases well over five times the probable error, and are, therefore, well outside the range of probable chance variation.

Malnutrition.

In all 591 children were diagnosed as being malnourished. Table XXV shows that the average deficiency of these children in stature was nearly $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and in weight nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. The percentage deficiency in stature was 4.4, while the percentage deficiency in weight was 15.7. The largest proportion of cases found was under 1 year of age, and this age group shows the largest percentage of deficiency both in height and weight. These children were almost 25 per cent deficient in weight. This result is to be expected, since most of the physicians probably used marked deficiency of weight for height as a chief criterion for malnutrition.

In these comparisons deficiency in weight is measured in respect to average weight for age. Since the deficiency in height is much less than that in weight, the malnourished and the rachitic children are also markedly deficient in weight for height. In general, however, the percentage of deficiency in weight for height is less than in weight for age.

A rough approximation to the deficiency in weight for height of the malnourished children under 1 year of age can be found by the following computation: For ages under 1 year the average deficiency in stature is 1.63 inches. Tables II and III, pages 18-20, show that the range of height for ages under 1 year is, roughly, from 20 to 29

inches. Table VI, page 29, shows that at these statures a difference of approximately 1.3 pounds of weight corresponds to each inch gain in stature, and hence the average deficiency of 1.63 inches in stature would correspond to approximately 2.1 pounds in weight. The actual deficiency in weight of 25 per cent, or 3.57 pounds, is nearly 1½ pounds more than would correspond to the deficiency in stature. Reference to Table VI, page 29, shows that the average weight for the different statures up to 28 inches is, roughly, about 15 pounds. Hence with a deficiency of 1.5 pounds, corresponding to an average weight of about 15 pounds, there would be an average deficiency in weight for height of 10 per cent. The deficiency in weight for height is evidently less than the deficiency in weight for age.

Heart abnormality.

The number of children diagnosed as having heart abnormality was comparatively small, only 444. Table XXVI shows that the average deficiency of these children in stature is only one-seventh of an inch, while the deficiency in weight is slightly over half a pound. The deficiencies are much greater under 1 year of age than at older ages. Thus the deficiency in stature under 1 year was about three-fourths inch and that in weight over 1½ pounds. The number of cases, however, is small and except for the group as a whole and for the first year the deficiencies are small in comparison with the probable errors, and a considerable play is therefore given to variations due to chance.

TABLE XXVI.—Comparative stature and weight of children with heart abnormality; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with heart abnormality.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	444	−0.15	±0.05	−0.4	−0.57	±0.11	− 1.7
Under 1 year.....	34	− .73	.16	−2.9	−1.63	.26	−10.4
1 year, under 2.....	39	− .35	.17	−1.1	− .75	.29	− 2.9
2 years, under 3.....	39	+ .30	.18	+ .9	+ .45	.35	+ 1.6
3 years, under 4.....	90	− .05	.13	− .1	− .65	.27	− 2.0
4 years, under 5.....	113	+ .04	.12	+ .1	− .07	.26	− .3
5 years, under 6.....	108	− .31	.13	− .7	−1.05	.30	− 2.7
6 years, under 7.....	21	− .04	.31	− .9	− .33	.73	− .7

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

Carious teeth.

The children reported as having carious teeth numbered 2,093, Table XXVII, and the comparison of the stature and weight of these children with those of average children of the same sexes and ages shows comparatively little difference when all ages are taken into consideration. For the entire group of children the average deficiency in stature is negligible, while the deficiency in weight averages only 2 ounces, but slightly over twice the probable error.

TABLE XXVII.—Comparative stature and weight of children with carious teeth; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with carious teeth.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	2,093	−0.01	±0.03	−0.0	−0.14	±0.06	−0.4
Under 3 years.....	224	+ .30	.07	+ .9	+ .19	.15	+ .7
3 years, under 4.....	450	+ .11	.06	+ .3	+ .09	.12	+ .3
4 years, under 5.....	714	− .13	.05	− .3	− .28	.11	− .8
5 years, under 6.....	611	− .08	.06	−1.9	− .20	.13	− .5
6 years, under 7.....	94	− .06	.16	− .1	− .46	.37	−1.1

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

Diseased or enlarged tonsils.

A comparatively large number of children, 10,276, were diagnosed as having either diseased or enlarged tonsils. An examination of Table XXVIII shows that for all ages together these children show no special deficiency in height, but that a deficiency in weight of one-eighth of a pound appears to be definitely established. The classification by age groups reveals a tendency among children over 2 years of age with these defects to be shorter and lighter than the averages for their ages, and for the deficiency to increase in amount as they grow older. Thus the children at 4 years of age diagnosed as having diseased or enlarged tonsils were slightly over a sixth of an inch shorter than average children of the same age. They were also almost half a pound below average weight for their ages, and were somewhat below average weight for their heights. The figures for 6 years of age are not significant on account of the small numbers and the large probable error.

Chart XXIII.—Distribution of weights of boys with diseased or enlarged tonsils, 3 but under 4 years of age.

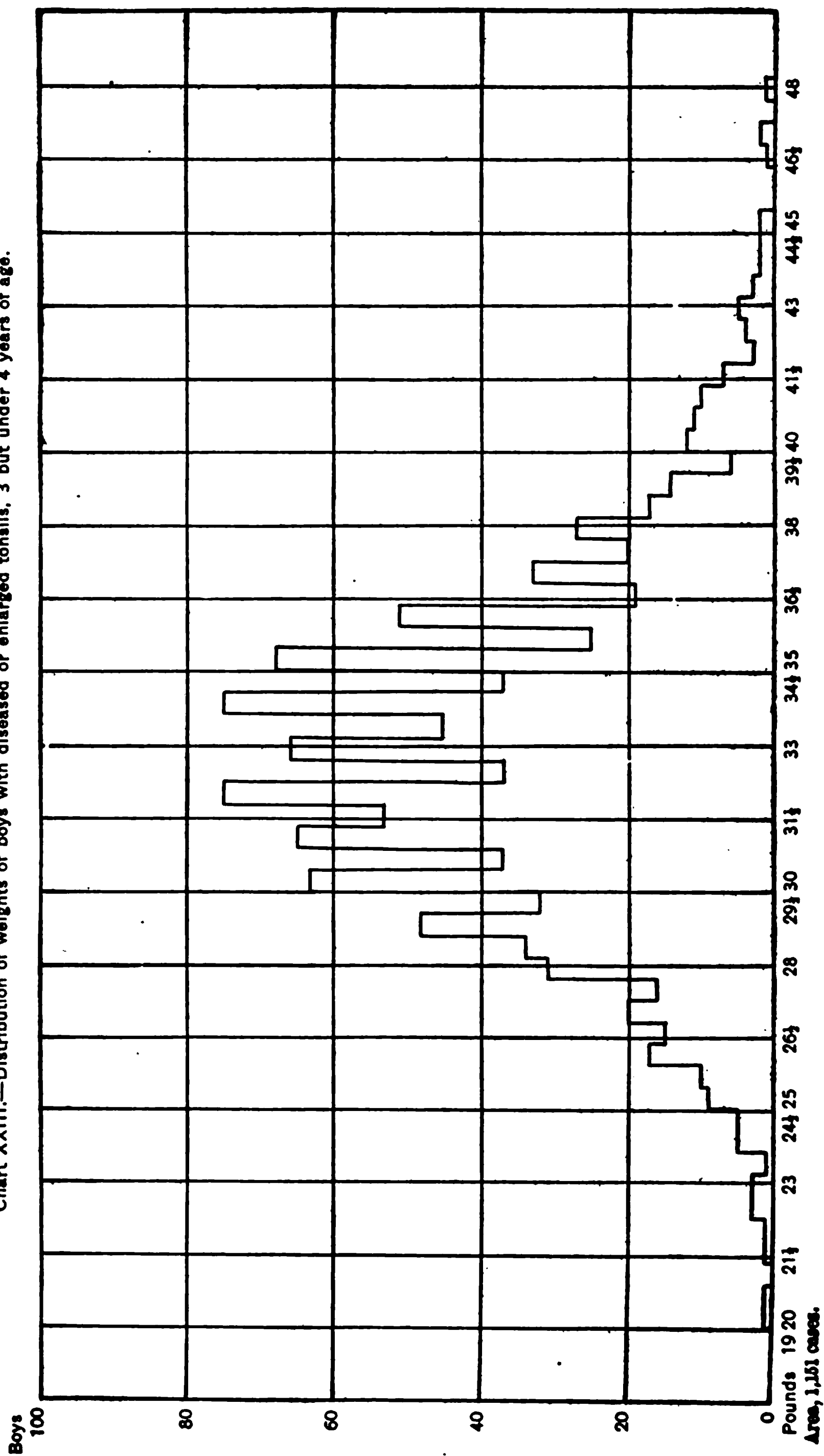


TABLE XXVIII.—Comparative stature and weight of children with enlarged or diseased tonsils; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with enlarged or diseased tonsils.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	10,276	−0.02	±0.01	−0.0	−0.12	±0.02	−0.4
Under 1 year.....	662	+ .54	.04	+2.0	+ .93	.06	+5.3
1 year, under 2.....	1,648	+ .10	.03	+ .3	+ .06	.06	+ .1
2 years, under 3.....	2,153	− .02	.03	− .1	− .02	.05	− .1
3 years, under 4.....	2,203	− .06	.06	− .2	− .17	.06	− .5
4 years, under 5.....	2,002	− .15	.03	− .4	− .46	.07	−1.3
5 years, under 6.....	1,430	− .13	.04	− .3	− .37	.09	− .9
6 years, under 7.....	178	− .13	.11	− .3	− .01	.28	− .0

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the weights and statures of average children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

Adenoids.

In the two areas studied there was a total of 3,728 children who were diagnosed as having adenoids, as shown in Table XXIX. When the group as a whole is considered, these children show no significant difference from the average in stature; but a deficiency of one-fifth of a pound in weight, which, in comparison with the probable error, appears to be significant. When the figures are analyzed by age the same tendency appears as in the case of children with enlarged or diseased tonsils. Children over 1 year of age with adenoids appear to be deficient in weight as compared with average children. The children 4 years of age were slightly more than half a pound below the average weight for all children, and the deficiency at this age was larger than for younger ages. The figures for 5 and 6 years of age are not particularly significant on account of the small number of cases and the wide play given to chance variations.

TABLE XXIX.—Comparative stature and weight of children with adenoids; white children under 7 years of age; California and New York City.

Age.	White children with adenoids.						
	Number.	Stature (inches).			Weight (pounds).		
		Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.	Average excess. ¹	Probable error of average excess.	Per cent of excess.
All ages under 7.....	3,728	+0.025	±0.02	+0.1	−0.21	±0.04	−0.7
Under 1 year.....	304	+ .48	.06	+1.8	+ .53	.09	+3.2
1 year, under 2.....	617	+ .12	.04	+ .4	− .09	.08	− .4
2 years, under 3.....	744	− .00	.04	.....	− .03	.08	− .1
3 years, under 4.....	765	− .01	.05	− .2	− .47	.10	−1.5
4 years, under 5.....	695	− .01	.05	− .2	− .62	.10	−1.7
5 years, under 6.....	529	− .00	.06	− .1	− .27	.14	− .7
6 years, under 7.....	74	+ .29	.17	+ .7	+ .77	.41	+1.9

¹ Excess shown as positive, deficiency as negative. The average excess or deficiency is the average difference between what the children actually weighed and measured and the average weights and statures of children of the same sexes and ages (in months) in California and New York City.

EFFECT OF INCLUSION OF CHILDREN WITH CERTAIN DEFECTS UPON
GENERAL AVERAGES.

Of the defects and diseases the influence of which upon stature and weight are here specially analyzed, carious teeth, enlarged or diseased tonsils, and adenoids were not given in the list on page 12 of defects and diseases which caused exclusion from the main tables of stature and weight. It would not have been possible to exclude uniformly in all States children with these defects, since there was no uniformity in reporting them. In many cases, children with adenoids or with diseased tonsils may not have had the fact noted on their record cards. The effect of including children with these three defects in the general tables is shown by the analyses given above, however, to be relatively slight, since for the ages considered the correlation between such defects and deficiency in stature and weight is slight.

Nevertheless, if children with carious teeth, adenoids, and diseased or enlarged tonsils had been excluded—and if it had been possible to exclude them all uniformly—the average heights and weights found for all children would have been very slightly increased. And the amount of such increase can be estimated from the figures for average deficiencies in stature and weight and from the percentages of children with the different defects.¹¹

TABLE XXX.—Approximate correction of general averages if children with specified defects had been uniformly excluded.

Age.	Approximate correction of general averages.							
	Children with enlarged or diseased tonsils, adenoids, and carious teeth excluded.		Children with diseased or enlarged tonsils excluded.		Children with adenoids excluded.		Children with carious teeth excluded.	
	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).
3 years, under 4.....	+0.02	+0.07	+0.02	+0.06	.....	+0.05	-0.01	-0.01
4 years, under 5.....	+ .05	+ .20	+ .05	+ .17	.....	+ .06	+ .01	+ .03
5 years, under 6.....	+ .05	+ .18	+ .05	+ .16	.....	+ .03	+ .01	+ .03

¹¹ The method of making such an estimate is easily stated in algebraic terms. If m is the average stature or weight, m_d the average for children with a given defect, and m_o the average for children without the defects, and if n is the total number, p the proportion with the defect, and q the proportion without it, then

$$mn = m_dnp + m_o nq$$
$$\text{or, } m = m_dp + m_oq$$

If e is the average excess (or deficiency) of the defective children over the average for all children, or, in symbols,

$$m_d = m + e$$

Then, $m = mp + pe + m_oq$

$$mq - m_oq = pe$$
$$m - m_o = \frac{pe}{q}$$

Such estimates, of course, have to be made on the assumption that the average deficiencies indicated in the tables are correct, even though the size of the probable errors shows that their amounts are subject to considerable doubt. They have also to be based on the assumption that the proportions of children with the given defects of the same degrees of seriousness are the same in the country as a whole as in the two areas specially studied.

This process of correction makes no significant change in the averages for children under 3 years of age, since in these early years either the deficiency (or excess) in stature and weight is negligible or the proportion of cases is small. If, however, children with diseased or enlarged tonsils had been excluded in making up the general averages of stature and weight, the average statures at 3, 4, and 5 years would have been increased 0.02, 0.05, and 0.05 inch, respectively; and the average weights would have been increased 0.06, 0.17, and 0.16 pound. Similar figures for adenoids and carious teeth are also given in Table XXX.

The total correction for all three defects results in raising the average statures 0.02, 0.05, and 0.05 inch and the average weights 0.07, 0.20, and 0.18 pound at 3, 4, and 5 years, respectively. In other words, the correction in stature is not over one-twentieth of an inch, while the correction in weight varies up to one-fifth of a pound for the ages included in the tabulations.

In combining the figures for the three defects account is taken of the proportion of cases in which children with adenoids were reported as having also diseased or enlarged tonsils and the proportion in which children with carious teeth had one or both of the other defects. Only one-fifth of the children with adenoids were reported as not having diseased or enlarged tonsils, while one-half of those with carious teeth were reported as having neither adenoids nor diseased or enlarged tonsils. The children who had adenoids or carious teeth in addition to enlarged or diseased tonsils are already included in the group with diseased or enlarged tonsils, and the correction made for defective tonsils necessarily includes the correction for cases of combination with the other defects mentioned. The correction for adenoids only and that for carious teeth only need, therefore, to be added.

CORRECTED AND SMOOTHED AVERAGES OF STATURE AND WEIGHT.

In Table XXXI corrected and smoothed averages for stature and weight are given. To the smoothed averages already presented a correction is added to eliminate the effect of the inclusion in the basic tables of children with the three defects mentioned. This table, then, represents average statures and weights of boys and girls under 6 years of age based, as nearly as possible, upon children with no defects or diseases.

TABLE XXXI.—Average statures and weights, by age, from birth to 6 years, smoothed and corrected figures; white children.¹

Age.	White boys.		White girls.	
	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).	Stature (inches).	Weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	21.16	9.11	20.89	8.66
1 month, under 2.....	22.47	10.88	21.92	10.14
2 months, under 3.....	23.58	12.61	23.09	11.71
3 months, under 4.....	24.55	14.97	24.00	13.03
4 months, under 5.....	25.38	15.87	24.83	14.25
5 months, under 6.....	26.10	16.50	25.53	15.33
6 months, under 7.....	26.72	17.47	26.15	16.26
7 months, under 8.....	27.27	18.31	26.70	17.09
8 months, under 9.....	27.76	19.04	27.20	17.81
9 months, under 10.....	28.21	19.68	27.66	18.45
10 months, under 11.....	28.64	20.27	28.10	19.03
11 months, under 12.....	29.06	20.81	28.51	19.56
12 months, under 13.....	29.47	21.32	28.91	20.04
13 months, under 14.....	29.87	21.82	29.30	20.51
14 months, under 15.....	30.26	22.31	29.69	20.98
15 months, under 16.....	30.64	22.78	30.08	21.42
16 months, under 17.....	31.02	23.25	30.47	21.86
17 months, under 18.....	31.39	23.72	30.86	22.28
18 months, under 19.....	31.75	24.18	31.24	22.81
19 months, under 20.....	32.11	24.62	31.60	23.26
20 months, under 21.....	32.44	25.04	31.93	23.68
21 months, under 22.....	32.76	25.46	32.24	24.07
22 months, under 23.....	33.06	25.84	32.53	24.45
23 months, under 24.....	33.34	26.21	32.81	24.81
24 months, under 25.....	33.62	26.58	33.09	25.17
25 months, under 26.....	33.89	26.95	33.37	25.54
26 months, under 27.....	34.16	27.31	33.66	25.92
27 months, under 28.....	34.43	27.68	33.95	26.31
28 months, under 29.....	34.71	28.06	34.24	26.70
29 months, under 30.....	34.99	28.45	34.53	27.09
30 months, under 31.....	35.27	28.83	34.82	27.48
31 months, under 32.....	35.54	29.20	35.09	27.85
32 months, under 33.....	35.79	29.56	35.34	28.20
33 months, under 34.....	36.02	29.88	35.58	28.54
34 months, under 35.....	36.24	30.18	35.81	28.88
35 months, under 36.....	36.46	30.47	36.03	29.20
36 months, under 37.....	36.67	30.75	36.25	29.51
37 months, under 38.....	36.89	31.05	36.48	29.82
38 months, under 39.....	37.11	31.36	36.72	30.15
39 months, under 40.....	37.35	31.70	36.97	30.46
40 months, under 41.....	37.58	32.05	37.22	30.85
41 months, under 42.....	37.82	32.41	37.47	31.17
42 months, under 43.....	38.07	32.79	37.72	31.50
43 months, under 44.....	38.31	33.13	37.94	31.81
44 months, under 45.....	38.53	33.45	38.15	32.09
45 months, under 46.....	38.75	33.75	38.36	32.37
46 months, under 47.....	38.94	34.02	38.55	32.64
47 months, under 48.....	39.12	34.26	38.73	32.90
48 months, under 49.....	39.29	34.49	38.93	33.15
49 months, under 50.....	39.45	34.74	39.12	33.46
50 months, under 51.....	39.63	34.98	39.31	33.73
51 months, under 52.....	39.82	35.23	39.52	34.02
52 months, under 53.....	40.01	35.52	39.74	34.36
53 months, under 54.....	40.23	35.83	39.95	34.68
54 months, under 55.....	40.45	36.14	40.19	35.01
55 months, under 56.....	40.67	36.47	40.41	35.34
56 months, under 57.....	40.88	36.81	40.63	35.66
57 months, under 58.....	41.08	37.14	40.84	35.95
58 months, under 59.....	41.27	37.48	41.03	36.26
59 months, under 60.....	41.45	37.80	41.21	36.55
60 months, under 61.....	41.62	38.11	41.39	36.85
61 months, under 62.....	41.80	38.40	41.57	37.14
62 months, under 63.....	41.98	38.68	41.74	37.43
63 months, under 64.....	42.16	38.95	41.91	37.73
64 months, under 65.....	42.35	39.25	42.08	38.00
65 months, under 66.....	42.56	39.56	42.25	38.29
66 months, under 67.....	42.76	39.89	42.43	38.52
67 months, under 68.....	42.96	40.23	42.63	38.94
68 months, under 69.....	43.15	40.59	42.85	39.34
69 months, under 70.....	43.37	40.82	43.08	39.73
70 months, under 71.....	43.53	40.87	43.44	40.37
71 months, under 72.....	43.92	41.00	43.57	40.58

¹ Figures for the first 36 months are the same as in Table I. The figures for ages over 36 months are corrected to show statures and weights of healthy children without defects by using the corrections given in preceding section. The corrections, beginning with 36 months under 37, are for statures +0.00, 0.00, 0.00, 0.01, 0.01, 0.01, 0.02, 0.02, 0.02, 0.03, 0.03, 0.03, 0.04, 0.04, 0.04, and then 0.05 uniformly to 71 months; for weight, +0.00, 0.01, 0.02, 0.03, 0.04, 0.05, 0.06, 0.06, 0.09, 0.10, 0.11, 0.12, 0.13, 0.15, 0.16, 0.17, 0.19, and then 0.20 uniformly to 71 months. For equivalents in centimeters and kilograms see General Table 23, p. 114.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT FROM "SUGGESTIONS TO EXAMINERS."¹

Weighing.

Children under 5 years should be undressed and weighed without clothing, or wrapped in a thin sheet or towel, the weight of which is deducted. Children over 5 years should be weighed in their ordinary indoor clothing. Young babies, unable to stand, should be weighed, if possible, on scales equipped with a scale pan. A fresh paper towel should be laid in the pan and changed after each child is weighed. Where only large platform scales are available, a baby old enough to sit or stand may be set on the platform of the scale, on which is spread a fresh paper towel. If the baby is not old enough to sit alone, an adult holding the baby may be weighed and the weight of the adult deducted.

Measuring.

All children should be measured without shoes.

To measure children able to stand: If the scales used are equipped with a measuring apparatus it should be used. Where this is not available, the child should be asked to stand against the wall with the heels and the back of the head touching the wall. His height is obtained by holding a book or small box horizontally on top of his head against the wall and measuring the space between the bottom of the book or the box and the floor. A convenient method is to tack a tape measure perpendicularly on the wall, beginning at the floor, and to measure by this.

To measure babies unable to stand: An apparatus for measuring babies and young children may be made by nailing a headboard firmly across one end of the examination table. To this board attach one end of a linen tape measure and secure the other end firmly across the sheet which covers the table. Provide also a book end—one of the cheap, enameled kind sold for office use. The length of the baby may be quickly and accurately found by laying him upon the examination table, directly over the tape measure, with his head resting firmly against the headboard. Be sure that the baby is lying flat on the table, completely relaxed. The legs must not be bent at the hips or knees. Press the enameled book end squarely against the feet and read his length as indicated upon the tape measure. More elaborate types of apparatus on the same principle have been devised and are used in the same way. A baby may also be measured by laying him on a table and measuring between two books held one at the head and the other at the feet.

¹April and May Weighing and Measuring Test. Part 2, Suggestions to Examiners, Children's Bureau Leaflet No. 2, Part 2. Bureau Publication No. 88.

APPENDIX B.

ACCURACY OF MATERIAL.

The subject of the accuracy of the material is important. With material collected from many physicians all over the country, and with probably considerable variation in the methods of weighing and measuring employed, it is necessary to know within what limits the material may be considered as accurate.

Some light can be thrown upon the accuracy of the material by an analysis of the units in which heights and weights were reported. In Appendix Tables 1 and 2 the different sections of the country and the white and Negro races are compared, in regard to the units of heights and weights used, on the basis of samples of at least 4,000 measurements for each section or race group considered. It appears that height was reported for about one-twelfth of the total white children in eighths of inches; for about two-fifths either in quarters or in eighths of inches, for two-fifths more in half inches only, and for about one-sixth to the nearest inch.

The white children were measured with a considerably greater degree of accuracy than the Negro children. The heights of only one-twentieth of the Negro children were reported in eighths of inches, and those of only about one-third in either quarters or eighths of inches. Between one-fourth and one-fifth of the records of heights of Negro children were made to the nearest inch.

The different sections show approximately the same degree of accuracy in reports of the heights of white children. California has the largest proportion of cases reported in eighths of inches, followed by the East North-Central division. The Western section has the smallest proportion reported in even inches, again followed by the East North-Central division.

In regard to weights, approximately one-fifth of the white children had their weights reported in ounces, nearly one-half either in ounces or quarter pounds, somewhat less than one-third in half pounds, and nearly one-fourth in even pounds. The reporting of weights for Negro children appears to have been somewhat more carefully done than for white children.

As in the case of height, there is comparatively little difference in the accuracy with which the weights of white children were reported in the different sections. The New England and Middle Atlantic States show the highest proportion reported in ounces, followed closely by the Western section. The Southern section had the highest proportion reported in even pounds, followed closely by California.

It should be borne in mind, however, in interpreting these figures, that the use of a comparatively coarse instead of a fine unit in entering the measurements may not affect the accuracy of the final results. Thus, if the heights of 1,000 children were reported in eighths of inches, and tabulated first in eighths of inches, as reported, and then tabulated a second time, grouping heights to the nearest inch, the resulting averages would be substantially the same. The only difference in the results would be due to an unequal distribution of the occurrence of fractional eighths of inches. If the fractional eighths of inches were distributed uniformly above and below the even inches, the resulting averages would be identical. The figures, however, do give an indication of the general care with which heights and weights were secured; and, other things being equal, a measurement that permits of a statement in eighths of inches is more likely to be accurate and carefully made than a measurement which is roughly entered in inches or pounds.

Besides the fineness of the unit used in reporting heights and weights another factor which affects the accuracy of the material is the reporting of age. Obviously errors in age would affect the accuracy of both heights and weights in relation to age. The age was secured in all cases by subtracting the date of birth, as entered on the children's year cards, from the date of examination, as reported by the examining physician. There were, therefore, no chances of error through reporting age in even years, except that in cases where a rough statement of age was given by the mother the date of birth might have been estimated from the date of examination. Such statements of age, if inexact, would ordinarily be concentrated on even years. In these cases where the date of birth was estimated by subtracting even years from the date of examination, the month and day of the birth date would be identical with the month and day of the examination date. A study was therefore made of a sample of 608 records selected at random in which the age was 12, 24, 36, 48, or 60 months to determine the proportion of cases where the day of the month was identical in the two dates. It was found that instead of the 20 expected on the basis of chance, there were actually 43 cases where the month and the day of the month were identical. There appears, therefore, to be a tendency toward concentration, but the tendency is slight, the excess concentration constituting perhaps 4 per cent of the total number reported at these ages.

A result of a tendency toward concentration would be that the groups of children whose ages were classified under the months corresponding to even years would contain some who were actually a few months older and others who were a few months younger than stated. As a result the heights and weights of these children would vary more than the heights and weights of children whose ages were exactly

stated. Such a tendency, therefore, in reporting of age would appear in the measures of variability of children at exactly even years of age. The tables, however, show that the standard deviation does not exhibit any marked tendency for the variability to increase at 12 months, 24 months, 36 months, 48 months, or 60 months. It may fairly be inferred, therefore, that the reporting of age was on the whole accurate. It may be pointed out, moreover, that even if a concentration at the even years appeared, if it was due to overstatement and to understatement of age in equal proportions, it would probably not affect materially the average heights and weights.

TABLE 1.—Accuracy of reporting of heights, by sections, and by race.

Section.	Total.	Children whose heights were reported in ¹ —							
		Eighth inches.		Quarter inches.		Half inches.		Inches.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
White.....	26, 273	2, 198	8. 4	9, 035	34. 4	10, 599	40. 3	4, 441	16. 9
New England and Mid- dle Atlantic.....	4, 505	238	5. 3	1, 657	36. 8	1, 720	38. 2	890	19. 8
Southern section.....	4, 568	312	6. 8	1, 486	32. 5	1, 955	42. 8	815	17. 8
East North-Central.....	4, 302	440	10. 2	1, 404	32. 6	1, 804	41. 9	654	15. 2
Iowa.....	4, 335	360	8. 3	1, 610	37. 1	1, 691	39. 0	674	15. 5
Western section.....	4, 252	370	8. 7	1, 497	35. 2	1, 749	41. 1	636	15. 0
California.....	4, 311	478	11. 1	1, 381	32. 0	1, 680	39. 0	772	17. 9
Negro, all sections.....	4, 976	270	5. 4	1, 273	25. 6	2, 286	45. 9	1, 147	23. 1

¹ Estimated from distribution measurements according to fractional parts of inches.

TABLE 2.—Accuracy of reporting of weights, by sections, and by race.

Section.	Total.	Children whose weights were reported in ¹ —							
		Ounces.		Quarter pounds.		Half pounds.		Pounds.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
White.....	26, 273	5, 016	19. 1	7, 473	28. 4	7, 692	29. 3	6, 092	23. 2
New England and Mid- dle Atlantic.....	4, 505	937	20. 8	1, 326	29. 4	1, 320	29. 3	923	20. 5
Southern section.....	4, 568	716	15. 7	1, 175	25. 7	1, 493	32. 7	1, 184	25. 9
East North-Central.....	4, 302	852	19. 8	1, 185	27. 5	1, 297	30. 1	968	22. 5
Iowa.....	4, 335	818	18. 9	1, 433	33. 1	1, 213	28. 0	871	20. 1
Western section.....	4, 252	880	20. 7	1, 314	30. 9	1, 007	23. 7	1, 051	24. 7
California.....	4, 311	813	18. 9	1, 040	24. 1	1, 363	31. 6	1, 096	25. 4
Negro, all sections.....	4, 976	1, 547	31. 1	1, 073	21. 6	1, 146	23. 0	1, 210	24. 3

¹ Estimated from distribution of weights according to ounces.

APPENDIX C.

PROBABLE ERRORS OF AVERAGES.

It is a well-known fact that averages for different groups of children aged 6 months, for example, are not always exactly the same, but vary slightly because of the inclusion of particular individuals in the different groups. This variation between averages occurs without any conscious or biased selection, and even where there is only a chance selection of cases. Obviously, other things being equal, the larger the number of children in a group the less influence upon the average will be exerted by the chance inclusion of a child of extreme stature or weight.

The meaning of the term "probable error of an average" may best be explained in terms of the standard deviation. As explained in the text, the standard deviation shows the variability of the measurements about an average. Similarly, the standard deviation of an average shows the variability of a number of averages about a central average. The standard deviation of an average can be calculated directly from the standard deviation of the individual measurements by dividing it by the square root of the number of measurements upon which the average is based.

The interpretation of the standard deviation of the average follows the same terms as the interpretation of the standard deviation of the individual measurements. As the standard deviation of statures or weights gives a statement of the number of inches or pounds above or below the average within which roughly two-thirds of the measurements will be found to lie, so the standard deviation of an average of stature or weight gives a statement of the number of inches or pounds above or below a central average within which roughly two-thirds of a series of averages, each based upon the same number of cases, would be found to lie.

The "probable error," or, perhaps better, the probable deviation, is a technical term with a special meaning. The probable error is equal to the standard deviation times 0.6745. The word "probable" is used to mean that it is equally probable that a measurement will fall inside or outside the limits of the probable error from the average. "Error" is a term borrowed from the early application of the normal or Gaussian curve to a study of the distribution of errors of measurement.

The probable error, then, affords a measure of the influence of chance errors, or of a chance selection of cases upon the average. Since

variations due to chance errors or to a chance selection of cases rarely exceed five or six times the probable error, it affords a measure also of the extreme range of error in an average due to chance. Five or six times the probable error may, therefore, be taken as the extreme range of error in an average which may be due to chance or random sampling from a large group.

The larger the group in the sample the smaller the probable error. At 6 months of age, for example, the probable error of the average weight for the group of 1912 boys included in the table is found to be plus or minus 0.04 pounds. The maximum error in this average due to chance would, therefore, probably not exceed six times this figure, or a quarter of a pound. If the group had included only one-fourth this number of cases, the probable error of the average would have been twice as large or, in other words, the maximum error in the average due to chance would probably not have exceeded half a pound.

It should be specially emphasized that, as the standard deviation of the individual measurements does not reflect errors of measurement but merely variations in individuals, so the "probable error of an average"—0.6745 times the standard deviation of the average—does not afford any indication of errors in an average due to a definite bias. It merely measures variability in an average due to chance selection of cases. Errors due to the inclusion of weights of clothing to a biased selection of nationalities characterized by short or tall stature, or to fundamental biased errors in measurement are not indicated in the "probable error."

GENERAL TABLES.

GENERAL TABLES.

TABLE 1.—Average statures and weights in centimeters and kilograms by sex, from birth to 6 years; smoothed figures; white children.

Age.	White boys.		White girls.	
	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).
Under 1 month.....	53.7	4.13	53.1	3.92
1 month, under 2.....	57.1	4.94	55.7	4.60
2 months, under 3.....	59.9	5.72	58.6	5.31
3 months, under 4.....	62.4	6.38	61.0	5.91
4 months, under 5.....	64.5	6.97	63.1	6.46
5 months, under 6.....	66.3	7.39	64.8	6.95
6 months, under 7.....	67.9	7.92	66.4	7.38
7 months, under 8.....	69.3	8.31	67.8	7.75
8 months, under 9.....	70.5	8.64	69.1	8.08
9 months, under 10.....	71.7	8.93	70.3	8.37
10 months, under 11.....	72.8	9.19	71.4	8.63
11 months, under 12.....	73.8	9.44	72.4	8.87
12 months, under 13.....	74.9	9.67	73.4	9.09
13 months, under 14.....	75.9	9.90	74.4	9.30
14 months, under 15.....	76.9	10.12	75.4	9.51
15 months, under 16.....	77.8	10.33	76.4	9.72
16 months, under 17.....	78.8	10.55	77.4	9.92
17 months, under 18.....	79.7	10.76	78.4	10.14
18 months, under 19.....	80.7	10.97	79.3	10.35
19 months, under 20.....	81.6	11.17	80.3	10.55
20 months, under 21.....	82.4	11.36	81.1	10.74
21 months, under 22.....	83.2	11.54	81.9	10.92
22 months, under 23.....	84.0	11.72	82.6	11.09
23 months, under 24.....	84.7	11.89	83.3	11.25
24 months, under 25.....	85.4	12.06	84.0	11.42
25 months, under 26.....	86.1	12.22	84.8	11.58
26 months, under 27.....	86.8	12.39	85.5	11.76
27 months, under 28.....	87.5	12.56	86.2	11.93
28 months, under 29.....	88.2	12.73	87.0	12.11
29 months, under 30.....	88.9	12.90	87.7	12.29
30 months, under 31.....	89.6	13.08	88.4	12.46
31 months, under 32.....	90.3	13.24	89.1	12.63
32 months, under 33.....	90.9	13.41	89.8	12.79
33 months, under 34.....	91.5	13.55	90.4	12.95
34 months, under 35.....	92.0	13.69	91.0	13.10
35 months, under 36.....	92.6	13.82	91.5	13.24
36 months, under 37.....	93.2	13.95	92.1	13.39
37 months, under 38.....	93.7	14.08	92.7	13.53
38 months, under 39.....	94.3	14.22	93.3	13.67
39 months, under 40.....	94.8	14.37	93.9	13.82
40 months, under 41.....	95.4	14.52	94.5	13.97
41 months, under 42.....	96.0	14.68	95.1	14.12
42 months, under 43.....	96.6	14.84	95.8	14.26
43 months, under 44.....	97.3	14.99	96.3	14.39
44 months, under 45.....	97.8	15.13	96.9	14.51
45 months, under 46.....	98.3	15.26	97.4	14.64
46 months, under 47.....	98.8	15.38	97.8	14.76
47 months, under 48.....	99.3	15.49	98.3	14.87
48 months, under 49.....	99.7	15.59	98.8	14.99
49 months, under 50.....	100.1	15.69	99.3	15.11
50 months, under 51.....	100.6	15.79	99.7	15.23
51 months, under 52.....	101.0	15.90	100.3	15.35
52 months, under 53.....	101.5	16.03	100.8	15.50
53 months, under 54.....	102.1	16.16	101.4	15.64
54 months, under 55.....	102.6	16.30	102.0	15.79
55 months, under 56.....	103.2	16.45	102.5	15.94
56 months, under 57.....	103.7	16.61	103.1	16.08
57 months, under 58.....	104.2	16.76	103.6	16.22
58 months, under 59.....	104.7	16.91	104.1	16.35
59 months, under 60.....	105.2	17.05	104.5	16.49
60 months, under 61.....	105.6	17.20	105.0	16.62
61 months, under 62.....	106.0	17.33	105.5	16.76
62 months, under 63.....	106.5	17.45	105.9	16.89
63 months, under 64.....	107.0	17.58	106.3	17.02
64 months, under 65.....	107.5	17.71	106.8	17.15
65 months, under 66.....	108.0	17.85	107.2	17.28
66 months, under 67.....	108.5	18.00	107.6	17.43
67 months, under 68.....	109.0	18.16	108.2	17.57
68 months, under 69.....	109.5	18.32	108.7	17.75
69 months, under 70.....	110.0	18.47	109.3	17.93
70 months, under 71.....	110.4	18.67	110.2	18.22
71 months, under 72.....	111.4	18.78	110.5	18.31

TABLE 2.—Average statures and weights, in centimeters and kilograms, by sex, from birth to 6 years; after original data; white children.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number.	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).	Number.	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).
Under 1 month.....	595	53.7	4.13	543	53.1	3.92
1 month, under 2.....	1,431	57.1	4.93	1,360	55.7	4.60
2 months, under 3.....	1,754	59.9	5.72	1,631	58.6	5.31
3 months, under 4.....	1,826	62.3	6.40	1,835	60.9	5.92
4 months, under 5.....	1,863	64.4	6.95	1,791	62.8	6.48
5 months, under 6.....	1,809	66.2	7.52	1,701	64.5	6.98
6 months, under 7.....	1,912	67.8	7.95	1,816	66.2	7.37
7 months, under 8.....	1,851	69.1	8.30	1,800	67.5	7.76
8 months, under 9.....	1,746	70.1	8.60	1,773	68.6	8.05
9 months, under 10.....	1,860	71.2	8.82	1,773	69.7	8.31
10 months, under 11.....	1,814	72.3	9.13	1,814	70.9	8.59
11 months, under 12.....	1,838	73.4	9.38	1,656	72.0	8.84
12 months, under 13.....	1,575	74.6	9.61	1,407	72.9	9.01
13 months, under 14.....	1,364	75.5	9.83	1,293	74.1	9.26
14 months, under 15.....	1,281	76.6	10.08	1,285	74.9	9.40
15 months, under 16.....	1,328	77.3	10.18	1,275	75.9	9.62
16 months, under 17.....	1,216	78.5	10.45	1,295	76.8	9.79
17 months, under 18.....	1,278	79.4	10.71	1,179	78.0	10.08
18 months, under 19.....	1,289	80.7	10.95	1,268	79.3	10.33
19 months, under 20.....	1,206	81.6	11.19	1,266	80.1	10.53
20 months, under 21.....	1,171	82.1	11.24	1,156	81.0	10.72
21 months, under 22.....	1,242	82.9	11.47	1,192	81.6	10.86
22 months, under 23.....	1,300	83.9	11.73	1,163	82.2	11.04
23 months, under 24.....	1,284	84.4	11.80	1,208	83.0	11.19
24 months, under 25.....	1,354	85.4	12.01	1,276	83.8	11.38
25 months, under 26.....	1,272	86.1	12.26	1,192	84.4	11.52
26 months, under 27.....	1,253	86.6	12.32	1,249	85.3	11.69
27 months, under 28.....	1,269	87.2	12.49	1,182	85.8	11.86
28 months, under 29.....	1,321	87.7	12.63	1,232	86.5	12.06
29 months, under 30.....	1,240	88.8	12.88	1,184	87.6	12.24
30 months, under 31.....	1,205	89.7	13.12	1,167	88.4	12.45
31 months, under 32.....	1,201	90.4	13.23	1,210	89.3	12.67
32 months, under 33.....	1,217	91.1	13.46	1,142	89.5	12.73
33 months, under 34.....	1,241	91.5	13.55	1,264	90.1	12.87
34 months, under 35.....	1,311	91.8	13.67	1,219	90.9	13.10
35 months, under 36.....	1,283	92.7	13.83	1,188	91.2	13.23
36 months, under 37.....	1,258	93.1	13.96	1,204	92.0	13.40
37 months, under 38.....	1,176	93.7	14.05	1,133	92.4	13.50
38 months, under 39.....	1,171	94.2	14.16	1,124	93.0	13.59
39 months, under 40.....	1,177	94.8	14.35	1,164	93.7	13.79
40 months, under 41.....	1,167	95.4	14.49	1,152	94.1	13.89
41 months, under 42.....	1,188	96.1	14.72	1,201	95.1	14.12
42 months, under 43.....	1,126	96.7	14.86	1,103	96.0	14.31
43 months, under 44.....	1,198	97.5	15.06	1,116	96.3	14.47
44 months, under 45.....	1,164	98.1	15.12	1,167	96.8	14.43
45 months, under 46.....	1,205	98.7	15.36	1,195	97.3	14.62
46 months, under 47.....	1,203	99.0	15.47	1,236	97.8	14.75
47 months, under 48.....	1,236	99.6	15.52	1,193	98.0	14.81
48 months, under 49.....	1,171	99.6	15.59	1,269	99.0	15.06
49 months, under 50.....	1,104	100.4	15.71	1,088	99.4	15.11
50 months, under 51.....	1,127	100.8	15.86	1,137	99.8	15.21
51 months, under 52.....	1,075	101.1	15.92	1,114	99.9	15.28
52 months, under 53.....	1,171	101.4	16.00	1,154	100.6	15.48
53 months, under 54.....	1,068	102.2	16.23	1,161	101.4	15.62
54 months, under 55.....	1,040	102.8	16.34	1,048	102.1	15.78
55 months, under 56.....	1,025	103.5	16.50	1,010	102.6	16.05
56 months, under 57.....	1,028	104.1	16.72	995	103.3	16.17
57 months, under 58.....	1,081	104.7	16.80	984	103.5	16.11
58 months, under 59.....	1,052	104.8	16.99	1,016	104.3	16.38
59 months, under 60.....	1,028	105.4	17.13	1,045	104.4	16.48
60 months, under 61.....	624	105.7	17.23	634	105.1	16.67
61 months, under 62.....	582	106.6	17.47	540	105.9	16.93
62 months, under 63.....	527	106.9	17.72	572	105.8	16.78
63 months, under 64.....	499	106.8	17.52	513	106.5	17.05
64 months, under 65.....	508	107.5	17.74	478	106.6	17.16
65 months, under 66.....	492	108.2	17.84	480	107.4	17.21
66 months, under 67.....	406	109.0	18.10	471	107.8	17.54
67 months, under 68.....	404	109.8	18.45	415	108.2	17.33
68 months, under 69.....	433	109.7	18.47	402	108.5	17.60
69 months, under 70.....	385	110.0	18.47	379	109.3	17.93
70 months, under 71.....	380	110.4	18.67	409	110.2	18.22
71 months, under 72.....	368	111.4	18.78	366	110.5	18.31

TABLE 3.—*Stature and age; white boys—Continued.*

		White boys.															
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹													Total number.	Average stature.
			23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
15 months, under 16.....	1,328	30.425	.....	2	.....	9	10	74	206	385	392	170	60	17	2	1	.....
16 months, under 17.....	1,216	30.886	.....	2	4	2	4	43	145	273	366	228	100	33	12	8	.....
17 months, under 18.....	1,278	31.261	.....	1	1	3	13	27	85	250	360	302	149	53	18	12	.....
18 months, under 19.....	1,289	31.766	.....	.....	1	8	5	18	56	166	330	338	188	97	46	28	.....
19 months, under 20.....	1,266	32.124	.....	.....	1	1	2	8	37	116	269	333	232	115	44	30	.....
20 months, under 21.....	1,171	32.339	.....	.....	.....	3	1	6	26	99	225	327	241	155	53	22	.....
21 months, under 22.....	1,242	32.645	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	18	75	203	292	321	191	78	35	.....
22 months, under 23.....	1,800	33.049	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	3	8	49	144	273	340	267	115	68	.....

		White boys.															
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹													Total number.	Average stature.
			26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
23 months, under 24.....	1,284	33.231	.....	1	1	13	27	116	242	358	286	152	56	17	7	4	.....
24 months, under 25.....	1,354	33.604	.....	.....	2	7	23	79	209	334	345	216	95	21	12	7	.....
25 months, under 26.....	1,272	33.897	.....	1	1	1	13	53	145	280	377	235	106	34	18	6	.....
26 months, under 27.....	1,253	34.077	.....	.....	1	6	10	39	135	267	337	244	146	46	22	6	.....
27 months, under 28.....	1,269	34.350	.....	1	.....	4	12	37	98	213	298	334	180	67	21	7	.....
28 months, under 29.....	1,321	34.546	.....	1	1	3	10	29	67	199	341	323	220	83	28	13	.....
29 months, under 30.....	1,240	34.947	.....	.....	1	1	6	22	52	150	250	324	234	117	46	26	.....
30 months, under 31.....	1,205	35.308	.....	.....	.....	1	6	9	44	108	200	317	258	140	67	37	.....

White boys.

Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																	Average stature.	Total number.
	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
31 months, under 32	2	.....	3	12	26	75	192	285	270	180	82	49	10	9	5	1	.....	.....	.....
32 months, under 33	.....	1	.....	8	22	65	174	238	304	217	107	45	23	8	1	4	.....	.....	.....
33 months, under 34	.....	.....	2	2	18	47	146	263	298	234	146	56	16	7	5	1	.....	.....	.....
34 months, under 35	1	.....	3	4	7	45	133	244	358	265	150	57	27	11	4	1	.....	.....	.....
35 months, under 36	.....	1	2	2	7	38	88	216	287	311	209	68	37	8	6	2	.....	.....	1
36 months, under 37	.....	.....	2	6	2	24	73	178	297	325	189	101	39	12	4	4	1	.....	1
37 months, under 38	.....	.....	1	1	4	19	57	133	265	269	250	120	36	13	6	1	.....	.....	1
38 months, under 39	.....	.....	1	1	8	15	43	102	247	283	268	117	55	24	4	1	1	1	.....

White boys.

Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																				
			29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
39 months, under 40...	1, 177	37. 310	1	2	1	1	10	54	90	201	267	259	188	76	21	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40 months, under 41...	1, 167	37. 542	.....	1	.....	3	7	33	70	195	258	274	194	92	24	15	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41 months, under 42...	1, 188	37. 833	.....	.....	2	.....	4	23	56	168	243	290	203	126	50	15	3	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
42 months, under 43...	1, 126	38. 089	.....	.....	.....	3	6	17	64	128	196	251	225	135	61	23	13	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
43 months, under 44...	1, 198	38. 376	.....	1	.....	.....	6	15	42	104	217	262	235	172	77	43	15	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
44 months, under 45...	1, 164	38. 606	.....	1	1	1	2	5	34	88	176	247	275	166	88	64	13	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
45 months, under 46...	1, 205	38. 871	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	13	26	76	157	230	281	200	120	58	31	9	1	.....	.....	.....	1
46 months, under 47...	1, 203	38. 977	.....	1	1	1	3	9	27	59	125	228	276	258	129	55	19	8	3	1	.....	.....	.....

¹ Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half classed with the unit above and half with the unit below.

STATURES AND WEIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

White boys.																							
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																				
			30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48		
47 months, under 48.....	1, 236	39.194	.....	1	1	2	7	19	56	117	217	279	251	168	82	23	7	5	1	.....	.....	.....
48 months, under 49.....	1, 171	39.210	1	4	1	3	4	15	44	101	199	292	241	167	67	19	7	5	.....	1	.....	.....
49 months, under 50.....	1, 104	39.511	1	1	1	1	6	11	33	79	172	239	232	175	110	33	8	1	1	.....	.....	.....
50 months, under 51.....	1, 127	39.689	.....	1	.....	3	3	10	35	74	158	224	240	202	112	44	15	5	.....	1	.....	.....
51 months, under 52.....	1, 075	39.807	.....	2	2	2	2	9	21	58	149	204	256	186	112	46	20	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
52 months, under 53.....	1, 171	39.907	.....	1	.....	2	6	8	35	67	144	205	239	235	133	67	24	4	1	.....	.....	.....
53 months, under 54.....	1, 068	40.252	.....	.....	1	2	.....	10	22	50	90	182	229	206	162	68	30	11	3	2	.....	.....
54 months, under 55.....	1, 040	40.471	1	.....	2	.....	3	5	9	39	89	155	231	200	165	86	30	16	7	1	.....	1

White boys.																							
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																				
			31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49		
55 months, under 56.....	1, 025	40.763	1	2	2	1	7	7	28	65	121	207	233	178	99	48	14	8	3	1	.....	.....
56 months, under 57.....	1, 028	40.972	.....	.....	.....	1	2	10	30	63	121	175	216	192	124	56	34	2	2	.....	.....	.....
57 months, under 58.....	1, 081	41.207	.....	1	.....	.....	1	10	18	50	123	172	237	211	134	70	36	13	4	1	.....	.....
58 months, under 59.....	1, 052	41.271	.....	.....	.....	2	2	12	21	44	99	149	227	238	131	89	28	6	3	1	.....	.....
59 months, under 60.....	1, 028	41.490	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	9	27	33	79	148	194	222	157	110	31	12	3	.....	1	.....
60 months, under 61.....	624	41.604	.....	1	.....	.....	3	1	12	16	45	86	137	117	110	57	26	10	2	1	.....	.....
61 months, under 62.....	582	41.959	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	15	22	69	130	123	109	61	30	15	3	.....	.....	.....
62 months, under 63.....	527	42.102	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	18	28	65	91	97	97	67	30	17	9	4	.....	.....

White boys.																							
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																				
			31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
63 months, under 64.....	499	42.046	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	15	28	51	85	107	96	64	27	11	3	4	1	.....	.....
64 months, under 65.....	506	42.339	.....	.....	.....	1	1	6	7	21	46	75	108	104	73	38	21	3	3	.....	.....	.....
65 months, under 66.....	492	42.593	.....	.....	.....	2	1	1	6	15	46	73	83	108	86	35	28	8	1	2	.....	1
66 months, under 67.....	406	42.928	1	.....	.....	.....	1	2	5	9	30	49	64	72	85	47	26	12	2	.....	.....	.....
67 months, under 68.....	404	43.223	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	24	47	62	76	98	46	29	10	2	1	.....	2
68 months, under 69.....	433	43.193	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	5	7	19	39	82	80	87	65	29	15	2	.....	.....	.....
69 months, under 70.....	385	43.317	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	8	18	32	59	86	80	54	30	8	4	3	.....	.....
70 months, under 71.....	380	43.484	.....	.....	.....	1	1	3	6	7	16	33	44	72	68	57	40	19	8	4	.....	.....

White boys.

Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																	Average stature.	Total number.
	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49		
71 months, under 72.....	1	3	4	7	18	53	68	85	63	31	22	10	4	43.870	368
72 months, under 73.....	2	.....	.....	7	14	19	27	27	26	11	14	3	1	43.121	151
73 months, under 74.....	1	.....	.....	1	3	3	.....	6	6	13	12	17	14	10	5	6	1	43.388	98
74 months, under 75.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	2	7	9	15	14	16	10	5	3	1	43.812	85
75 months, under 76.....	1	1	3	7	10	10	14	14	10	4	4	1	43.911	79
76 months, under 77.....	1	.....	1	2	6	9	11	18	6	6	4	2	2	43.721	68
77 months, under 78.....	1	1	6	5	15	15	5	4	1	2	44.491	55
78 months, under 79.....	1	2	9	4	8	5	4	2	2	.....	43.865	37

White boys.

Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																	Average stature.	Total number.
	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51		
79 months, under 80.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	4	4	10	9	3	7	1	1	.....	.....	44.227	44
80 months, under 81.....	3	5	3	6	1	4	.....	2	.....	.....	44.792	24
81 months, under 82.....	3	2	3	9	8	2	4	1	.....	.....	45.375	32
82 months, under 83.....	1	.....	1	2	2	4	5	5	1	2	.....	1	1	45.000	25
83 months, under 84.....	1	2	.....	4	10	5	7	2	.....	.....	.....	45.355	31

¹ Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half classed with the unit above and half with the unit below.

TABLE 4.—*Stature and age; white girls.*

White girls.																								
Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																							
	Total number.	Average stature.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
At birth.....	56	21.536	.....	1	2	5	11	9	10	7	7	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Under 1 month.....	487	20.799	2	.....	21	41	135	152	94	32	8	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 month, under 2.....	1,360	21.922	.....	1	9	33	122	320	440	305	108	15	5	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 months, under 3.....	1,631	23.089	.....	.....	1	5	31	119	323	540	438	147	20	4	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 months, under 4.....	1,835	23.958	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	38	158	409	648	424	108	23	10	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4 months, under 5.....	1,791	24.717	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	10	55	199	510	605	293	68	18	15	11	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 months, under 6.....	1,701	25.404	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	28	75	293	575	443	184	36	28	15	16	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 months, under 7.....	1,816	26.064	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	5	34	155	465	584	367	95	39	26	30	14	1	.....	.....	.....

White girls.																								
Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																							
	Total number.	Average stature.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
7 months, under 8.....	1,800	26.573	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	16	77	302	557	504	187	58	39	27	15	16	.....	.....	.....
8 months, under 9.....	1,773	27.013	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	14	37	151	432	606	344	90	44	17	21	12	.....	.....	.....
9 months, under 10.....	1,773	27.452	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	16	85	287	578	487	213	53	20	14	11	4	1	.....
10 months, under 11.....	1,814	27.911	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	11	45	203	479	533	334	124	36	30	12	3	3	.....
11 months, under 12.....	1,656	28.333	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	19	117	303	531	408	165	60	23	17	7	3	.....
12 months, under 13.....	1,407	28.704	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	10	49	185	382	412	242	87	24	6	2	3	1
13 months, under 14.....	1,293	29.162	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	5	27	97	261	406	308	138	30	9	7	1	4
14 months, under 15.....	1,285	29.497	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	22	65	198	346	393	170	65	14	5	1	4

White girls.

Age.	Stature (inches). ¹															
	Total number.	Average stature.	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
			23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
15 months, under 16.....	1,275	29.890	.....	1	2	2	35	156	290	406	258	88	20	11	2	.....
16 months, under 17.....	1,295	30.217	.....	2	2	12	23	92	227	401	346	136	30	13	3	2
17 months, under 18.....	1,179	30.712	.....	1	3	6	12	45	162	293	354	175	75	34	10	4
18 months, under 19.....	1,268	31.202	.....	2	3	3	2	29	124	256	370	258	110	54	31	3
19 months, under 20.....	1,266	31.547	.....	.....	.....	4	9	24	85	190	352	296	147	55	49	8
20 months, under 21.....	1,156	31.879	.....	.....	2	2	2	4	50	162	273	311	187	82	39	1
21 months, under 22.....	1,192	32.119	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	6	42	107	252	334	231	129	52	8
22 months, under 23.....	1,163	32.362	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	26	89	215	322	263	133	67	11

White girls.

Age.	Stature (inches). ¹															
	Total number.	Average stature.	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
			23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
23 months, under 24.....	1,208	32.682	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	15	59	168	310	323	293	75	26
24 months, under 25.....	1,276	32.994	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	7	50	135	289	341	272	107	43
25 months, under 26.....	1,192	33.222	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	8	24	103	245	312	268	150	57
26 months, under 27.....	1,249	33.570	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	15	72	187	318	337	204	82
27 months, under 28.....	1,182	33.783	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	7	13	63	150	259	321	212	103
28 months, under 29.....	1,232	34.058	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	6	16	54	109	235	331	267	134
29 months, under 30.....	1,184	34.481	.....	.....	.....	2	1	4	2	12	27	75	196	290	273	188
30 months, under 31.....	1,167	34.789	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7	23	59	141	274	282	219

¹ Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half classed with the unit above and half with the unit below.

TABLE 4.—*Stature and age: white girls—Continued.*

Age.	White girls.																
	Stature (inches). ¹																
	Total number.	Average stature.	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
31 months, under 32.....	1, 210	35.150	2	1	6	13	46	126	240	297	228	145	63	28	5	3	5
32 months, under 33.....	1, 142	35.228	.....	.....	4	10	43	122	220	275	215	147	53	32	12	7	1
33 months, under 34.....	1, 204	35.478	2	1	4	7	29	97	195	321	300	166	88	32	12	7	2
34 months, under 35.....	1, 219	35.801	1	.....	3	3	14	61	173	284	295	224	92	40	17	7	2
35 months, under 36.....	1, 188	35.920	.....	.....	6	6	15	52	148	235	317	212	126	43	21	3	2
36 months, under 37.....	1, 204	36.208	.....	.....	1	5	13	41	125	231	274	270	151	70	25	4	3
37 months, under 38.....	1, 133	36.397	.....	.....	2	6	10	34	88	192	245	276	167	76	27	4	6
38 months, under 39.....	1, 124	36.626	.....	.....	1	3	7	27	65	167	262	261	191	95	33	6	3
White girls.																	
Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																
	Stature (inches). ¹																
	Total number.	Average stature.	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
39 months, under 40.....	1, 164	36.891	.....	2	4	6	14	58	136	251	292	220	111	46	11	10	2
40 months, under 41.....	1, 152	37.053	1	3	2	7	16	51	97	261	266	228	128	58	21	12	.....
41 months, under 42.....	1, 201	37.463	1	3	4	8	14	36	94	185	264	255	191	84	40	12	.....
42 months, under 43.....	1, 103	37.802	.....	.....	1	2	9	26	70	144	229	244	193	117	38	18	6
43 months, under 44.....	1, 116	37.932	1	2	1	1	7	22	59	143	223	246	193	121	60	29	10
44 months, under 45.....	1, 167	38.118	.....	1	.....	4	2	13	63	117	240	258	216	144	66	27	7
45 months, under 46.....	1, 195	38.294	1	1	5	3	8	10	53	113	187	265	247	168	70	48	12
46 months, under 47.....	1, 236	38.516	.....	.....	1	1	6	10	29	107	194	262	273	169	93	43	15
White girls.																	
Age.	Stature (inches). ¹																
	Stature (inches). ¹																
	Total number.	Average stature.	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
47 months, under 48.....	1, 193	38.584	.....	2	1	5	3	33	89	191	251	260	198	101	43	10	2
48 months, under 49.....	1, 269	38.961	2	1	1	2	5	30	72	143	239	280	256	140	69	14	9
49 months, under 50.....	1, 068	39.119	.....	.....	1	4	6	18	53	102	211	234	219	147	58	28	5
50 months, under 51.....	1, 137	39.277	1	.....	4	11	9	9	49	88	184	247	277	168	66	20	9
51 months, under 52.....	1, 114	39.319	1	.....	1	7	22	23	46	107	188	229	211	154	97	37	10
52 months, under 53.....	1, 154	39.588	.....	2	1	5	13	13	29	83	175	238	248	206	88	42	19
53 months, under 54.....	1, 161	39.916	.....	1	2	4	8	8	36	74	139	192	246	223	145	50	30
54 months, under 55.....	1, 048	40.207	.....	.....	1	2	10	27	42	98	98	161	221	238	145	57	31

Age.	White girls.																				
	Statures (inches). ¹																				
	Total number.	Average stature.	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
55 months, under 56.....	1,010	40.401	1	1	2	3	5	13	41	98	137	216	218	138	81	37	14	3	2		
56 months, under 57.....	995	40.661	1	1	2	4	3	15	37	62	147	174	219	156	96	51	17	9		1	
57 months, under 58.....	984	40.762				3	5	13	20	66	121	195	235	165	106	38	19	8			
58 months, under 59.....	1,016	41.057		1	1		6	4	19	44	138	171	214	205	114	59	29	8	1	2	
59 months, under 60.....	1,045	41.110			1	2	8	7	27	51	106	181	231	197	124	78	23	11	3		
60 months, under 61.....	634	41.364			1	2		9	9	17	54	100	146	122	96	44	25	8		1	
61 months, under 62.....	540	41.707				2		2	3	15	43	80	108	106	85	56	25	9	3	2	1
62 months, under 63.....	572	41.652				2	3	4	3	21	40	83	109	113	98	55	20	17	4		

Age.	White girls.																			
	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																	
			32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
63 months, under 64.....	513	41.912	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	11	28	64	106	112	102	52	20	10	2	3	.....
64 months, under 65.....	478	41.971	.....	2	.....	.....	5	3	14	32	50	84	85	88	73	23	15	3	.....	.....
65 months, under 66.....	480	42.273	1	.....	2	.....	1	3	8	19	40	83	114	82	67	39	13	5	1	.....
66 months, under 67.....	471	42.456	1	.....	1	.....	2	1	8	21	45	71	95	83	59	45	26	12	1	.....
67 months, under 68.....	415	42.610	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	7	13	29	50	94	82	70	37	20	6	2	.....
68 months, under 69.....	402	42.697	.....	.....	1	.....	2	1	2	11	30	57	78	88	64	36	22	9	1	.....
69 months, under 70.....	379	43.026	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	11	22	37	68	79	74	47	25	9	2	.....
70 months, under 71.....	409	43.394	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	11	18	31	69	81	79	56	33	16	8	.....

¹ Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half classed with the unit above and half with the unit below.

TABLE 4.—*Stature and age; white girls—Concluded.*

White girls.																			
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches). ¹																
			34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
71 months, under 72.....	366	43.519	.....	.....	2	.....	1	8	15	25	55	70	76	63	26	18	4	2	1
72 months, under 73.....	139	43.230	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	9	11	20	34	24	21	10	4	2	.....	.....
73 months, under 74.....	93	43.484	.....	.....	1	.....	2	2	4	6	13	18	22	10	5	6	1	.....	3
74 months, under 75.....	103	43.184	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	7	8	18	21	21	10	8	5	1	.....	.....
75 months, under 76.....	92	43.467	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	6	6	16	14	17	15	9	4	1	.....	.....
76 months, under 77.....	67	43.537	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	2	13	11	12	10	7	3	2	.....	.....
77 months, under 78.....	60	43.667	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	4	1	6	7	15	13	4	4	2	.....	.....
78 months, under 79.....	61	44.836	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	7	15	10	11	5	3	.....	1

White girls.																			
Age.	Total number.	Average stature.	Stature (inches).¹																
36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51				
79 months, under 80.....	44	43.864	1	8	4	4	4	10	9	9	3	2	1
80 months, under 81.....	34	44.500	1	3	3	6	9	6	5	1	1	2
81 months, under 82.....	29	44.724	1	1	2	2	3	6	9	1	2	3	1
82 months, under 83.....	44	44.523	1	1	1	5	5	6	5	9	8	6	1	1
83 months, under 84.....	30	45.000	2	2	6	6	4	3	7	1	1

¹ Statures are classified to the nearest inch; cases falling on the dividing line between classes were divided equally and half classed with the unit above and half with the unit below.

re page 96.) No. 1.

TABLE 9.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children, Iowa.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number. ¹	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number. ²	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	153	21.08	9.09	119	21.04	8.89
1 month, under 2.....	307	22.80	11.35	278	22.13	10.20
2 months, under 3.....	341	23.82	13.06	345	23.18	11.88
3 months, under 4.....	408	24.73	14.31	392	24.11	13.32
4 months, under 5.....	384	25.50	15.64	380	24.94	14.50
5 months, under 6.....	393	26.21	16.54	355	25.35	15.42
6 months, under 7.....	399	26.92	17.69	363	26.42	16.63
7 months, under 8.....	413	27.26	18.44	351	27.00	17.57
8 months, under 9.....	368	27.80	19.13	378	27.30	18.06
9 months, under 10.....	370	28.32	19.73	321	27.65	18.38
10 months, under 11.....	394	28.58	20.09	393	28.11	18.97
11 months, under 12.....	376	29.06	20.72	369	28.36	19.33
12 months, under 13.....	396	29.41	21.03	348	28.80	20.21
13 months, under 14.....	285	29.91	21.60	300	29.20	20.19
14 months, under 15.....	306	30.14	22.06	281	29.61	20.55
15 months, under 16.....	301	30.59	22.24	308	30.01	21.04
16 months, under 17.....	310	31.14	22.98	286	30.40	21.34
17 months, under 18.....	307	31.26	23.39	302	30.74	21.89
18 months, under 19.....	307	31.64	23.71	297	31.21	22.48
19 months, under 20.....	292	32.30	24.51	298	31.81	23.27
20 months, under 21.....	284	32.63	24.81	280	32.00	23.38
21 months, under 22.....	278	32.96	25.40	261	32.45	23.81
22 months, under 23.....	293	33.28	25.84	279	32.63	24.37
23 months, under 24.....	327	33.41	25.83	264	32.86	24.55
24 months, under 25.....	316	33.80	26.27	306	33.05	25.16
25 months, under 26.....	302	34.12	26.97	281	33.34	25.21
26 months, under 27.....	305	34.25	27.06	315	33.82	25.83
27 months, under 28.....	287	34.55	27.21	310	34.04	26.22
28 months, under 29.....	312	34.74	27.69	295	34.19	26.39
29 months, under 30.....	339	34.88	28.12	310	34.59	26.92
30 months, under 31.....	305	35.18	28.38	315	34.89	27.35
31 months, under 32.....	273	35.90	29.24	291	35.32	27.76
32 months, under 33.....	270	35.96	29.72	267	35.48	27.92
33 months, under 34.....	321	36.16	29.64	321	35.63	28.14
34 months, under 35.....	300	36.40	30.13	276	35.93	28.65
35 months, under 36.....	307	36.52	30.22	293	36.02	28.80
36 months, under 37.....	301	36.90	30.82	305	36.36	29.40
37 months, under 38.....	293	37.05	30.78	274	36.58	29.66
38 months, under 39.....	283	37.34	31.29	264	36.99	30.18
39 months, under 40.....	296	37.59	31.58	280	37.10	29.92
40 months, under 41.....	292	37.71	31.79	308	37.23	30.31
41 months, under 42.....	304	37.92	32.22	297	37.53	31.00
42 months, under 43.....	285	38.43	32.94	300	37.86	31.20
43 months, under 44.....	284	38.57	33.09	262	37.96	31.40
44 months, under 45.....	285	38.91	33.15	282	38.30	31.53
45 months, under 46.....	295	39.09	34.04	277	38.49	32.02
46 months, under 47.....	285	39.09	33.84	292	38.71	32.48
47 months, under 48.....	324	39.43	34.21	307	38.75	32.24
48 months, under 49.....	266	39.34	34.96	265	39.33	33.07
49 months, under 50.....	248	39.67	34.38	273	39.32	33.27
50 months, under 51.....	229	40.02	34.87	262	39.55	33.62
51 months, under 52.....	238	40.04	35.14	258	39.74	33.71
52 months, under 53.....	267	40.19	35.49	263	39.79	33.92
53 months, under 54.....	252	40.45	35.87	277	40.04	34.01
54 months, under 55.....	248	40.61	35.75	244	40.20	34.34
55 months, under 56.....	247	40.95	36.03	196	40.53	34.76
56 months, under 57.....	232	41.34	36.88	229	40.86	35.38
57 months, under 58.....	246	41.45	37.14	202	41.04	35.80
58 months, under 59.....	253	41.54	37.36	232	41.39	36.32
59 months, under 60.....	248	41.65	37.34	248	41.39	36.08
60 months, under 61.....	100	41.87	37.90	98	41.45	36.47
61 months, under 62.....	79	41.99	38.07	56	41.71	37.35
62 months, under 63.....	61	42.41	38.60	64	41.53	36.70
63 months, under 64.....	57	42.11	38.06	70	41.89	36.61
64 months, under 65.....	60	42.22	38.59	64	42.19	37.65
65 months, under 66.....	76	42.84	39.11	62	42.27	37.63
66 months, under 67.....	46	43.13	40.17	50	42.12	38.54
67 months, under 68.....	46	43.24	40.41	47	42.64	38.67
68 months, under 69.....	40	43.45	40.94	42	42.81	40.04
69 months, under 70.....	37	43.89	41.55	36	43.64	40.28
70 months, under 71.....	29	44.14	41.07	33	43.42	39.48
71 months, under 72.....	29	44.10	40.95	41	43.20	40.00

¹ 40 boys (6 years, under 7) omitted.² 35 girls (6 years, under 7) omitted.

TABLE 10.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children; California.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number. ¹	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number. ²	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
month.....	82	21.50	9.76	44	21.09	8.96
under 2.....	120	22.50	11.01	118	21.96	10.01
under 3.....	182	23.57	12.06	154	22.03	11.04
under 4.....	169	24.81	14.53	169	24.16	13.11
under 5.....	187	25.58	15.52	166	24.84	14.28
under 6.....	200	26.39	17.27	174	25.52	15.80
under 7.....	208	26.80	17.67	202	26.30	16.38
under 8.....	201	27.03	18.88	193	26.67	17.22
under 9.....	199	27.63	19.04	180	27.18	18.03
under 10.....	196	28.37	19.89	180	28.16	18.90
under 11.....	179	28.71	20.73	172	28.27	19.66
under 12.....	203	29.18	21.15	163	28.78	19.96
under 13.....	198	29.48	21.66	177	28.96	20.80
under 14.....	159	30.09	22.42	143	29.29	20.32
under 15.....	126	30.26	22.11	173	29.84	21.70
under 16.....	129	30.69	23.66	142	30.19	22.14
under 17.....	122	31.06	23.41	140	30.30	22.14
under 18.....	150	31.73	24.73	119	30.92	22.94
under 19.....	147	31.93	24.86	132	31.39	23.41
under 20.....	139	32.20	25.75	151	31.92	24.26
under 21.....	120	32.73	25.68	116	32.22	24.51
under 22.....	125	32.97	26.27	128	32.35	24.61
under 23.....	182	33.42	26.79	136	32.52	25.36
under 24.....	118	33.48	27.06	127	32.97	25.46
under 25.....	142	34.04	27.90	151	32.38	25.94
under 26.....	126	34.28	28.09	147	33.52	26.22
under 27.....	134	34.41	28.40	128	33.68	26.42
under 28.....	138	34.70	28.86	126	34.13	27.24
under 29.....	161	34.91	28.52	126	34.19	27.26
under 30.....	136	35.27	29.24	134	34.62	27.66
under 31.....	133	36.02	30.35	119	35.30	28.42
under 32.....	126	36.14	30.40	136	35.57	29.01
23 months, under 33.....	145	36.01	29.99	125	36.57	28.80
33 months, under 34.....	145	36.30	30.68	115	36.17	29.74
34 months, under 35.....	128	36.57	30.96	127	36.31	29.83
35 months, under 36.....	142	36.88	31.43	142	36.36	29.12
36 months, under 37.....	120	37.08	31.58	131	36.79	30.78
37 months, under 38.....	139	37.25	32.07	109	36.72	30.57
38 months, under 39.....	124	37.50	32.86	134	37.16	31.41
39 months, under 40.....	127	37.72	33.09	125	37.41	31.94
40 months, under 41.....	132	37.84	32.69	115	37.63	32.15
41 m " " "er 42.....	138	38.14	33.81	127	37.76	31.82
42 m " " "er 43.....	106	38.40	33.75	118	38.26	32.92
43 m " " "er 44.....	139	38.83	34.80	147	38.54	32.13
44 m " " "er 45.....	126	38.87	34.54	129	38.77	32.21
45 m " " "er 46.....	137	39.18	34.54	146	38.70	32.54
46 m " " "er 47.....	139	39.42	35.31	122	39.16	34.27
47 m " " "er 48.....	132	39.67	34.95	120	38.73	32.57
48 m " " "er 49.....	132	39.55	35.38	157	39.34	32.89
49 m " " "er 50.....	108	40.07	36.28	126	39.70	34.21
50 m " " "er 51.....	133	40.02	35.70	120	39.67	35.06
51 m " " "er 52.....	117	40.09	35.61	120	39.58	34.85
52 m " " "er 53.....	129	40.50	36.75	117	40.12	35.58
53 m " " "er 54.....	146	40.61	36.52	118	40.36	35.71
54 m " " "er 55.....	101	40.83	36.58	124	40.56	36.12
55 m " " "er 56.....	127	41.31	37.94	121	40.90	37.22
56 m " " "er 57.....	103	41.24	37.27	112	41.06	37.06
57 m " " "er 58.....	122	41.52	39.00	116	40.83	36.69
58 m " " "er 59.....	127	41.69	38.94	112	41.38	37.14
59 m " " "er 60.....	126	42.04	38.92	107	41.42	37.73
60 m " " "er 61.....	99	42.18	39.49	134	41.86	38.42
61 m " " "er 62.....	123	42.46	39.70	112	42.40	38.97
62 m " " "er 63.....	97	42.77	40.22	109	42.40	38.36
63 m " " "er 64.....	85	42.80	39.92	97	42.30	38.79
64 m " " "er 65.....	96	42.89	40.43	104	42.59	39.40
65 m " " "er 66.....	102	43.24	41.02	86	42.58	39.77
66 m " " "er 67.....	75	43.63	41.34	100	42.72	39.68
67 m " " "er 68.....	75	43.85	42.22	80	42.75	39.29
68 m " " "er 69.....	96	43.58	41.90	100	42.71	39.64
69 m " " "er 70.....	78	43.60	41.53	91	43.36	40.71
70 m " " "er 71.....	88	44.09	42.66	96	44.04	42.30
71 m " " "er 72.....	86	44.22	42.11	82	43.69	42.01

¹ 118 boys (6 years, under 7), omitted.² 126 girls (6 years, under 7), omitted.

TABLE 11.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children; New York City.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number. ¹	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number. ²	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	318	21.14	8.76	313	20.91	8.49
1 month, under 2.....	780	21.97	10.08	763	21.56	9.44
2 months, under 3.....	728	23.09	11.86	647	22.60	10.99
3 months, under 4.....	715	24.03	13.26	619	23.63	12.41
4 months, under 5.....	655	24.10	14.63	674	24.46	13.81
5 months, under 6.....	657	25.68	15.92	644	24.93	14.59
6 months, under 7.....	604	26.23	16.78	549	25.55	15.67
7 months, under 8.....	508	26.84	17.81	485	26.35	16.84
8 months, under 9.....	488	27.45	18.73	461	26.78	17.40
9 months, under 10.....	442	27.78	19.10	439	27.06	17.93
10 months, under 11.....	430	28.13	19.62	431	27.39	18.46
11 months, under 12.....	401	28.35	20.26	381	27.93	19.14
12 months, under 13.....	396	28.74	20.59	381	28.25	19.56
13 months, under 14.....	352	29.28	21.35	375	28.73	20.02
14 months, under 15.....	315	29.59	21.87	319	29.18	20.76
15 months, under 16.....	278	30.10	22.65	292	29.49	21.24
16 months, under 17.....	297	30.40	22.89	283	29.73	21.45
17 months, under 18.....	281	30.51	23.17	230	30.33	22.13
18 months, under 19.....	267	31.09	23.91	266	30.64	22.73
19 months, under 20.....	224	31.63	24.34	247	30.99	23.22
20 months, under 21.....	238	31.84	24.51	206	31.32	23.50
21 months, under 22.....	211	31.94	25.19	220	31.84	24.13
22 months, under 23.....	216	32.62	25.91	223	31.95	24.36
23 months, under 24.....	237	32.60	26.01	251	32.17	24.66
24 months, under 25.....	243	33.10	26.70	263	32.62	25.28
25 months, under 26.....	170	33.22	26.97	165	32.85	25.30
26 months, under 27.....	177	33.70	27.06	189	33.11	25.75
27 months, under 28.....	190	34.14	28.09	205	33.37	26.43
28 months, under 29.....	205	34.19	28.56	210	33.59	26.48
29 months, under 30.....	176	34.34	28.14	209	33.70	26.65
30 months, under 31.....	203	34.53	28.63	212	34.03	26.84
31 months, under 32.....	174	34.78	28.82	201	34.66	28.13
32 months, under 33.....	178	35.41	29.76	176	34.93	28.75
33 months, under 34.....	181	35.68	30.19	176	35.18	28.63
34 months, under 35.....	185	35.79	30.04	227	35.40	28.96
35 months, under 36.....	199	35.91	30.62	214	35.63	29.49
36 months, under 37.....	212	36.09	30.60	207	35.69	29.31
37 months, under 38.....	170	36.45	30.92	179	36.25	30.23
38 months, under 39.....	183	36.74	31.28	184	36.16	30.10
39 months, under 40.....	197	37.01	32.25	234	36.40	30.44
40 months, under 41.....	177	37.16	31.89	182	35.56	30.77
41 months, under 42.....	177	36.90	31.89	183	36.66	30.81
42 months, under 43.....	210	37.68	32.75	191	37.08	31.48
43 months, under 44.....	184	38.08	33.36	186	37.50	32.16
44 months, under 45.....	173	37.82	33.60	186	37.77	32.04
45 months, under 46.....	176	38.30	34.01	199	38.03	33.07
46 months, under 47.....	191	38.09	33.63	169	38.04	32.50
47 months, under 48.....	190	38.54	33.94	205	38.21	33.29
48 months, under 49.....	232	38.88	34.45	224	38.25	32.88
49 months, under 50.....	169	39.02	35.25	185	38.58	33.08
50 months, under 51.....	190	39.24	35.19	170	39.08	34.04
51 months, under 52.....	158	39.56	35.81	171	39.06	34.17
52 months, under 53.....	197	39.64	35.79	172	39.28	34.26
53 months, under 54.....	169	39.77	35.66	185	39.52	34.64
54 months, under 55.....	183	39.72	35.89	194	39.40	34.54
55 months, under 56.....	154	40.29	36.87	187	39.46	34.69
56 months, under 57.....	151	40.59	37.50	159	39.84	35.12
57 months, under 58.....	137	40.69	37.19	179	40.33	36.44
58 months, under 59.....	171	40.95	38.08	176	40.60	36.65
59 months, under 60.....	135	40.79	37.69	186	40.75	36.22
60 months, under 61.....	132	41.20	38.39	168	40.86	36.36
61 months, under 62.....	112	41.00	37.82	108	40.55	36.24
62 months, under 63.....	106	41.67	38.46	112	41.06	37.18
63 months, under 64.....	102	41.70	38.63	116	41.13	36.85
64 months, under 65.....	87	41.40	38.73	103	41.43	36.56
65 months, under 66.....	81	42.21	39.46	112	41.55	37.51
66 months, under 67.....	92	41.62	38.82	103	42.00	38.24
67 months, under 68.....	84	42.20	39.68	78	42.09	39.69
68 months, under 69.....	76	42.72	40.93	70	42.37	39.06
69 months, under 70.....	72	42.54	39.99	75	42.55	39.26
70 months, under 71.....	68	43.28	41.60	71	42.44	40.28
71 months, under 72.....	49	43.45	41.15	64	43.14	40.61

¹ 170 boys (6 years, under 7) omitted.² 174 girls (6 years, under 7) omitted.

TABLE 12.—Country of birth of parents, by section; white children included in height and weight tabulation.

Country of birth of mother.	Southern.				New England and Middle Atlantic.				East North-Central.			
	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.
	Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.			Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.			Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.		
All countries	19,044	100.0	8,624	372	23,720	100.0	19,094	4,321	54,779	100.0	49,173	5,234
United States.....	8,477	93.7	8,264	213	11,536	48.6	9,560	1,976	42,001	76.7	38,992	3,009
Italy.....	74	.8	72	2	8,501	14.8	3,435	66	1,265	2.3	1,232	33
Scandinavia.....	22	.2	8	14	313	1.3	194	119	684	1.2	427	257
Denmark.....	4	.....	1	3	36	.2	22	14	74	.1	36	38
Sweden.....	11	.1	5	6	240	1.0	160	80	414	.8	298	116
Norway.....	7	.....	2	5	37	.2	12	25	196	.4	93	103
Germany.....	57	.6	35	22	255	1.1	123	132	1,186	2.2	563	623
Holland.....	3	.....	1	2	9	.....	4	5	89	.2	55	34
Russia.....	93	1.0	84	9	1,349	5.7	1,254	95	1,852	3.4	1,731	121
Austria-Hungary..	34	.4	23	11	1,153	4.9	955	198	4,384	8.0	4,071	313
Austria.....	19	.2	10	9	991	4.2	809	182	2,427	4.4	2,239	188
Bohemia.....	1	.....	1	.....	7	.....	4	3	227	.4	194	33
Hungary.....	9	.....	9	.....	94	.4	87	7	820	1.5	787	33
Croatia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36	.....	36	.....
Transylvania.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	5	.....
Not specified..	5	.....	3	2	61	.2	55	6	869	1.6	810	59
England.....	51	.6	23	28	687	2.9	382	305	328	.6	180	148
Scotland.....	8	.....	.....	8	305	1.3	170	135	150	.3	89	61
Wales.....	1	.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	3	12	.....	.....	12
Ireland.....	30	.3	15	15	995	4.2	633	362	238	.4	147	91
British possessions	23	.3	3	20	1,844	7.8	1,068	776	317	.6	93	224
Poland.....	9	.....	7	2	1,041	4.4	704	37	1,361	2.5	1,188	173
All other ¹	114	1.3	88	26	724	3.1	612	112	540	1.0	405	135

Country of birth of mother.	Iowa.				Western.				California.			
	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different coun-tries.
	Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.			Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.			Number.	Per cent dis-tribution.		
All countries	37,033	100.0	33,111	3,797	23,170	100.0	19,367	3,625	19,209	100.0	16,026	2,999
United States.....	32,828	88.6	30,458	2,370	18,653	80.5	16,512	2,141	13,717	71.2	12,063	1,654
Italy.....	296	.8	288	8	131	.6	126	5	1,550	8.0	1,465	85
Scandinavia.....	1,047	2.8	699	348	1,319	5.7	783	536	379	2.0	243	136
Denmark.....	321	.9	244	77	138	.6	84	54	124	.6	84	40
Sweden.....	363	1.0	238	125	441	1.9	268	173	183	1.0	126	57
Norway.....	363	1.0	217	146	740	3.2	431	309	67	.3	33	34
Germany.....	975	2.6	454	521	598	2.6	305	291	301	1.6	145	156
Holland.....	394	1.1	274	120	29	.1	16	13	26	.1	16	10
Russia.....	302	.8	281	21	961	4.1	867	94	331	1.7	284	47
Austria-Hungary..	401	1.0	314	87	436	1.9	348	88	335	1.7	264	71
Austria.....	194	.5	157	37	308	1.3	262	46	272	1.4	224	48
Bohemia.....	158	.4	120	38	76	.3	52	24	18	.....	11	7
Hungary.....	16	.....	10	6	35	.2	26	9	38	.2	23	15
Croatia.....	10	.....	10	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Transylvania.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not specified..	23	.1	17	6	15	.....	6	9	7	.....	6	1
England.....	190	.5	92	98	174	.8	65	109	325	1.7	171	154
Scotland.....	68	.2	44	24	72	.3	28	44	111	.5	58	53
Wales.....	11	.....	5	6	7	.....	4	3	10	.....	6	4
Ireland.....	76	.2	32	44	65	.3	30	35	298	1.5	173	125
British possessions	77	.2	10	67	278	1.2	85	193	274	1.4	68	206
Poland.....	28	.1	21	7	61	.3	47	14	31	.2	23	8
All other ¹	215	.6	139	76	210	.9	151	59	1,337	6.9	1,057	280

¹ Includes 48 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
² Includes 314 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
³ Includes 372 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
⁴ Includes 125 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
⁵ Includes 178 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
⁶ Includes 244 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
⁷ Includes West Indies, Cuba, Central and South America, Luxemburg, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Rumania, Greece, Serbia, Armenia, Syria, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Turkey, Mexico, Atlantic and Pacific islands, Africa, Asia not specified, China, Japan, and India.

TABLE 13.—Country of birth of parents; white children included in height and weight table, New York City.

Country of birth of mother.	Total.		Parents born in same country.	Parents born in different countries.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
All countries.....	¹ 35, 819	100. 0	29, 112	6, 443
United States.....	10, 676	29. 8	8, 137	2, 539
Italy.....	7, 429	20. 7	7, 228	201
Scandinavia.....	400	1. 1	268	132
Denmark.....	31	.....	16	15
Sweden.....	167	. 5	104	63
Norway.....	202	. 6	148	54
Germany.....	696	1. 9	424	272
Holland.....	20	.....	16	4
Russia.....	6, 342	17. 7	5, 728	614
Austria-Hungary.....	4, 731	13. 2	3, 538	1, 193
Austria.....	3, 041	8. 5	2, 131	910
Bohemia.....	517	1. 4	444	73
Hungary.....	999	2. 8	832	167
Not specified.....	174	. 5	131	43
England.....	478	1. 3	179	299
Scotland.....	161	. 4	76	85
Wales.....	3	.....	.....	3
Ireland.....	2, 693	7. 5	2, 068	625
British possessions.....	98	. 3	26	73
Poland.....	618	1. 7	565	63
All other ²	² 1, 200	3. 4	860	340

¹ Includes 264 children the nativity of one or both of whose parents was not reported.
² Includes Central America, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Spain, Rumania, Greece, Portugal, Serbia, Armenia, Syria, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Turkey, Mexico, Atlantic islands, Pacific islands, Africa, Japan, Asia, and China.

TABLE 14.—Comparative standard deviations in stature; white boys 3 years but less than 4 years of age, in Iowa and in all States.

Age.	Standard deviation, boys' stature (inches).	
	All States.	Iowa.
36 months, under 37.....	1. 74	1. 57
37 months, under 38.....	1. 68	1. 58
38 months, under 39.....	1. 71	1. 57
39 months, under 40.....	1. 74	1. 60
40 months, under 41.....	1. 70	1. 59
41 months, under 42.....	1. 74	1. 61
42 months, under 43.....	1. 88	1. 69
43 months, under 44.....	1. 90	1. 88
44 months, under 45.....	1. 82	1. 81
45 months, under 46.....	1. 92	1. 83
46 months, under 47.....	1. 86	1. 74
47 months, under 48.....	1. 85	1. 74

TABLE 15.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children of mothers born in Italy.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number (1).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number (2).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	113	21.00	8.92	98	20.82	8.77
1 month, under 2.....	238	21.76	10.10	214	21.51	9.74
2 months, under 3.....	247	22.99	11.77	208	22.39	10.99
3 months, under 4.....	222	23.76	13.27	198	23.50	12.43
4 months, under 5.....	212	24.61	14.49	226	24.21	13.78
5 months, under 6.....	189	25.55	15.76	245	24.64	14.63
6 months, under 7.....	205	25.71	16.48	181	25.45	15.83
7 months, under 8.....	170	26.31	17.49	167	25.97	16.31
8 months, under 9.....	171	27.04	18.17	151	26.45	17.12
9 months, under 10.....	174	27.51	18.84	172	26.80	17.57
10 months, under 11.....	171	27.83	19.26	173	26.85	17.84
11 months, under 12.....	145	28.25	20.14	151	27.78	19.10
12 months, under 13.....	131	28.42	20.15	132	28.02	19.20
13 months, under 14.....	125	28.94	21.14	143	28.55	19.80
14 months, under 15.....	107	29.36	21.84	113	28.73	20.03
15 months, under 16.....	114	29.74	21.93	112	29.18	20.78
16 months, under 17.....	102	29.66	22.04	101	29.31	20.75
17 months, under 18.....	98	30.40	22.66	85	29.84	21.06
18 months, under 19.....	119	31.12	24.16	106	30.29	22.06
19 months, under 20.....	87	31.00	23.98	94	30.65	22.53
20 months, under 21.....	112	31.51	23.88	87	30.99	22.71
21 months, under 22.....	106	31.68	24.42	87	31.18	23.18
22 months, under 23.....	94	32.05	25.14	89	31.65	23.95
23 months, under 24.....	114	32.17	25.55	98	31.65	23.47
24 months, under 27.....	268	32.73	25.75	273	32.14	24.46
27 months, under 30.....	281	33.71	27.36	255	32.93	25.84
30 months, under 33.....	251	34.54	28.34	267	34.16	27.37
33 months, under 36.....	314	35.26	29.46	281	34.68	28.07
36 months, under 39.....	275	35.94	30.36	255	35.54	29.38
39 months, under 42.....	254	36.70	31.52	278	35.93	29.51
42 months, under 45.....	259	37.18	32.07	246	35.95	31.22
45 months, under 48.....	286	37.80	32.96	275	37.32	31.60
48 months, under 51.....	258	38.24	34.05	272	37.90	32.08
51 months, under 54.....	231	38.83	34.48	276	38.47	33.33
54 months, under 57.....	197	39.28	35.37	235	38.71	33.47
57 months, under 60.....	208	39.95	36.12	216	39.77	35.22
60 months, under 63.....	147	40.66	37.05	153	40.03	35.61
63 months, under 66.....	107	40.96	36.93	143	40.61	35.57
66 months, under 69.....	87	41.37	38.77	108	41.11	37.56
69 months, under 72.....	69	42.42	39.90	85	41.87	38.75

1 52 boys, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

2 77 girls, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

TABLE 16.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children of mothers born in Germany.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number (1).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number (2).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	20	20.85	8.80	7	21.80	8.64
1 month, under 2.....	36	23.00	10.83	32	22.03	10.20
2 months, under 3.....	36	23.39	12.35	31	23.06	11.56
3 months, under 4.....	45	24.40	13.42	46	24.37	13.33
4 months, under 5.....	24	25.46	15.63	32	24.69	13.75
5 months, under 6.....	35	25.86	16.11	26	25.19	14.79
6 months, under 7.....	39	27.00	18.04	34	25.24	16.51
7 months, under 8.....	35	27.74	19.20	29	27.00	18.69
8 months, under 9.....	32	27.97	19.33	30	26.77	17.40
9 months, under 10.....	36	27.78	19.00	31	27.23	17.93
10 months, under 11.....	34	28.03	20.13	49	28.14	19.43
11 months, under 12.....	37	28.81	20.32	32	28.09	19.36
12 months, under 13.....	47	29.26	21.67	31	28.77	19.98
13 months, under 14.....	39	29.87	22.15	22	29.09	20.96
14 months, under 15.....	27	30.11	21.63	27	29.85	20.80
15 months, under 16.....	31	30.68	22.97	32	30.22	21.48
16 months, under 17.....	31	31.32	23.63	29	30.66	21.69
17 months, under 18.....	28	31.00	23.63	20	30.70	22.45
18 months, under 19.....	32	31.94	24.05	31	30.97	22.23
19 months, under 20.....	36	32.33	25.67	31	31.71	23.68

1 26 boys, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

2 29 girls, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

TABLE 16.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children of mothers born in Germany—Concluded.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number (¹).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number (²).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds)
20 months, under 21.....	15	33.00	25.77	31	31.97	24.21
21 months, under 22.....	29	32.48	25.10	34	32.15	23.81
22 months, under 23.....	21	32.86	26.05	34	33.24	26.06
23 months, under 24.....	30	33.30	26.60	20	32.60	24.80
24 months, under 27.....	90	34.07	27.24	87	33.62	26.01
27 months, under 30.....	80	35.03	28.70	85	34.54	27.20
30 months, under 33.....	85	35.76	29.68	87	35.11	28.09
33 months, under 36.....	97	36.24	30.48	93	35.73	28.83
36 months, under 39.....	107	37.26	31.45	81	36.47	29.37
39 months, under 42.....	87	37.71	32.11	87	37.33	31.32
42 months, under 45.....	100	38.26	33.31	89	38.09	32.11
45 months, under 48.....	97	39.16	34.68	88	38.82	32.99
48 months, under 51.....	95	39.61	35.22	80	39.19	33.19
51 months, under 54.....	114	40.19	35.89	91	39.67	33.15
54 months, under 57.....	90	40.81	36.25	67	40.99	36.89
57 months, under 60.....	84	41.26	38.00	84	41.30	36.01
60 months, under 63.....	45	41.62	38.57	56	41.73	36.85
63 months, under 66.....	47	42.70	39.79	67	42.16	38.07
66 months, under 69.....	41	42.85	40.16	39	42.38	39.15
69 months, under 72.....	42	43.90	42.35	34	43.68	40.85

¹ 25 boys, 6 years, under 7, omitted.² 29 girls, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

TABLE 17.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; white children of mothers born in Denmark, Sweden, or Norway.

Age.	White boys.			White girls.		
	Number (¹).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number (²).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	7	21.71	10.00	11	22.00	9.64
1 month, under 2.....	26	22.35	10.10	31	22.32	10.56
2 months, under 3.....	39	24.10	13.50	36	23.22	12.25
3 months, under 4.....	43	25.70	14.33	36	23.75	13.32
4 months, under 5.....	38	25.47	15.53	41	24.41	14.45
5 months, under 6.....	54	26.52	17.53	31	25.61	15.89
6 months, under 7.....	46	26.80	18.29	42	26.07	16.62
7 months, under 8.....	42	28.87	18.88	46	26.87	17.84
8 months, under 9.....	39	28.23	20.36	36	27.56	18.47
9 months, under 10.....	37	28.16	20.73	43	27.67	18.59
10 months, under 11.....	49	28.80	20.69	36	27.92	19.28
11 months, under 12.....	34	29.00	20.91	39	28.51	20.14
12 months, under 13.....	46	29.46	21.72	36	28.83	20.54
13 months, under 14.....	53	30.47	22.78	29	29.79	21.41
14 months, under 15.....	29	30.34	22.55	28	29.86	21.61
15 months, under 16.....	26	30.62	22.77	26	30.23	21.88
16 months, under 17.....	32	31.13	23.67	33	30.88	22.12
17 months, under 18.....	23	31.35	24.35	28	30.36	21.71
18 months, under 19.....	38	32.47	25.97	31	31.61	23.27
19 months, under 20.....	27	33.15	26.93	35	31.77	24.37
20 months, under 21.....	36	32.72	25.14	24	32.63	24.58
21 months, under 22.....	32	33.22	26.00	31	33.00	24.79
22 months, under 23.....	35	33.71	27.40	19	32.95	25.13
23 months, under 24.....	31	33.81	27.71	32	32.91	25.36
24 months, under 27.....	91	34.24	27.21	89	33.48	26.23
27 months, under 30.....	104	34.86	28.56	82	34.13	26.82
30 months, under 33.....	89	35.70	29.22	90	35.50	28.47
33 months, under 36.....	91	36.73	30.95	102	35.82	29.28
36 months, under 39.....	100	37.48	32.27	98	36.97	30.61
39 months, under 42.....	93	37.82	32.23	102	37.49	31.83
42 months, under 45.....	92	38.89	33.54	97	38.20	32.29
45 months, under 48.....	90	39.48	34.83	85	38.86	32.88
48 months, under 51.....	83	39.72	34.89	82	39.43	33.98
51 months, under 54.....	104	40.67	36.67	85	39.59	34.00
54 months, under 57.....	82	41.04	36.99	78	40.69	36.06
57 months, under 60.....	81	41.67	38.20	87	40.92	35.59
60 months, under 63.....	47	42.11	38.98	44	42.45	37.98
63 months, under 66.....	45	43.11	40.49	41	42.39	38.26
66 months, under 69.....	34	43.56	41.44	32	42.75	38.78
69 months, under 72.....	33	43.82	41.74	32	44.16	41.38

¹ 13 boys, 6 years, under 7, omitted.² 24 girls, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

TABLE 18.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from birth to 6 years; Negro children.

Age.	Negro boys.			Negro girls.		
	Number (¹).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Number (²).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
Under 1 month.....	40	20.73	8.14	48	20.42	8.02
1 month, under 2.....	92	21.71	9.99	82	21.38	9.14
2 months, under 3.....	71	22.87	11.99	71	22.56	11.04
3 months, under 4.....	81	24.07	13.33	78	23.47	12.43
4 months, under 5.....	76	24.75	14.60	92	24.40	13.97
5 months, under 6.....	74	25.42	15.81	84	24.67	14.33
6 months, under 7.....	56	25.91	16.26	65	25.77	15.90
7 months, under 8.....	54	26.28	17.18	49	26.00	15.94
8 months, under 9.....	63	26.35	16.86	65	26.32	16.67
9 months, under 10.....	47	27.51	18.38	70	26.57	17.18
10 months, under 11.....	56	27.66	18.90	44	27.11	17.39
11 months, under 12.....	43	27.77	18.74	53	27.96	18.34
12 months, under 13.....	42	28.48	20.21	44	28.18	18.60
13 months, under 14.....	38	29.21	19.91	38	28.16	19.01
14 months, under 15.....	21	29.05	19.60	40	29.00	20.25
15 months, under 16.....	32	30.16	21.59	38	29.97	20.99
16 months, under 17.....	26	29.77	21.29	44	29.30	19.84
17 months, under 18.....	35	30.51	22.57	41	29.88	20.77
18 months, under 19.....	36	31.00	22.38	34	30.53	21.35
19 months, under 20.....	44	31.59	23.36	23	31.21	22.38
20 months, under 21.....	28	31.18	23.30	41	30.71	21.71
21 months, under 22.....	32	31.84	23.98	31	31.32	23.55
22 months, under 23.....	32	32.16	24.06	31	31.68	23.94
23 months, under 24.....	38	32.34	25.20	30	32.30	23.87
24 months, under 27.....	82	33.18	25.55	97	32.62	24.38
27 months, under 30.....	91	34.03	27.30	72	33.88	26.44
30 months, under 33.....	76	35.24	28.72	89	34.82	27.73
33 months, under 36.....	68	35.91	29.82	103	35.41	27.97
36 months, under 39.....	90	36.58	29.50	106	35.91	28.48
39 months, under 42.....	87	37.40	31.30	80	36.95	30.08
42 months, under 45.....	89	37.70	32.43	85	37.65	31.08
45 months, under 48.....	104	38.62	33.61	108	38.84	32.43
48 months, under 51.....	100	39.52	34.90	73	39.47	33.63
51 months, under 54.....	79	40.33	35.77	95	40.03	34.08
54 months, under 57.....	54	40.78	36.37	90	40.31	34.52
57 months, under 60.....	82	41.27	37.46	79	41.24	35.24
60 months, under 63.....	73	41.88	38.47	46	40.96	35.21
63 months, under 66.....	57	41.95	38.97	58	42.17	37.86
66 months, under 69.....	41	42.98	40.28	39	43.08	39.23
69 months, under 72.....	48	43.31	40.82	44	43.89	40.66

¹ 47 boys, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

² 40 girls, 6 years, under 7, omitted.

TABLE 19.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from 1 to 71 months; smoothed figures, exact ages; white children.¹

Exact age (months).	White boys.		White girls.	
	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).	Average stature (inches).	Average weight (pounds).
1.....	21.85	9.98	21.43	9.42
2.....	23.04	11.79	22.56	10.98
3.....	24.06	13.36	23.55	12.38
4.....	24.98	14.74	24.43	13.66
5.....	25.75	15.96	25.19	14.80
6.....	26.42	17.00	25.85	15.80
7.....	27.00	17.91	26.43	16.69
8.....	27.52	18.69	26.95	17.46
9.....	27.99	19.37	27.43	18.14
10.....	28.43	19.98	27.88	18.74
11.....	28.85	20.54	28.31	19.30
12.....	29.27	21.07	28.71	19.80
13.....	29.67	21.57	29.11	20.28
14.....	30.07	22.07	29.50	20.73
15.....	30.45	22.55	29.88	21.19
16.....	30.83	23.02	30.27	21.65
17.....	31.20	23.49	30.67	22.12
18.....	31.58	23.95	31.05	22.58
19.....	31.94	24.40	31.42	23.04
20.....	32.28	24.83	31.77	23.47
21.....	32.60	25.25	32.09	23.88
22.....	32.91	25.65	32.39	24.26
23.....	33.20	26.03	32.67	24.63
24.....	33.48	26.38	32.95	24.99
25.....	33.76	26.77	33.23	25.35
26.....	34.02	27.13	33.51	25.73
27.....	34.29	27.49	33.80	26.11
28.....	34.57	27.87	34.09	26.51
29.....	34.85	28.26	34.39	26.89
30.....	35.13	28.64	34.68	27.29
31.....	35.41	29.02	34.96	27.67
32.....	35.67	29.38	35.22	28.03
33.....	35.91	29.72	35.46	28.37
34.....	36.13	30.03	35.70	28.71
35.....	36.35	30.33	35.92	29.04
36.....	36.56	30.61	36.14	29.36
37.....	36.78	30.89	36.37	29.67
38.....	37.00	31.19	36.60	29.97
39.....	37.22	31.50	36.84	30.30
40.....	37.45	31.84	37.08	30.62
41.....	37.69	32.18	37.33	30.95
42.....	37.93	32.54	37.58	31.28
43.....	38.17	32.88	37.81	31.59
44.....	38.40	33.21	38.03	31.86
45.....	38.62	33.51	38.23	32.14
46.....	38.82	33.78	38.43	32.40
47.....	39.00	34.03	38.61	32.65
48.....	39.17	34.25	38.80	32.92
49.....	39.34	34.48	38.98	33.18
50.....	39.50	34.78	39.18	33.44
51.....	39.68	34.94	39.37	33.71
52.....	39.86	35.19	39.58	33.01
53.....	40.07	35.48	39.80	34.32
54.....	40.29	35.78	40.02	34.64
55.....	40.51	36.10	40.25	34.98
56.....	40.73	36.44	40.47	35.30
57.....	40.93	36.77	40.68	35.60
58.....	41.13	37.11	40.88	35.90
59.....	41.31	37.44	41.07	36.20
60.....	41.48	37.76	41.25	36.50
61.....	41.66	38.06	41.43	36.78
62.....	41.84	38.34	41.60	37.06
63.....	42.02	38.61	41.78	37.38
64.....	42.21	38.90	41.94	37.66
65.....	42.41	39.20	42.11	37.94
66.....	42.61	39.53	42.29	38.26
67.....	42.81	39.86	42.48	38.57
68.....	43.00	40.21	42.70	38.94
69.....	43.21	40.56	42.92	39.33
70.....	43.45	40.89	43.16	39.74
71.....	43.73	41.23	43.40	40.16

¹ Calculated from averages of Table I, p. 17, with the use of third differences.

TABLE 20.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from 1 to 71 months; smoothed figures, exact ages; white children.

Exact age (months).	White boys.		White girls.	
	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).
1.....	55.5	4.53	54.4	4.27
2.....	58.5	5.35	57.3	4.98
3.....	61.2	6.06	59.8	5.62
4.....	63.4	6.69	62.1	6.20
5.....	65.4	7.24	64.0	6.71
6.....	67.1	7.71	65.7	7.17
7.....	68.6	8.12	67.1	7.57
8.....	69.9	8.48	68.5	7.92
9.....	71.1	8.79	69.7	8.23
10.....	72.2	9.06	70.8	8.50
11.....	73.3	9.32	71.9	8.75
12.....	74.3	9.56	72.9	8.98
13.....	75.4	9.78	73.9	9.20
14.....	76.4	10.01	74.9	9.40
15.....	77.3	10.23	75.9	9.61
16.....	78.3	10.44	76.9	9.82
17.....	79.2	10.65	77.9	10.03
18.....	80.2	10.86	78.9	10.24
19.....	81.1	11.07	79.8	10.45
20.....	82.0	11.26	80.7	10.65
21.....	82.8	11.45	81.5	10.83
22.....	83.6	11.63	82.3	11.00
23.....	84.3	11.81	83.0	11.17
24.....	85.0	11.97	83.7	11.34
25.....	85.8	12.14	84.4	11.50
26.....	86.4	12.31	85.1	11.67
27.....	87.1	12.47	85.9	11.84
28.....	87.8	12.64	86.6	12.02
29.....	88.5	12.82	87.4	12.20
30.....	89.2	12.99	88.1	12.38
31.....	89.9	13.16	88.8	12.55
32.....	90.6	13.33	89.5	12.71
33.....	91.2	13.48	90.1	12.87
34.....	91.8	13.62	90.7	13.02
35.....	92.3	13.76	91.2	13.17
36.....	92.9	13.88	91.8	13.32
37.....	93.4	14.01	92.4	13.46
38.....	94.0	14.15	93.0	13.59
39.....	94.5	14.29	93.6	13.74
40.....	95.1	14.44	94.2	13.89
41.....	95.7	14.60	94.8	14.04
42.....	96.3	14.76	95.5	14.19
43.....	97.0	14.91	96.0	14.33
44.....	97.5	15.06	96.6	14.45
45.....	98.1	15.20	97.1	14.58
46.....	98.6	15.32	97.6	14.70
47.....	99.1	15.44	98.1	14.81
48.....	99.5	15.54	98.6	14.93
49.....	99.9	15.64	99.0	15.05
50.....	100.3	15.78	99.5	15.17
51.....	100.8	15.85	100.0	15.29
52.....	101.2	15.96	100.5	14.97
53.....	101.8	16.09	101.1	15.57
54.....	102.3	16.23	101.7	15.71
55.....	102.9	16.37	102.2	15.87
56.....	103.5	16.53	102.8	16.01
57.....	104.0	16.68	103.3	16.15
58.....	104.5	16.83	103.8	16.28
59.....	104.9	16.98	104.3	16.42
60.....	105.4	17.13	104.8	16.56
61.....	105.8	17.26	105.2	16.68
62.....	106.3	17.39	105.7	16.82
63.....	106.7	17.51	106.1	16.96
64.....	107.2	17.64	106.5	17.08
65.....	107.7	17.78	107.0	17.21
66.....	108.2	17.93	107.4	17.35
67.....	108.7	18.08	107.9	17.49
68.....	109.2	18.24	108.5	17.66
69.....	109.8	18.40	109.0	17.84
70.....	110.4	18.55	109.6	18.03
71.....	111.1	18.70	110.2	18.22

TABLE 21.—Average weight for height, by sex; white children.¹

Stature.		Boys.		Girls.	
Centi- meters.	Inches.	Num- ber.	Average weight (kilo- grams).	Num- ber.	Average weight (kilo- grams).
81.8	20	206	3.71	310	3.69
83.3	21	158	4.30	254	4.21
85.9	22	106	4.79	111	4.78
88.4	23	58	5.42	15	5.39
91.0	24	94	6.11	18	6.06
93.5	25	98	6.81	86	6.72
96.0	26	58	7.52	79	7.42
98.6	27	25	8.18	51	8.01
101.1	28	78	8.88	71	8.62
103.7	29	66	9.38	25	9.16
106.2	30	71	9.97	63	9.66
108.7	31	34	10.54	50	10.25
111.3	32	58	11.14	55	10.80
113.8	33	75	11.70	51	11.37
116.4	34	111	12.28	66	11.96
118.9	35	68	12.89	96	12.59
121.4	36	59	13.48	19	13.21
124.0	37	74	14.10	71	13.78
126.5	38	65	14.71	73	14.38
129.1	39	33	15.35	38	14.96
131.6	40	69	16.00	66	15.64
134.1	41	81	16.71	94	16.34
136.7	42	93	17.41	62	17.01
139.2	43	12	18.20	20	17.79
141.8	44	96	18.93	11	18.57
144.3	45	57	19.73	33	19.41
146.8	46	423	20.60	349	20.41
149.4	47	198	21.45	143	21.25

¹The unit of grouping was the inch; the centimeters and inches show the midpoints of the groups. Averages are not shown for statures under 20 inches nor for statures 48 inches or over, since the numbers of children of these statures were too small to afford satisfactory averages.

[illegible]

TABLE 22.—Weight and age; white boys of specified statures—Concluded.

White boys (stature 40 inches).															
Weight (pounds).	Age (months).														
	Total.	18 to 21.	21 to 24.	24 to 27.	27 to 30.	30 to 33.	33 to 36.	36 to 39.	39 to 42.	42 to 45.	45 to 48.	48 to 51.	51 to 54.	54 to 57.	57 to 60.
43.	16	1				1		2	1		5	2	2	1	1
43½	3									1		1			
44.	8									2					
44½	1														
45.	12					2			1		1	1	3		
45½	3								1						
46.	4								1						
46½	1														
47.	1														
47½	1														
48.	2										1		1		
48½	2										1			1	

White boys (stature 45 inches).															
Weight (pounds).	Age (months).														
	Total.	36 to 39.	39 to 42.	42 to 45.	45 to 48.	48 to 51.	51 to 54.	54 to 57.	57 to 60.	60 to 63.	63 to 66.	66 to 69.	69 to 72.	72 to 75.	75 to 78.
37.	857	1	1	2	9	11	21	64	95	86	100	158	174	35	24
37½	8				1				3		2	1	1		
38.	7								2		1				
38½	17								5		5		4		
39.	10								2		1		3		
39½	31					1			2		3		7		
40.	20								2		2		1		
40½	62					1			2		5		14		
41.	21								9		8		5		
41½	42								1		2		7		
	38					1			4		6		10		

TABLE 23.—Average statures and weights, by sex, from 3 to 6 years of age; smoothed and corrected figures; ¹ in centimeters and kilograms; white children.

Age.	White boys.		White girls.	
	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).	Average stature (centimeters).	Average weight (kilograms).
36 months, under 37.....	93.1	13.95	92.1	13.38
37 months, under 38.....	93.7	14.08	92.7	13.53
38 months, under 39.....	94.3	14.22	93.3	13.67
39 months, under 40.....	94.9	14.38	93.4	13.83
40 months, under 41.....	95.5	14.53	94.5	13.98
41 months, under 42.....	96.1	14.70	95.2	14.14
42 months, under 43.....	96.7	14.87	95.8	14.29
43 months, under 44.....	97.3	15.02	96.4	14.43
44 months, under 45.....	97.9	15.17	96.9	14.55
45 months, under 46.....	98.4	15.31	97.4	14.68
46 months, under 47.....	98.9	15.43	97.9	14.80
47 months, under 48.....	99.4	15.54	98.4	14.92
48 months, under 49.....	99.8	15.64	98.9	15.05
49 months, under 50.....	100.2	15.75	99.4	15.17
50 months, under 51.....	100.7	15.86	99.8	15.30
51 months, under 52.....	101.1	15.98	100.4	15.43
52 months, under 53.....	101.6	16.11	100.9	15.58
53 months, under 54.....	102.2	16.25	101.5	15.73
54 months, under 55.....	102.7	16.39	102.1	15.88
55 months, under 56.....	103.3	16.54	102.6	16.03
56 months, under 57.....	103.8	16.69	103.2	16.17
57 months, under 58.....	104.3	16.84	103.7	16.30
58 months, under 59.....	104.8	17.00	104.2	16.44
59 months, under 60.....	105.3	17.14	102.1	16.58
60 months, under 61.....	105.7	17.28	105.1	16.71
61 months, under 62.....	106.2	17.41	105.6	16.84
62 months, under 63.....	106.6	17.54	106.0	16.97
63 months, under 64.....	107.1	17.66	106.5	17.11
64 months, under 65.....	107.6	17.80	106.9	17.23
65 months, under 66.....	108.1	17.94	107.3	17.36
66 months, under 67.....	108.6	18.09	107.8	17.51
67 months, under 68.....	109.1	18.24	108.3	17.66
68 months, under 69.....	109.6	18.41	108.9	17.81
69 months, under 70.....	110.2	18.56	109.4	18.02
70 months, under 71.....	110.6	18.31	110.3	18.31
71 months, under 72.....	111.6	18.87	110.7	18.39

¹ For the first 36 months, see Table 1, p. 85. For equivalents in inches and pounds, see Table XXXI, p. 76.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

11.5
CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

MATERNITY AND CHILD CARE IN SELECTED RURAL AREAS OF MISSISSIPPI

By HELEN M. DART

RURAL CHILD WELFARE SERIES No. 5

Bureau Publication No. 88



WASHINGTON
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 14, 1921.

SIR: I transmit herewith a report entitled "Maternity and Child Care in Selected Rural Areas of Mississippi." This is one of a series of studies of child welfare in rural areas undertaken by the Children's Bureau.

The study was made under the general direction of the Hygiene Division of the Children's Bureau. The report was written by Miss Helen M. Dart, who was in charge of the field work. Dr. Frances Sage Bradley was in charge of the children's health conferences held in connection with the inquiry.

The Children's Bureau wishes to express its appreciation of the generous cooperation given by Dr. W. S. Leathers, secretary, Mississippi State Board of Health; Dr. R. W. Hall, director of the State Bureau of Vital Statistics; local physicians; school authorities; and members of the Woman's Division of the Council of National Defense.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

MATERNITY AND CHILD CARE IN SELECTED RURAL AREAS OF MISSISSIPPI.

INTRODUCTION.

The present report upon Maternity and Child Care in Selected Rural Areas of Mississippi is one of a series of studies of the conditions affecting maternity and child welfare in rural sections of the United States begun by the Children's Bureau in 1916. That there is urgent need for the study of such problems and for the adoption of measures that will eventually lead to an amelioration of the conditions that give rise to them has already been shown in previous reports of the bureau¹ and need not be restated here in detail. A survey was undertaken under the direction of the Hygiene Division of the Children's Bureau in the spring of 1918 at the request of the Mississippi Board of Health, and the secretary of the board, in advocating the establishment of a bureau of child welfare, stated:

This phase of health activity in Mississippi has been neglected in the past. No special provision has been made for conserving the health of the children of the State. There is no greater need in Mississippi to-day than the study of infant mortality with the hope of reducing deaths among children less than 2 years of age. * * * When it is known that thousands of children die in Mississippi from preventable causes before reaching 2 years of age, it is imperative that steps be taken to check and control this slaughter of the innocents.²

SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE SURVEY.

Selection of counties.—A county in the southern part of the State, where some public health work had already been done by the Mississippi State Board of Health, in cooperation with the International Health Board (formerly the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission), was chosen as the field for a series of children's health conferences, which included the examination by a Government physician of children under 6, simple talks to parents, stereopticon views, and ex-

¹ Children's Bureau Publication No. 26, *Maternity and Infant Care in a Rural County in Kansas*; Children's Bureau Publication No. 34, *Maternity Care and the Welfare of Young Children in a Homesteading County in Montana*; Children's Bureau Publication No. 46, *Maternity and Infant Care in Two Rural Counties in Wisconsin*; Children's Bureau Publication No. 33, *Rural Children in Selected Counties of North Carolina*.

² Report of the State Board of Health of Mississippi, June 1, 1915, to June 30, 1917, p. 17, Jackson, Miss., 1918.

hibits relating to child care. For the intensive survey of maternity and infant welfare a county in the northern part of the State was selected which was typical of the "hill country" of that part of the State in respect to the conditions of child care, general economic and farming conditions, and racial and industrial distribution of population. Comparatively little public health work had been done in the county, and while it was not progressive in this respect, neither was it the most backward in the State. The study was confined to rural communities in the northern county; the two county seats, towns of about 500 and 4,500 inhabitants where strictly rural conditions did not prevail, were not included in the area studied.

Sources of information.—General information was secured from the county health officer, the county superintendent of schools, the county agricultural agent, the home demonstration agent, from physicians, and from many other responsible persons in the county. But in this, as in all similar surveys made by the Children's Bureau, the information most pertinent to child and maternity care was secured through personal interviews with individual mothers by the woman agents of the bureau. Effort was made to secure interviews with the mother of every baby born in the area studied between April 1, 1916, and April 1, 1918. Information was obtained in regard to 685 babies (299 white and 386 colored) born to 675 mothers (295 white and 380 colored). In a few cases in which it was impossible to see either the mother or the father, information was secured from relatives and others in a position to know the facts sought. The local registrars for births and deaths helped in finding all the babies within the scope of the survey, and death certificates for all babies whose deaths had been registered were secured at the beginning of the work. Since birth registration was incomplete, a house-to-house canvass was made of the county.

MAIN FEATURES IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF FAMILIES VISITED.

The county in which the intensive survey was made is located in the northern part of the State and is typical of the "hill country" of Mississippi with rolling hills, open fields, broad fertile river bottoms, and a good deal of cut-over woodland.

POPULATION.

The census of 1910 showed that the percentage of Negroes in Mississippi, 56 per cent, was greater than for any other State in the Union,¹ and in the county studied more than half the total population of 22,959 was Negro.² Of the mothers interviewed 56 per cent were Negro, and only 1 mother was foreign born.

Urban and rural population.—About 20 per cent of the population was urban, owing to the fact that there was one city of 4,649 inhabitants.³ In spite of its size it exerted very little more influence for progress than did the other county seat, a village of about 500 inhabitants. The population of the county exclusive of these two towns was about 17,800 in 1918. Scattered over the county there were eight small towns in which living conditions were essentially rural. They varied in size from 10 to 475 inhabitants and contained from 1 to 12 stores. None of these towns had more than one physician in regular practice, and three had no physician at all. All but one had post offices and all but two were on the railroad. Of these two, one was about 7, the other about 9 miles from a railroad station. In none of them was there a town water supply or sewerage system.

Density of population.—In 1910 the density of the rural population of the State was 34.3 persons per square mile, of the county 35.2 persons per square mile.⁴ In the open country it was seldom more than a quarter of a mile from one house to the next, and even in the rougher parts of the county it was unusual to visit a family who had no neighbors in sight. This was quite different from the county

¹ Thirteenth Census, 1910, Population, vol. 1, p. 135.

² Estimated for Apr. 15, 1918, on basis of Thirteenth Census, 1910, Population, vol. 2, p. 1058.

³ Estimated for Apr. 15, 1918, on basis of figures given, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Population, vol. 2, pp. 1035 and 1058.

⁴ Thirteenth Census, 1910, Population, vol. 2, pp. 1044-1058.

studied in Montana, where it was unusual to find families living less than one-half mile apart. Most of the Negroes lived on the river bottoms as tenants on the large plantations, while the whites lived in the hills where the plantations had been broken up into small farms.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

Railroads.—Two divisions of the Illinois Central Railroad crossed the county from north to south. Stations were only from 4 to 7 miles apart. None of the families visited lived more than 10 miles from a railroad station. The large markets were St. Louis and Memphis. Shipments of cotton, hay, cattle, hogs, and other produce were arranged for in carload lots by the county agricultural agent. Only a very small part of the stock and grain raised in the county was used by the local market.

Roads and mail service.—On account of the many hills and gullies even the public roads were winding and had many steep grades. The soil was so sandy that the roads dried quickly, and so loose that they washed out easily and needed constant care to keep them in condition. However, the main roads were usually very good and well graded, and practically every part of the county was accessible by automobile. Even in bad weather the roads were seldom impassable for more than a few days at a time, and only a few instances were reported where a father had difficulty because of bad roads in getting a doctor or midwife to attend a confinement. According to the southern custom, most of the houses were not on the main road but back on the plantations. The roads leading to them were private and not so well worn or well kept as the public roads. Some of the houses were $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles from the main road; a few were almost inaccessible by automobile even when the weather was good, because the roads leading to them were rough and steep or the bridges insecure.

Good roads made possible daily mail delivery for every part of the county. No place in the county was more than 3 miles from a rural mail delivery route and most places were not so far away as this.

Telephones.—Telephone lines followed most of the main roads. Of the 675 families visited, 84 white families and 2 colored had telephones in the homes. Nearly one-half were less than a mile from some neighbor who had a telephone, 182 were 1 to 3 miles distant, and only 20 of the families (19 of them colored) were reported as living over 5 miles from a telephone. Only 4 mothers reported trouble in getting a physician for confinement because the telephone service was cut off.

FARMING CONDITIONS.

Over four-fifths of the land of the county was in farms,⁵ but it was estimated by the county agricultural agent that about one-half of this land was still unimproved, although more was being brought under cultivation each year. Much of the land under cultivation had not yet been cleared of stumps, and in many fields the trees had been girdled instead of cut in order that the land might be immediately planted in cotton or corn. Nearly one-half the farm acreage of the county was in woodland.⁶

Soils.—The soil of the bottom lands, though liable to overflow, afforded some of the best farming land of the State, while the upland soil was probably more suitable for grazing than for any other purpose. To quote from the State geological survey:

Most of this region has been long in cultivation. The high, well-drained condition of the surface, the healthfulness of the climate and the fertility of the soil at an early period in the State's development invited settlement. In the antebellum days, under slavery régime, these lands were owned and worked in large plantations. As elsewhere in the State, cotton was the staple crop with just enough corn to supply the needs of the plantation. The methods of cultivation were very exhausting to the soil. Crops were, year after year, taken off the land and nothing returned to it.⁷

The report states further that the exclusive cultivation of cotton exhausted the humus and other elements of fertility. Since the Civil War the exhaustion of these lands had been more rapid than ever before, and careless terracing or circling of the hill slopes had caused many of them to wash out badly. It was only within the past few years that agricultural methods had begun to show improvement.

Climate.—Hot weather usually continues unbroken from the latter part of May to early October, and farmers count on a frost-free growing season of about seven months. The temperature does not rise any higher than it does in some northern States, but the long-continued unbroken heat and the humidity makes the climate more enervating. Only occasionally in a severe winter does the thermometer drop below zero.

The rainfall is well distributed throughout the year but the heaviest occurs in the late winter and early spring. The total precipitation for the year 1917 was 53.98 inches.⁸ The snowfall is slight, even in the northern part of the State. The prevailing winds are from the south. Tropical storms and thunder showers which cause great damage to crops are not infrequent.

⁵ Thirteenth Census, 1910, Agriculture, Vol. VI, pp. 870–871.

⁶ Thirteenth Census, 1910, Agriculture, Vol. VI, pp. 870–871.

⁷ Mississippi State Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 12, p. 213, Jackson, Miss., 1915.

⁸ Climatological data, Mississippi Section Annual Summary, 1917, p. 101.

Crops and live stock.—Until 1911, when the boll weevil appeared in the county, cotton was by far the most important crop and a large part of the foodstuffs consumed was imported. With the dwindling of the cotton crop to about one-third its former size, other crops had assumed a greater relative importance and more attention had been given to stock raising. Diversified farming had reacted beneficially on the people as well as on the soil. They no longer staked a whole year's effort on one crop nor depended on the market value of that crop to buy their foodstuffs. One of the illiterate colored farmers said that he and his fellow tenants on the plantation had been much more prosperous and independent since each household had begun to raise its own grain and meat and garden produce. For the first time in years they had been able to get out of debt at harvest time.

There were as yet few stock or dairy farms, but practically every farmer in the county was raising a few hogs and cattle for market, and a few farmers were shipping milk to a creamery outside the county. About three-fourths of the families visited owned some cattle and about the same number were reported as keeping hogs. Some mules and horses and a few sheep and goats were raised for the market. The number of sheep had decreased considerably since the law requiring the fencing of pastures made their upkeep more expensive. Of the 674 families reporting, 280 of the white and 279 of the colored families had milch cows. In 46 cases the family did not own the cow, but had the use of her as part of the rental contract or in return for some service. Fifteen white and 100 colored families neither owned, hired, nor had the use of a cow. It must be taken into consideration, however, that not all the families reporting cows had fresh milk all the year round, and the importance of milk in the children's diet needed emphasis here as in many other farming districts.

Plantation system of land tenure.—The conditions of tenant farming in the area studied were peculiar to the plantations of the South, the form of tenure having been developed there in the reconstruction period to supplant slavery conditions. To quote from the special study of plantation areas in the South made by the census in 1910:

A large proportion of the tenants in the South actually occupied a very different economic position from that usually occupied by tenants in other parts of the country. The plantation as a unit for general purposes of administration has not disappeared, and in many cases the tenants on plantations are subjected to quite as complete supervision by the owner, general lessee, or hired manager as that to which the wage laborers are subjected on large farms in the North and West, and indeed in the South. Where this is the case a tenant is very similar in his economic position to the hired farm laborer, practically the only difference being that he confines his work to a

particular parcel of land which he works by himself and that he is paid by a share of the crop instead of by wages.*

Along with the plantation system of land tenure was the credit system peculiar to it. From the time, early in the year, when the tenant signed the contract until the crop was marketed the landlord "carried" him. Unless the planter wished to supply the tenant from his own commissary, he arranged credit for him through either a bank or a store for a weekly or monthly allowance for food and clothing, though in many cases the arrangements were less systematic. This advance, with interest, was deducted from the tenant's share of the crop at harvest. Since the colored tenant was usually ignorant and often illiterate, the bookkeeping was completely in the hands of the landlord; and there was, without question, some exploitation. One tenant working in partnership with another reported that after deductions had been made for the debts incurred for her living expenses she received \$5 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ loads of corn as earnings for the year's work.

Tenure and acreage.—The plantation system necessitated a large proportion of tenant farmers. Fifty-six per cent of the white families on farms were tenants and 89 per cent of the colored. Of the families who were reported as having farms, 75 per cent were tenants, 22 per cent owners, while for the remaining number the form of tenure was too irregular to be classified because the farmers were working farms belonging to their relatives, who in the majority of cases lived with the family but took only a minor part, if any, in the management and operation of the farm. Altogether only 45 farmers were renting on a cash basis or were paying a standard rent of a fixed amount of produce (usually a bale of cotton), while by far the greater proportion (over 80 per cent) of the tenants were renting on shares. Thirty per cent of the white and 68 per cent of the Negro tenant farmers were renting on half shares. Economically these were the lowest in the scale. The farm implements and work animals they used were owned by the landlord. More than four-fifths of the tenants of this class owned neither a horse nor a mule; about two-fifths owned no cattle; and nearly one-third owned no pigs. A quarter share rental was reported by 67 tenant farmers and 54 were paying one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn. Cash and standard-rent tenants received but little supervision, but the share tenants were supervised with regard to the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the crops.

Most of the small farms were in the rougher parts of the county, while the rich bottom lands were held by large plantation owners.

* U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Plantation Farming in the United States*, p. 7. Washington, 1916.

The number of small farms was large, but most of the land in the county was in large holdings. For the 121 farm owners for whom acreage was reported, 21 had farms of less than 50 acres, 28 had farms of 50 to 100 acres, and 35 had farms of 100 to 175 acres. There were 11 farms of 500 acres or more, and 2 of 1,000 or more. Farms belonging to colored farmers averaged smaller than those belonging to white farmers. The average size of farms among tenants was much smaller than among owners, because it was not customary for a man to rent more land than he and his family could work by their own labor, and furthermore rented farms included little unimproved land, while practically one-half of the land of the owned farm was not under cultivation. Of the tenants reporting acreage, 42 had farms of from 10 to 20 acres; 116 (nearly one-half) had farms of from 20 to 30 acres; and 57, farms of from 30 to 50 acres. There were only 20 tenant farms of more than 50 acres and none of more than 260 acres.

Removals from farm to farm.—As may be expected in a section where the proportion of tenant farmers is large, there was considerable moving from one farm to another. Nearly one-third of the families visited reported that they had lived in their present dwelling less than a year. Seventy-five families (1 in 9) had lived on the average less than a year in a place during married life, and nearly one-half of the families visited had lived on an average less than three years in a place. One mother said she had moved so many times she could not keep count of the number, while in another family the older daughter said they had moved every two years since she could remember. Families who move every year or two do not stay in one neighborhood long enough to get the full benefit of the schools, churches, and other community enterprises, and they have little interest in community projects, such as the building of a county hospital or the employment of a county nurse.

Removals were naturally more frequent among tenants than among farm owners. As the share tenant was supplied not only with a house but with most of his furniture, farm implements, and stock, moving was a relatively simple operation, in many cases consisting of loading all his household goods and family into a one-horse wagon and moving over to another farm without losing any time from work. The most shifting element of the population was the white tenant farmer. Only about 1 in 8 had stayed for an average of three years or more in one place. On the whole removals among the colored families were but little more frequent than among white families. The tendency to remain for a long time on one farm seemed to be stronger among the Negro than among the white families, considering the fact that the proportion of tenant families was much greater among the Negroes. Many spent their whole lives on one plantation.

Occupation of chief breadwinner.—In 93 per cent of the families visited the chief breadwinner was a farmer, farm manager, or farm laborer. Only 39 per cent of the white and 9 per cent of the colored farmers were farm owners. Of the remaining 7 per cent nearly one-half were railroad employees and the rest were professional men, merchants, salesmen, postal employees, or skilled mechanics. In 2 white and 16 colored families the mother was the chief breadwinner; 13 of these mothers were farmers, and 1 was a farm laborer.

ILLITERACY AND EDUCATION.

Illiteracy.—Illiteracy and low standards of education were serious enough in this part of the State to present a real obstacle to better health work. Many a mother refused to take the Children's Bureau pamphlets on Infant Care and Prenatal Care because she could not read and had no one who could read them to her. The percentage of illiteracy was much greater among the Negro than among the white parents, and the percentage of illiteracy among fathers was higher than among mothers. Of the white families visited, 9 fathers and 8 mothers were reported as illiterate, while of the colored families 110 fathers and 100 mothers were thus reported. In 5 white and 48 colored families neither parent could read or write. The figures for illiteracy indicate to only a small extent the ignorance which existed among most of the white tenant farmers and Negroes. These people had very few books and subscribed for practically no magazines or papers, and were unable to use readily the means which the more intelligent and progressive farmers employed to counteract the isolation of rural life.

Schools.—The schools of the county were handicapped by the lack of a compulsory education law.¹⁰ When school attendance is voluntary it is likely to be irregular. The school session came in the months when it was least likely to interrupt farm work, and this made the term fall within the period of bad weather which caused much irregularity of attendance. The term, too, was so short that many children forgot between terms what they had learned, and many left school with only a slight knowledge of reading and writing. The term for rural schools for white children was five months in the southwestern part of the county and five and a half months

¹⁰ A compulsory education law requiring 60 days' attendance, with exemptions, went into effect Sept. 1, 1918. This law was applicable only to those counties which elected to come under its provisions. (Mississippi Acts of 1918, ch. 258.) A new law requiring 80 days' attendance, with exemptions, went into effect Aug. 1, 1920. This law applied to the entire State, but permitted any county to release itself from the provisions of the act by a majority vote of the qualified electors at an election held for that purpose. (Mississippi Acts of 1920, ch. 156.)

in the northeastern, the difference being due to the additional income in the northeastern part of the county from the Chickasaw fund. Terms in the colored schools averaged about four months. Three or four districts levied a special tax for a longer term. Teachers of the first or highest grade ("grade" being based on educational requirements and type of examinations passed) were required to have only a common-school education. Practically all of the white teachers were of the first grade, with salaries averaging \$50 a month. Most of the colored teachers were of the third grade, with salaries ranging from \$16 to \$25 a month.¹¹ The rural schoolhouse served to some extent as a social center for the community. Some of the schoolhouses were well-constructed buildings, while some were rough, unceiled frame houses with uncomfortable homemade benches. Several of them had no toilet facilities whatever. At the time of the survey the county had no consolidated schools, but in one or two localities there were good prospects that such schools would soon be established.

Home demonstration and agricultural agents.—The home demonstration agent of the county, employed under the joint supervision of the State and the United States Department of Agriculture, worked with the women and girls to promote better methods of household economy. She organized in close cooperation with the schools canning clubs, poultry clubs, and home economics clubs. An important part of her work was the promotion of better care and more intelligent feeding of babies and children. The first public-health nurse in the county will find her work made easier by the organizations already formed and methods already put in practice by the home demonstration agents. The agricultural agent worked with the men much as the home demonstration agent worked with the women. He made a scientific study of the soils of the county, advised the farmers in methods of cultivation and stock raising and promoted cooperative seed buying and the cooperative sale of farm products.

PUBLIC HEALTH WORK IN THE COUNTY.

The county was at the time of this survey the unit of administration in public-health work in Mississippi. One of the physicians resident in a county was appointed as health officer. His duties were to make monthly statements of mortality statistics compiled from the reports of the registrars of the various voting precincts of the county, to enforce quarantine regulations, and to act as assistant sanitary inspector in enforcing the rules of the State board of health in regard to the sanitation of public buildings, markets, milk depots,

¹¹ Statement of county superintendent of schools.

etc.¹² He was charged also with the enforcement of the law passed in January, 1916, for the prevention of blindness in the new born, which involved the recording of all cases of ophthalmia neonatorum, and the registration of the midwives of the county and their instruction in the use of the prophylactic measures prescribed by the law.¹³ Most of the county health officers of the State worked only on part time and had to depend upon private practice for their living. Salaries of these part-time officers varied from \$150 to \$1,800 a year. The officer of the county studied received about \$300 a year. In reviewing the results of this type of organization the secretary of the State board of health wrote as follows:

In many of the counties the part-time man achieves results for which he is by no means compensated. In the main, the part-time county health officers of Mississippi have been, so far as the system will permit, reasonably effective public-health workers. But * * * this business of conserving the public health requires the undivided and aggressive effort of those who serve in this capacity.¹⁴

Special emphasis had been laid upon campaigns against the diseases peculiar to the region—pellagra, malaria, hookworm, and soil-pollution diseases. Special effort to reach rural districts had been made through the Division of Rural Sanitation.¹⁵ In 1914 a study of the dietary causes of pellagra was made in cooperation with the United States Public Health Service in two orphanages in Jackson.¹⁶ Intensive work had also been done on malaria. In 1910 the State board of health, in cooperation with the counties and the International Health Board, formerly the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, began a State-wide survey of hookworm and soil pollution. None of the intensive health work had been done in the county studied because it is not situated in the part of the State where these diseases were most prevalent. The preliminary survey had shown that the infection from hookworm based on the examination of 570 children in the county was only 2.3 per cent.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the propaganda attendant upon this work in other parts of the State had undoubtedly had some influence. The local physicians had done some educational work in connection with their practices. One physician said that when he began to practice, most of his time was taken up with treatment of malaria. His insistent warnings against

¹² Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 166-201. Jackson, Miss., 1918.

¹³ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 301-302. Jackson, Miss., 1918.

¹⁴ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 21-22. Jackson, Miss., 1918.

¹⁵ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 29-30. Jackson, Miss., 1918.

¹⁶ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 309-310.

¹⁷ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1913-1915, p. 26.

mosquitoes had resulted in the screening of many of the homes in his community and a decrease in the prevalence of malaria. Another, in connection with his typhoid cases, had raised the standards of sanitation and cleanliness in some of the country homes.

HOUSING AND SANITATION.

Houses.—The three-room one-story house with a wide, open passage from front to back and chimneys for fireplaces at each end of the building was the type of farmhouse most often seen. Sometimes a porch extended across the whole front of the house, sometimes a kitchen was built on at the back. Many of the larger houses were built on much the same plan, while the smaller houses had a chimney at only one end. Many of the cabins were of rough boards or logs with generous cracks between. Only about 4 per cent of the houses were plastered on the inside, and about 30 per cent were finished with ceiling. A few of the board houses were finished with a second layer of boards on the inside; some were not even clapboarded. Many were papered with newspapers to keep out the cold. Some of the poorer cabins had no glass windows, but merely holes in the walls fitted with wooden shutters; when these shutters were closed the house was dark except for the light that came in through the cracks. Comparatively few houses were painted; some were whitewashed inside and out.

The houses among the Negroes were on the whole much poorer than those of white families, many of them being old ramshackle cabins in wretched condition. Less than 1 per cent were plastered and only 21 per cent were ceiled. For the greater part of the year such houses were comfortable, but in the few winter months there was real suffering from the cold. Over 96 per cent of the houses were set up on piles so that the circulation of air underneath might make them cooler and drier; unless this space under the house was inclosed, chickens, pigs, cats, and dogs used it as a shelter. The houses of the prosperous white planters were comfortably furnished, but many of the tenant cabins had only the most necessary things—a bed, a few chairs, and a table. In some houses rough homemade benches took the place of chairs; homemade cradles, beds, and tables were often seen.

Overcrowding.—It is surprising to find that there are as serious instances of overcrowding in the country as in large cities, but the fact that there is no crowding of one house against another does not insure plenty of room inside the house. When a family of 8 members or more lives in a house of two rooms or less (17 of the families were thus reported), there is bound to be crowding, lack of privacy, and inconvenience for the housekeeper, no matter how much space there may be outside the house.

The size of the families varied from 2 persons to 16; about 85 per cent of the white families had from 3 to 8 members; most of the Negro families had from 3 to 11 members. Fifteen colored families had 12 or more members, 4 had 14 or more. The house most commonly found had three rooms, but many of the families visited were living in smaller quarters; 15 families had only one room, and 117, or 17 per cent, had two-room houses. Less than one-half of the families visited were living in houses of four rooms or more.

Forty per cent of the families visited reported 2 or more persons per room; 10 white and 70 colored families were living with 3 or more persons to a room. About one-third of the white families reported 2 to 3 persons per sleeping room; about one-fourth 3 to 4 persons per sleeping room; 28, or nearly one-tenth, reported 4 to 5 persons per sleeping room. There were 27 instances of 5 or more persons per sleeping room. Only 23 per cent reported less than 2 persons per sleeping room. Overcrowding of sleeping rooms in Negro families was still more evident. More than two-thirds reported 3 persons or more per sleeping room, and only 6 per cent less than 2 persons. In 43 families (over 11 per cent) there were 6 or more persons per sleeping room; 6 cases were found of 8 in one sleeping room, 3 instances of 9, and 3 cases of 10 persons sleeping in one room.

Screening.—Even in northern Mississippi the climate is such that screening against mosquitoes is desirable as a precaution against malaria. Flies should be kept out of the house to guard against contamination of food, and in the summer screens are very desirable to keep chickens and live stock out of the house. In one of the homes visited, a goat was wandering around inside the house, and in other cases chickens had come in and made themselves at home on the beds. Only 23 per cent of the white families and 3 per cent of the colored families were living in houses screened at all doors and windows. One of the fathers said that he had done his best to screen the house, but there were so many cracks in the walls and floor that flies and mosquitoes came in anyhow.

Water supply.—The geologic formation was such that good water was easily obtainable.¹⁸ Flowing wells varying in depth from 160 to 200 feet were found at both county seats and along the river bottoms. Among the families visited, 41 reported a drilled well, in many cases an artesian well, as the source of water supply; 156 families reported springs; 9 secured their water from a river or creek; 16 used cisterns; 109 had bored wells; and 344 (51 per cent) had dug wells. The artesian wells furnished much the cleanest water, since they were drilled to a considerable depth and the piping kept

¹⁸ Crider, A. F., and Johnson, L. C.: Summary of the Underground Water Resources of Mississippi, p. 39. Water Supply and Irrigation Paper No. 159, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, 1906.

were superior to the colored, as all could read and write, while two-thirds of the colored midwives were illiterate; but on the whole the white midwives did not differ either in training or practice from the Negro midwives. The information gleaned from the interviews disclosed the fact that none of the midwives had had adequate training, and most of them lacked even the elementary education that would make such training possible.

Various accounts were given as to the training received to fit them for midwifery and the reasons for adopting this practice. Some of them had been taken to confinement cases and taught by physicians; some were midwives because their mothers and grandmothers had been; others had become experienced in handling emergencies or in bearing their own children; while still others said that they had been "called by the Lord." Many of them believed in various superstitions such as "Girls come at the full moon and boys on the new moon," and "Babies born on a wasting moon haven't all their senses." One midwife always cut the cord long because she had heard the saying, "Long cord, long life." Many of the midwives were very old; and decrepit, before-the-war "aunties" had more prestige among their neighbors than any of the younger midwives. One of those interviewed said: "I'm not going out on night cases any more, because I'm getting old and can't keep awake."

Some of their methods were amazingly primitive. Over nine-tenths used no antiseptics whatever in making preparations for delivery; one said: "No washing is necessary if grease is used plentifully." Various questionable expedients were used to bring the afterbirth; some of the midwives used a method of warming the patient suddenly by putting her over a bucket of hot ashes or burning feathers, while two advocated putting an umbrella or a black hat over her face. Some of the more intelligent ones knew that childbed fever was caused by uncleanness and tried to guard against it, but among many the old custom still held of not changing the bed coverings for at least three days.

Many of them said that they always called a doctor when any complication occurred, but several told of attending cases of adherent afterbirth, severe hemorrhage, breech presentation, prolonged labor, and stillbirth without the aid of a physician, and it is probably true that many of them failed to recognize minor complications and mild cases of childbed fever. The midwife's most dangerous fault was her failure to recognize her own limitations; ignorance prevented her from recognizing cases where the attention of a physician was imperative, and in many cases it fostered a fatalistic attitude which was manifested in such expressions as "Women are born to suffer and it's wrong to interfere," and "If the baby is born to die, nothing can be done."

Several of the more intelligent midwives said that they would be glad to have a county nurse to advise them and to teach them better methods of practice. At the time of the survey there were no rural county nurses in the State, and practically nothing had been done in the area studied in regard to the supervision of midwives beyond urging them to register births. In 1916 the State legislature passed a bill for the prevention of blindness from inflammation of the eyes of the newborn, and the State board of health (1917), in the enforcement of the law, required that all midwives register with the county health officer at least once a year; that all midwives as well as physicians use a 1 per cent solution of silver nitrate in the eyes of every newborn baby, and report cases of inflammation of the eyes within six hours after they had been observed. At the time of the survey the law was not being enforced in the county, as was shown by the fact that only 3 of the 87 midwives interviewed reported having used any drops in the eyes at birth.

MATERNITY HISTORIES OF MOTHERS VISITED.

The maternity histories obtained from the mothers showed frequent pregnancies and large families. It was customary for girls to marry early and to begin bearing children when quite young. Almost one-tenth of the mothers whose ages at marriage were reported had been married before they were 16 years of age; one-third of them before 18; and slightly over three-fifths before 20. Very early marriages were more common among the colored mothers than among the white; about 1 in 8 had married before the age of 16 (two at less than 14), and nearly two-fifths when less than 18. Of the white mothers 13 said they had been less than 17 years old at the time of their first confinement, and 102 under 20. Of the colored mothers, 79 reported the first confinement at less than 17 years, and 227 under 20 years. About 1 in 7 of the mothers visited had been under 20 when the baby scheduled was born, and 28 of these had had two or three previous confinements. Nearly one-half (318) were in the age group 20 to 30 years; less than one-third were in the group 30 to 40 years. More than one-half of all mothers had had four or more pregnancies, and nearly one-fourth had had seven or more. Eighteen per cent of the white mothers and 28 per cent of the Negro mothers had had more than 6 pregnancies. One white mother and 9 Negro mothers had had more than 12 pregnancies.

Sixty-four of the 380 Negro mothers were unmarried at the time the baby scheduled was born; 52 had never been married; 6 had been married at some time previous; 6 were married after the baby was born. Half these mothers were under 20 years of age, 7 were under 17 years of age. Fifty per cent had had one or more pregnancies previous to the birth of the baby scheduled.

PRENATAL CARE.

Mothers receiving prenatal care.—The figures relating to prenatal care point plainly to the conclusion that lack of prenatal care was due in large measure to ignorance of the need for it. Only 116 mothers, about 1 in 6, had any prenatal care whatever, and of these only 9 had care because they thought that pregnancy was in itself a reason for seeking medical advice. In only 9 cases of the 116 could the care received be classed as fair, and in only 1 case was the prenatal care adequate.² Of these 10 mothers who had adequate or fair care, all had either had difficulties in previous confinements or such illness during pregnancy that attention from a physician seemed imperative.

The standards of maternity care were much lower among the Negroes than among the whites, the proportion of Negro mothers receiving some prenatal care being just about half that for the white mothers. Only 45 of the Negro mothers, 12 per cent, had any care at all, and only 1 of these had fair care; 10 had a physical examination and 3 a urinalysis.

While illness seemed to have been responsible for prenatal care in the majority of cases, it can not be assumed that all mothers who felt the need of care sought a physician. One white mother said that she did not feel well all through her pregnancy, though not sick enough to call a doctor. One of her older daughters was strong enough to do the housework so the family could get along. Another mother said she suffered a great deal from varicose veins but did not see a physician. Still another had no prenatal care, even though hardly able to be about during the last three months of pregnancy.

Although ignorance of the need of good prenatal care was in a large measure accountable for its lack, yet there were other factors that entered in, such as family income, distance from doctor, and traveling facilities. It is significant that the proportion of mothers receiving prenatal care was highest among families in which the chief breadwinner was not a farmer, and that they lived in or near towns, not far from a doctor. The heads of these families were for the most part ministers, doctors, merchants, salesmen, skilled mechanics, and railroad employees in the towns; over three-fourths of them were white.

² Prenatal care was classed as: *Adequate*, if there had been a monthly urinalysis, fifth to ninth months; if the mother had been under the supervision of a physician, fifth to ninth months; if an abdominal examination had been made, and, in the case of a first child, if pelvic measurements had been taken. *Fair*, if urinalysis had been made but less than five times at monthly intervals, if the mother had had some supervision by a physician, and if an abdominal examination had been made, and, in case of a first child, if pelvic measurements had been taken. *Inadequate*, if there had been visits to a physician, but no urinalysis, no abdominal examination, or, in the case of a first child, no pelvic measurements. Urinalysis with no visits to physician was also counted as inadequate care.

Analysis of care given.—In the majority of cases of women receiving some kind of prenatal care the matter ended when the mother had seen a physician. There was no realization of the importance of urinalysis, still less of abdominal and pelvic examination. Study of the number of visits, urinalysis, and kind of physical examinations made brought out the fact that 9 of the 116 mothers receiving care had urinalysis only, and did not see a physician personally. Of the 107 mothers reporting visits to or from a physician, 53 reported a single visit. Less than one-third of the 116 mothers had one or more urinalyses made during pregnancy, and 92 per cent of these mothers were white. It is interesting to consider some of the few cases in which the need of such care was realized. One mother had learned through reading and through consultation with a trained nurse that monthly urinalysis should be made, and accordingly sent specimens to her physician during the last five months of pregnancy, although she did not see him personally. In another instance the grandmother who came to stay with the mother insisted upon urinalysis because she had heard that serious complications might result from kidney trouble. One mother during pregnancy had convulsions which her physician said were caused by kidney trouble and necessitated regular urinalysis, but she insisted that they were caused by a sunstroke she had had as a girl, and refused to send specimens after the second time. Her attitude is typical of a large proportion of mothers visited. In one case a mother who had had alarming symptoms during pregnancy had been told by her physician to send specimens of urine for examination, but her husband, more through ignorance than ill nature, refused to act as messenger.

Only four of the midwives reported it as their custom to see the mother during pregnancy; six said they might make some examination if they happened to see the mother before confinement. There were often chance meetings, of course, during which the mother casually sought advice; some mothers consulted the midwife when they came to engage her, and some called her in when they were not feeling as well as they thought they should; but for the great majority of confinement cases the midwife was summoned only after labor had begun.

Use of home remedies during pregnancy.—Aside from the advice which can properly be classed as prenatal care, some mothers learned something about prenatal care through reading or took medicine not prescribed by a doctor. Two were instructed by a trained nurse. A few consulted midwives, but in the majority of cases the advice given could not be considered any better than that which might have been given by any experienced neighbor. Advice was also picked up

from various other sources. One mother used liniment purchased from an agent who was canvassing the county; while another said she had written to a firm in a northern city for medicine. More than one-half (most of them Negroes) of those who used home remedies said that they took some kind of patent medicine. One mother said she had taken six bottles of a patent medicine during her last pregnancy, and another said that she had taken "more patent medicines than she could mention" during the 10 years she had been "complaining." Simple home remedies, such as castor oil, magnesia, calomel, kerosene, and camphor, were also used, and several Negro mothers said they took teas of various kinds, such as "tansy tea" or "pepper tea."

Information through reading.—Thirty-two white mothers and 14 colored had read something about the care needed by a pregnant woman. It can not be supposed, however, that the literature read was really instructive in every case, for almost none of the books mentioned were standard. Several were general "doctor books," which dealt with many subjects besides childbirth; others were pamphlets or almanacs published as advertisements; while many others were advertisements designed primarily to promote the sale of patent medicines. More than one-half of the Negro mothers who said they had received some instruction through reading had only read advertisements of this kind. Probably only the 19 mothers who read the current women's magazines and farm papers received on the whole up-to-date and authoritative instruction.

ATTENDANT AT CONFINEMENT.

Kind of attendant.—Only two-fifths of all the mothers studied were attended by a physician at confinement, while nearly three-fifths were attended by midwives. The remainder, only 4 per cent, were attended either by their husbands or by other women who were not midwives. One mother had no attendant at all. In a few instances some attempt was made to secure a physician, but the call did not reach him on account of interrupted telephone service or bad roads. In several of these latter cases the mother was attended by a wholly inexperienced person or by a Negro midwife. One mother told of being alone with her sister and husband when the baby was born. Her husband, realizing that the baby would be born before the doctor could possibly arrive, called in his wife's sister. She knew nothing about confinement cases, but "risked cutting the cord." Others told of very similar experiences.

Number and per cent distribution of scheduled mothers of specified race according to attendant at confinement.

Attendant at confinement.	Total mothers.		Race of mother.			
			White.		Negro.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total confinements.....	675	100.0	295	100.0	380	100.0
Physician.....	266	39.4	234	79.3	32	8.4
Midwife.....	382	56.6	48	16.3	334	87.9
Other woman.....	24	3.6	12	4.1	12	3.2
Father.....	2	.3	1	.3	1	.3
None.....	1	.1	0	.....	1	.3

The choice between physician and widwife seemed to depend in some degree upon custom. Seventy-nine per cent of the white women were attended by physicians, while nearly 88 per cent of the colored mothers were attended by midwives. One instance was found of a Negro family who lived in town only a few blocks from a physician, but sent 3 miles into the country for a colored midwife. The proportion of native white mothers attended by a physician at confinement was the highest that had been found in any rural district studied by the Children's Bureau except the one surveyed in Kansas. However, it was lower than any of the cities studied by the bureau. A physician had been in attendance at every confinement for about two-thirds of the white mothers, but for only 3 per cent of the Negro mothers. Moreover, 11 of the 13 Negro mothers had had but one confinement. The custom among the Negroes seemed to be to call a physician only when some complication arose which the midwife could not handle. There were, however, 23 white mothers who had never had a doctor at confinement, and 14 of these had had three or more pregnancies. Of the total confinements to all mothers (3,017), 64 per cent were attended by midwives or other women and 35 per cent by physicians. Of the remaining 1 per cent of the confinements reported, 16 were attended by the father and for 11 there was no attendant.

The difference in the choice of attendant might have been due partly to the difference in economic well-being between the white and colored families. On the whole, the Negro families were much poorer than the white, and since the midwife's fee was so much lower than a physician's the choice of attendant was in many cases conditioned by the family's ability to pay. The percentage of mothers, both white and colored, who were attended by a physician

at confinement was much higher among those families living on farms of their own than among farm tenants, and was lowest among the half-share tenants.

Distance from attendant.—Another factor that entered into the choice of attendant at confinement was the distance the physician had to travel to reach the patient. Sixty-six white families were living 7 miles or more from a doctor, and on the other hand 155 white families, more than half, were less than 5 miles from a doctor. For white families the proportion of mothers attended by physicians was lower for those living 7 miles or more from a doctor than for those living nearer, and the proportion of cases attended by midwives was higher. In this connection, however, transportation facilities and the condition of the roads must be taken into account. All mothers, both white and colored, who lived in the more remote parts of the county ran greater risks at confinement than those in or near towns, because of the time and difficulty usually involved in getting a physician in an emergency, but under favorable conditions it was usually possible even for families living far from town to get a physician in time. There were, however, instances of unfortunate combinations of circumstances which prevented the mother from securing a physician for confinement. One mother told of difficulty at confinement because the first physician they called was ill and the next one was away on another case, so that she was alone with her husband and a neighbor when the baby was born. Another mother told of failure to get a physician because a man had taken down some of the telephone wire to repair his wagon. Still another had a baby born in January when a severe storm was raging. The telephone was out of order and her husband had to go through the storm to use a neighbor's telephone. He succeeded in reaching the doctor, but the latter was delayed by having to heat water in order to start his car, and when he finally reached his patient the baby had been born two hours. By that time the grandmother had cut the cord and rendered the other necessary services.

There were many midwives scattered through the different sections of the county and probably no family lived more than 2 or 3 miles from one.

CARE OF THE MOTHER AFTER DELIVERY.

Medical care.—Only one-third of the 266 mothers who were attended by a physician at confinement reported any after care by a physician; 46 received but one visit, 25 received three or more, and only five reported more than six visits. Of the 25 confinements for which the physician made three or more visits, 14 were cases in which either the mother or the baby was in a serious condition after delivery.

In 6 of the 11 remaining cases the family was living less than a mile from the attending physician, and in 3 other cases the mothers were the wives of prosperous farmers.

Nursing care.—One of the most serious obstacles to good maternity care was the scarcity of nursing care. There was no trained nurse working regularly in the area, and most of the practical nurses were midwives whose practice was largely among Negro mothers. Very few of them were really competent. Only 7 mothers of the 675 secured trained nurses, and less than one-fourth reported care by a practical nurse or midwife. It was also very hard to find anyone who could be hired to do the housework during the mother's lying-in period, and in the majority of cases the person who nursed the mother had most of the responsibility for the housework, too. This scarcity of help many times resulted in poor care for the mother and made her feel that she ought to get up at the first possible moment. One mother who had stayed in bed only a week explained that it was her custom to stay longer but that this time she could get no nurse; she was worried because the baby was not doing as well as he should, and she felt that she must get up to attend to him. Another said she had been unable to get either a trained or a practical nurse, even though all her children had whooping cough when she was confined. She finally secured a colored woman to care for her and do the housework. In another family the father nursed the mother while the older daughters, girls of 12 and 16, did all the housework and washing. One woman told of a miscarriage brought on by overwork in nursing her husband and her father at a time when no woman could be found to help with either the nursing or the housework.

Less than one-fourth of the midwives interviewed reported that they stayed in the mother's home a day or more after delivery; most of them stayed only a few hours. The majority of midwives went to see the mother afterwards from one to five times, but most of the care given during the lying-in period was for the baby rather than for the mother.

In about 1 case in 7 most of the nursing was done by the father. In about 1 case in 5 the nurse did not stay with the mother constantly, but came in for a few hours during the day. This practice was most common among the midwives, but there were other cases in which the mother depended upon daily visits from some neighbor for nursing care. In most cases such care was gratuitous—a neighborly service to be repaid only in kind. One mother said that her mother came in several times a day, but that it was a busy time on the farm and she was left alone much of the day with only the children to wait on her. Another said she secured a colored woman

to come and stay with her, and one of the neighbors to come in for an hour or so every day to bathe her and the baby.

In 72 cases the nurse left before the mother was able to be up, and in only 17 cases did the nurse stay until after the mother was able to be up for most of the day. In nearly two-fifths of all cases no extra person was called in, but the mother was cared for by some member of the household. Only about 21 per cent of the mothers had paid nursing care, and only 13 per cent paid for all nursing care received.

The quality of nursing care was on the whole much poorer for Negro mothers than for white. None had a trained nurse. Less than one-third had nursing care by a midwife or practical nurse, and one-third of these mothers had practical nurses who made only a few visits and did not stay in the mother's home. The percentage of mothers nursed only by their husbands was larger among Negro than among white families. Four had only such care as could be given by a child under 14 years of age—in one instance a little girl 5 years old. Two Negro mothers had no nursing care at all. Needless to say, these mothers got up as soon as possible after confinement.

Days in bed.—As a result of the scarcity of nurses, the pressure of work, and the inadequate supervision by physicians and midwives, many mothers did not have the rest in bed after delivery that is considered essential. Of the white mothers visited, there were 20, or 7 per cent, who stayed in bed less than a week, and nearly 60 per cent who stayed in bed 10 days or more. Of the Negro mothers, 150, or 39 per cent, stayed in bed less than a week, and 30 per cent 10 days or more. One Negro mother explained rather apologetically that she had stayed in bed for a week after the last baby was born, because the weather was so cold. Ordinarily she stayed only three days. In spite of the custom among many of the Negro mothers of staying in bed only a few days, some still held to the tradition that the mother should "stay in her month." One said that she had been told by the midwife who attended her first confinement to stay in bed for a month, and she had followed this advice at each of her four subsequent confinements.

The season of the year in which the confinement occurred determined to some extent the length of time which the mother spent in bed. One Negro mother explained that she stayed in bed for only four days with a "summer-time baby," but with one born at any other time of the year she stayed in bed longer. During the busy spring and fall seasons the mother was likely to feel that she ought to help if she possibly could, and even if she did not go into the fields for work herself she might try to release for field work those who were helping with the nursing and housework.

COSTS OF CONFINEMENT.

The costs of confinement tabulated for this study include the attendant's fee, the cost of prenatal care, the cost of hospital care, and the combined cost of nursing care and help with the housework; expenses for medicine and for extra supplies or transportation are not included.

Total costs and free service.—Of the white mothers who reported the cost of confinement, 62 per cent gave totals ranging from \$10 to \$25, and 16 per cent reported an expense of \$25 or over. Of the colored mothers who gave information on this point, 65 per cent reported a total cost of less than \$5 and 25 per cent a cost of less than \$2.50. These costs average lower than those found in any other rural district surveyed. In Kansas 54 per cent reported an expense of \$25 or over for confinement, while in Montana physicians' fees alone were usually over \$25 for confinement, prenatal care, and postnatal care. Forty-six mothers, 16 white and 30 colored, reported no money whatever paid out for the services specified. Analysis of cost by different items of expense shows that most mothers received free service of some kind. Forty received free care from the attendant midwife, and 4 paid nothing to the attendant physician. In 488 cases (three-fourths of the total reporting) there was nothing paid out for either nursing or housework. In such cases by far the largest item of expense was that for the attendant at confinement. Other costs rarely equaled or exceeded the attendant's fee, and in a great many instances it was the only expense incurred.

Costs itemized.—It was customary for the physician to charge a fee for confinement and, in addition, regular fees for each prenatal or postnatal visit, rather than a lump sum to cover all care during pregnancy and confinement. The physician's usual fee for a normal delivery was \$10 or \$15. Of those who reported the physician's charge for confinement alone, 193 (87 per cent) paid from \$10 to \$25, and only 16 paid over \$25. The expense averaged higher if prenatal care had been given. Five of the nine mothers who received fair prenatal care (see p. 24) paid a physician \$25 or more. About 1 in 7 of the mothers reporting inadequate care paid over \$25. For the confinement fee alone only about 1 mother in 14 of those who reported paid \$25 or over. None of the mothers who paid the attendant physician less than \$10 received any postnatal care; approximately 28 per cent of those who paid \$10 to \$25 received postnatal care; and 10 of the 16 mothers who paid over \$25 received postnatal care. The distance which the physician had to travel seemed to be a factor of no importance in the expense. Distances

were small compared to those found in Montana,³ where the physician's fee for mileage was sometimes greater than his fee for service. No instance was discovered in this study of a physician's making a charge for transportation or mileage.

Approximately two-thirds of those reporting payment to a midwife paid her less than \$5 and in only 3 instances was the charge over \$10. It is natural, therefore, that the poorer and the more ignorant families should employ the midwife rather than the physician whose fees were higher. One Negro mother stated frankly that she had tried both and preferred the midwife because she did more and charged less. The midwife's fees varied somewhat according to the difficulty of the case, the distance from the patient, and the ability of the family to pay. One midwife said she charged more for boys than for girls because "boys are harder to handle and mothers want them more."

In many cases there were informal arrangements such as exchange of services, and payments in chickens, pigs, grain, and other produce instead of money payments. One mother said she gave the midwife a bottle of snuff (valued at 25 cents) for confinement care, including nursing and help with the housework. About one-half of the white mothers and almost 95 per cent of the colored who reported on costs of confinement said that they went to no expense for nursing and housework; some of these may be included in the 71 who paid the midwife a lump sum for confinement and nursing, or in the 34 who paid her a lump sum for confinement, nursing, and housework. Many families settled the debt on a neighborly give-and-take basis which involved no money payment. One father worked his sister's crops a few days to pay her for helping his wife at confinement; another gave his wife's sister a bottle of snuff in return for her services. Negro help was often paid in left-overs from the table, milk, or second-hand clothing. Rates per week for nursing and housework varied from 50 cents to \$5 or (in a few cases) more. The usual prices were \$1.50, \$2, or \$2.50 a week. Nearly one-half the 136 white mothers who stated a definite charge for nursing and housework reported less than \$5, 26 reported costs of \$10 to \$25, and six reported costs of over \$25 for these services. Of the 20 colored mothers who paid for nursing and housework, 9 paid less than \$2.50 and only 5 paid \$5 or more.

Cost of confinement and economic status of family.—The percentage of white families who reported a total confinement cost of \$25 or more was higher among farm owners than among farm tenants, and higher among owners of the 100 to 500 acre plantations than among the farm owners as a whole. More than one-third of the white half-

³ U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 34, *Maternity Care and the Welfare of Young Children in a Homesteading County in Montana*, pp. 49, 50.

share tenants reported charges of less than \$10, while about one-fifth of all white families reported charges of less than \$10. The percentage of those receiving free care was much higher among half-share tenants than among any other economic group. In general the mothers of the well-to-do white families got better care than the mothers in the poorer families because they were better able to pay for it. The doctor's bill was a big item to the poorer tenant, and in many cases ignorance and poverty combined to make him feel that a physician's services during pregnancy and at confinement were an unjustifiable expense to be incurred only in cases of unusual emergency.

One Negro mother had been miserable throughout her pregnancy; she could scarcely walk, her feet were swollen, and she had to kneel in order to hoe. She seemed pitifully eager for relief, but said she could not afford to have a physician. "If I had a doctor, then when winter came there would be nothing for clothes. Poor families can't have such things as doctors." This mother had been hurt by a falling tree two months before the interview, but was still doing her house and field work, although unable to walk without the help of two homemade crutches.

Share tenants usually depended upon the landlord to advance credit for the doctor's bill and to deduct it, with interest, from the crops sold at harvest time.

MATERNAL MORTALITY.

Maternal deaths in the county.—Three mothers of the 675 for whom information was secured for this study lost their lives in childbirth, two from puerperal septicemia and one from hemorrhage following confinement. The care received by the three mothers who died was, on the whole, no better and no worse than that received by most of the mothers visited whose confinements did not terminate fatally. None of the three mothers had received any prenatal care. All did their washing, housework, and other chores up to the time of confinement and none had trained or even partly trained nursing care. Only one was attended by a physician at confinement, and in this case the mother died of hemorrhage which began after the attending physician, the only doctor within a radius of 8 or 9 miles, had hurried away on another call. One of the other mothers was attended by a neighbor because the physician who was sent for had to come 5 miles over rough roads and was an hour late; she died of puerperal septicemia about four weeks later. The other case was that of a Negro mother whose baby was born while the father was on his way for the midwife. She did not arrive until two hours later, when she found the mother and baby shivering on the floor. The mother died a few days later.

By the death of these three mothers 13 children were left motherless. Eleven were white and 2 were colored, and 10 of them were under 7 years of age.

Deaths from causes other than childbirth.—Eleven mothers who had been confined during the period covered by the survey died from causes other than childbirth before the date of the inquiry, 10 of them within eight months after confinement. In nine of these cases pregnancy and childbirth may be considered a contributing factor in hastening death. Five died from tuberculosis, all of them colored women. One mother, also colored, died of pellagra, the mortality from which is relatively high among women of child-bearing age.⁴ The death of one white mother four days after the delivery of a stillborn child was ascribed to pernicious malaria. Two mothers, one white and one colored, died from nephritis, one about two months after the baby was born, the other about four months after. Two of these mothers had prenatal care of "inadequate" grade (see p. 24); the others had none at all. Four were attended at confinement by physicians, 5 by midwives. The deaths of these women left 40 children motherless.

Of the last babies of these mothers, 1 was stillborn, and 4 of the 8 live-born babies died under 4 months of age. One died of an intestinal disturbance two weeks after the mother's death. Another died while his mother was on a journey to see a doctor 30 miles away. One baby whose mother was too ill to nurse him "just got peaked and peaked and finally was nothing but skin and bone." The fourth death was that of a tuberculous mother who had been unable to nurse the baby.

⁴ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, p. 344, Jackson, Miss., 1918.

MOTHERS' WORK IN RELATION TO CHILDBEARING.

USUAL FARM AND HOUSEHOLD WORK.

Farm work.—Most of the mothers had been reared in the country and were used to doing farm chores and field work as well as housework. Women reported doing almost every kind of field work which was to be done—plowing, harrowing, hoeing, chopping, and cotton picking. About 85 per cent of the white mothers reported that their principal occupation before marriage had been farm work of some kind, and about 70 per cent had done field work; 8 per cent had been teachers, and a few had been employed in stores, cotton mills, or offices. Nearly all the colored mothers had done field work before marriage; a few had worked as domestic servants. About five-eighths of the mothers did field work during the period covered by the survey, and practically all of these had done farm work of some kind before marriage. Somewhat more than one-fourth of the mothers who, as girls, had worked in the fields were relieved of field work during the period studied, this being due in some instances to poor health, in others to pressure of household work, or to higher income which made it unnecessary for the mother to work in the fields. One father said he had taken work as a farm laborer rather than as a tenant so that his wife would not have to work in the fields.

The importance of the different kinds of chores as indicated by the number of mothers reporting them was as follows: (1) Care of chickens, (2) care of garden, (3) carrying water, (4) churning, (5) milking, (6) care of stock, and (7) running the cream separator. Only one-tenth of those who reported doing chores were doing less than three of those listed above, and more than one-half were doing five or more. On the whole, the Negro mothers had fewer chores to do than the white mothers, probably because a smaller proportion of the Negro families kept cows, pigs, or chickens. It was customary in most families for the women to take care of the chickens, and for the men to attend to feeding the cattle and work animals. Most of the mothers who reported care of stock took care of the pigs only.

About 79 per cent of the white mothers carried water for household use; for nearly one-half of these women the source of water supply was less than 25 feet from the house, but for more than one-fourth it was 300 feet or more from the house. About 54 per cent had a pulley or windlass to draw up the water bucket; about 40 per

cent had to dip water from the spring or pull it up from the well by hand; only 6 of the 222, the total number reporting, had a pump. Eighty-five per cent of the Negro mothers reported carrying water as a regular chore. The distance averaged a little higher than those reported by the white mothers, as more than two-thirds carried water 25 feet or more, for two-fifths the source of water supply was 300 feet or more from the house, and about 1 in 8 had to carry water a quarter of a mile. The proportion (49 per cent) of mothers reporting no equipment for drawing water was higher among the Negroes.

Household conveniences¹ and household help.—Housekeeping in most homes was rather primitive. Some of the houses were very barely furnished, with two or three splint-bottomed chairs, a bed, a bench, and a rough-board table. Some mothers did most of the cooking at an open fireplace. Of the white mothers, only 15 per cent had more than two household conveniences, and 20 per cent had none at all; of the colored mothers, none had more than two, and 56 per cent had none at all. The abundance of cheap colored labor had induced many white families to hire cheap hand labor rather than to purchase labor-saving devices.

Sewing machines were the only modern convenience in general use, yet only 75 per cent of the white mothers and 42 per cent of the colored mothers had them. Eight white mothers had water in the house, and 2 of these had a bath and sink also; 14 mothers had washing machines and 13 had refrigerators. Many said that they kept food cool by letting it down in the well, putting it in the spring, or in a tub of cold water. Kerosene lamps were used for lighting in all the homes visited. Eighty-six families had telephones and 14 had automobiles. In only 77 homes were there screens at all the doors and windows. While screening is primarily a health precaution, it also saved the mother much annoyance from chickens, pigs, dogs, and cats, which otherwise came in at will. It was not unusual for the agent's interview with the mother to be interrupted while the pig was pushed out of the door or the chickens "shooed" away from the table.

Forty-three per cent of all mothers reported that they had some help with the housework all the year round (as distinguished from help during pregnancy and confinement). Three-fourths of these mothers received help from some other member of the household—a mother, sister, or grown daughter, who was living with the family.

¹ Conveniences tabulated were as follows: Water in house, bath, sink, washing machine, sewing machine, refrigerator or ice box, iceless refrigerator, fireless cooker, bread mixer, vacuum cleaner, oil stove, furnace, gas or electric lights, engine for household use, telephone, screens for all doors and windows, and automobile. While an automobile is not strictly a household convenience, it was so classed because it made it so much easier for the mother to get to market, to see her neighbors, and to reach help in time of trouble.

Such arrangements were seldom made on a money basis, and were usually independent of the economic status of the family. Of the 123 white mothers who usually had help with the housework, nearly half had hired help. While the proportion of Negro mothers who usually had some help with the housework was slightly higher than among white mothers, none of them hired such help.

For many families the only housework for which outside help was hired was laundry work. About 88 per cent of all mothers reported that they did their own washing. The washing was usually done out of doors near the well or spring; the water was heated in a large iron kettle over the outdoor fire and the clothes were boiled over this fire.

Under the system of tenant labor on the large plantations the planter's wife was not responsible for boarding or housing the field hands. The tenant farmers and most of the farm laborers lived in houses by themselves and boarded themselves. Hired men who lived with their employer's family on a basis of social equality were practically unknown, since the great bulk of hired labor was Negro. Even the domestic servants usually lived in separate houses with their own families.

WORK DURING PREGNANCY AND AFTER CONFINEMENT.

The health of the mother and baby may be impaired by excessive work during pregnancy or too soon after confinement. Ordinary housework and the lighter farm chores are a very good form of exercise if they are not carried to the point of fatigue, do not involve heavy lifting or straining, and are not resumed too soon after delivery. It is important, therefore, to know what period of rest the mother had before delivery and how soon after confinement she had to resume full responsibility of her usual work. The time which these mothers actually spent in bed has already been discussed (see p. 30).

Mothers who could not afford to hire help and were unable to make other arrangements could not secure the desirable period of rest before and after the baby's birth. Pressure of work in the busy cotton-picking season, when all hands are in the fields, often made it hard for the mother to get help.

Emergencies similar to the following were not unknown: A mother confined in January said that during the latter part of her pregnancy her husband was taken ill, and the family was obliged to move to make room for other tenants. The mother had to assume the whole burden of moving and settling in the new home. She cut enough wood to last throughout the period of her confinement, and when labor pains began she was building a hogpen.

A few of the white mothers left home for confinement, in most cases to stay with relatives, where facilities for maternity care differed little from those in their own homes, but where they could secure a more complete relief from responsibility for the housework during the period of confinement.

Kind of household help secured.—Many of the mothers reported that it was difficult to get reliable persons to help with the housework while they were incapacitated. Only 28 per cent of the white mothers and 5 per cent of the colored reported hired help for housework. Over 35 per cent of all mothers reported free help given by an outsider. Neighbors were usually ready to come in to help when they were needed. One mother said that she and her sister who lived near had agreed that when either was pregnant the other would do the washing for both families. While there were no mothers who reported no help at all with the housework, five of the white and nine of the colored mothers said that the only help they had was from a child less than 14 years old. Such help relieved the mother of the actual work, but it did not relieve her of the responsibility. In 9 per cent of the white families and 14 per cent of the Negro families, the housework was done by the husband or son; 21 per cent of the white mothers and 41 per cent of the Negro mothers reported help given by some other adult member of the household.

Relief from work before confinement.—Of the white mothers less than one-fifth reported any relief from housework before confinement and less than one-tenth reported a relief of one month or more; about 96 per cent did some farm chores during pregnancy and 80 per cent reported no cessation before delivery. If the mother's work was lightened at all during the latter part of pregnancy it was likely to be done by relief from washing or field work. About 76 per cent of the white mothers did the washing during pregnancy, and 29 per cent of these stopped one month or more before the baby was born. Eighty-four white mothers, less than 30 per cent, reported field work during pregnancy; 39 of these had a rest of three months or more before confinement; 4 had from a week's to a month's rest; and 18 worked in the field up to the day of confinement.

Cessation of work before delivery was even less common among the Negro mothers. Approximately 93 per cent reported that they did their usual housework up to the time labor began; 89 per cent had no relief from farm chores; 79 per cent had none from washing, and nearly 40 per cent did field work up to the time of confinement. One of the Negro mothers who was confined in the cotton-picking season said she worked in a field 2 miles from home during the last day of her pregnancy; she "just did make it home" that night, but was unable to get supper for the family. Of the 320 Negro mothers who

did field work during pregnancy, only 70 stopped one to three months before confinement, and only 79 three months or more.

Approximately 75 per cent of the white and 94 per cent of the colored mothers did housework, washing, and chores during pregnancy, and of these 62 per cent of the white and 79 per cent of the colored reported no cessation of any of the three kinds of work before confinement. Twenty-nine per cent of the white, and 81 per cent of the colored mothers did field work in addition to their housework, washing, and chores, and of these mothers 20 per cent of the white and 42 per cent of the colored reported no cessation before confinement. The one mother who had no one to attend her at delivery hoed corn the whole day before confinement. She came home a little early and the baby was born. Her husband was still in the field and she could not get word to him.

Approximately 75 per cent of the white mothers reported cessation of some kind of work (housework, washing, chores, or field work) a month or more before confinement, and nearly 50 per cent a cessation of three months or more. Among Negro mothers nearly 50 per cent reported relief from at least one kind of work a month or more before confinement, and 27 per cent a relief of three months or more.

Resumption of work after confinement.—Among white mothers, 83 per cent reported that they resumed their usual housework less than six weeks after confinement; 19 per cent resumed it less than two weeks after. Only about 1 in 7 had a relief from housework of six weeks or more after confinement. One mother said that although she always had a hard time at confinement, she had to be up and doing all her housework within a week afterwards. Another mother who had a difficult delivery had been obliged to get up to look after the other children when the baby was 1 week old. The weather was very cold, but the family had to move when the baby was 3 weeks old because someone else was taking possession. About 75 per cent of the white mothers began to do chores less than six weeks after confinement, and nearly one-half of these began at less than four weeks. Nearly 40 per cent began to do their washing within the first six weeks; about 32 per cent of the 145 white mothers confined in the first year of the period did not do their washing in the year after the baby was born. Only seven of the white mothers worked in the field during the first six weeks after confinement. Slightly over one-fifth did field work in the year after confinement.

The proportion of mothers who resumed housework and chores in the first six weeks after confinement was approximately the same for white and Negro. Sixty-two per cent of the colored mothers began to do their washing less than six weeks after confinement, and

14 per cent began less than four weeks after. Twenty-two per cent did field work in the first six weeks after confinement. Following the tradition expressed by one mother who said, "I stayed out of the field my month," all but six did no field work during the first four weeks after confinement.

The mothers who had no rest from work before confinement were also the ones who had to begin work soon after confinement. About 75 per cent of the white and 80 per cent of the Negro mothers reported not only no relief from housework before confinement, but also resumption at less than six weeks after. Thirty-six per cent of the white mothers resumed their housework, washing, and chores less than six weeks after the baby was born, and 2 per cent had also resumed field work. Fifty-seven per cent of the Negro mothers had resumed housework, washing, and chores less than six weeks after confinement; slightly over 10 per cent resumed it at less than four weeks. In addition, field work had been resumed by 18 per cent of the Negro mothers at less than six weeks after the baby's birth.

Many mothers gave accounts of the ill effects of heavy work. One said she thought her baby had been born prematurely because of the heavy work she had been doing in the field in addition to her housework, washing, and chores. She stayed in bed 10 days after the baby was born, and in three weeks began to work in the field again. She endured the strain for a week, then had to give up, and was incapacitated for a month.

Effect of farming season on mothers' work.—In agricultural communities the work in the house is intimately correlated with the work in the fields, and pressure of work in the busy farming season is likely to mean additional work for the mother. Even if she does not go into the fields to work herself, her husband and older children have less time in which to help with the chores and housework. One mother who was confined in the winter said that although she was up in six days, she stayed in the warmest room most of the time for the next two weeks, while her husband did the housework. Another said that although she was feeling well, her husband did the work for three weeks after the baby was born, because he had no work to do in the fields at the time.

The climate was such that for only about two and one-half months in the year was it impossible to work in the fields. The busiest seasons were in May and June (hoeing time for cotton and corn), and in October and November (picking time in the cotton fields). Each season was likely to spread over two weeks before and after, and it varied with the weather and the size of the crop. Accordingly, the slack season may be considered as extending from the middle of

June to the middle of September, and from the middle of December to the middle of April.

In the case of white families the extent to which the mother might be relieved of overstrain during pregnancy and the weeks following confinement usually depended on the financial ability of the family to hire help, though in some instances economic conditions made no difference one way or the other; because the mother had relatives who came to help her; or because she was wholly incapacitated and had to be relieved whether she could afford it or not; or because at the time no help could be secured. Very few Negro families could afford to pay money to relieve the mother of her usual duties during pregnancy and after confinement.

CARE OF CHILDREN.

The connection is more or less obvious between the various subjects of the study taken up thus far—maternity care, work of the mother, housing and sanitation, and economic conditions—and the question of the welfare of the child. The lack of specialists and hospital facilities was as serious for the babies as for the mothers, and poorly built, insanitary houses made living conditions dangerous for the one as well as for the other. In this section of the report infant deaths and those elements of child care not already touched upon—feeding customs, care of sick children, home remedies used for children, etc.—will be considered.

BIRTH REGISTRATION.

Complete birth registration is a prerequisite to any adequate study of infant mortality and child welfare. Since 1912, when the State passed a law establishing a bureau of vital statistics under the State board of health, and providing for the registration of births and deaths, the board of health had been working toward complete registration, but at the time of this survey no part of the State had been admitted to the birth-registration area, and only the five largest cities to the death registration area. Only 50 per cent of the births included in this study were registered. One of the greatest obstacles to good birth registration in the county was the difficulty of getting the midwives to register births. Many of the colored midwives were illiterate, and therefore had to get some one else to fill out the certificate or report by word of mouth when they happened to go to town. Often the names were written on old crumpled slips of paper and were almost illegible. While the midwives were responsible for the greater part of the unregistered births, only 76 per cent of the births attended by physicians were registered. Only 71 per cent of the infant deaths were registered.

INSTRUCTION IN INFANT CARE.

A general lack of knowledge of child care prevailed among the mothers visited, as very few of them had received any instruction in this matter beyond what they learned from their mothers or from their own experience. Only 20 had received some instruction from a physician and 2 had been advised by a trained nurse. Fifty-eight had learned something of infant care through reading, but the high percentage of illiteracy and low standards of education prevailing in the county made instruction through reading practically unattainable for a large proportion of mothers in poor white as well as in Negro families. The literature read, however, was not really instructive in all cases, for while 2 had read books by Holt, 1 a bulletin from the Department of Agriculture, and 25 current magazines and papers, the rest had read only advertising pamphlets or almanacs or "doctor books" of one kind or another. Many mothers were very glad to receive the Children's Bureau pamphlet on Infant Care.

The methods of caring for children were in accordance with the customs handed down by other generations. The midwife's advice was often sought, especially in regard to the care of the baby during the first few days of life, and the midwives were credited with being responsible for encouraging dangerous methods of feeding and the use of filthy and dangerous home remedies.

FEEDING CUSTOMS.

The almost universal custom of breast feeding among the country mothers in the county studied probably counteracted in many instances methods of feeding unwise in other respects. The tendency of the mothers was to nurse their babies not only through the first year, but also through most of the second year or even longer. Artificial feeding was haphazard and unscientific. In many cases it included the whole range of family diet—meat, corn bread, pie, etc. Some mothers did not use cow's milk because the "bitter weed" that the cows ate made the milk bitter in taste, although not, so far as could be learned, unwholesome.

Breast feeding.—The often-repeated criticism of the feeding customs of rural mothers that they feed their babies from the table at too early an age and delay weaning too long held true in the case of the mothers included in this study. Only 14 per cent of all infants, both white and colored, for whom information was secured, were weaned before the middle of the twelfth month; two-thirds were nursed through the greater part of the fifteenth month; nearly one-half through the eighteenth month; and one-fourth through the greater part of the twenty-first month. Nine infants were nursed through the greater part of the twenty-fourth month or longer.

One instance was found at one of the children's health conferences of a child six years old who was still nursing.

The Negro mothers showed a tendency to wean their babies a little earlier than the white mothers; by the middle of the eighteenth month 63 per cent of the Negro babies had been weaned as compared with only 41 per cent of the white babies. Of the babies receiving exclusive breast feeding, the percentage was higher in each month of age for white than for colored babies; for babies receiving some breast feeding, at the sixth month the percentage was slightly higher for Negro than for white; and at 9 months the percentage (92) was about the same for both races.

Solid food and family diet.—Artificial feeding may be necessary in some cases at an early age, and, while not so good for the baby as breast feeding, does not necessarily obviate the possibility of normal development. Experts generally agree that fresh, clean, modified cow's milk is the best substitute for mother's milk, and that no solid food should be given during the first six months at least. Only one-fourth of the babies studied were receiving a strictly liquid diet at 2 months. The solid food included bread or crackers soaked in milk, gravy, or cereals, and did not necessarily include the kind of food eaten by the older members of the family. However, many mothers reported that the baby at an early age was given "tastes" of everything that the mother ate. One mother said with pride that her baby had eaten "everything" since she was 11 days old and had had all the meat she wanted since 2 months old. Another said there was nothing too hot with pepper or too sour for her 14-months-old baby to eat. Eight per cent of the mothers reported that the baby had been given family diet when less than 1 month old, 15 per cent at 2 months, and over half at 7 months. Only about 6 per cent were reported as 12 months or more of age before receiving family diet.

The tendency to give the baby solid food or family diet was more pronounced among colored mothers than among white. At the fourth month 60 per cent of the colored babies were receiving solid food as compared with slightly under 35 per cent of the white babies. Under the eighth month the percentage of colored babies receiving family diet was higher than that of white babies receiving solid food. At the end of the twelfth month nearly 80 per cent of the colored babies were receiving family diet as compared with about 60 per cent of the white babies.

CHILDREN'S ILLNESSES.

Medical care.—The accounts given by the mothers of their children's illnesses indicated the difficulties in caring for sick children in these rural districts. Children's specialists and hospitals were

too far away and too expensive to be thought of by any but the most prosperous parents, and many of the poorer families living in remote parts of the county hesitated to call a doctor unless the child seemed very seriously ill. As one mother said: "A farmer only gets money twice a year, and if the children get sick between seasons they have to get along."

One mother said that her baby began to have indigestion at two months; he vomited frequently and had spasms. These symptoms continued for over three months, but the doctor was called only once. Another mother said that her baby had been ill for three weeks with some trouble in the head; she bathed the baby's head with camphor and put sweet oil in her ears but did not call a physician.

Only the two county seats had more than one physician, and families out of reach of one or the other of these towns often had to send 15 or 20 miles for the nearest physician available. Although under ordinary circumstances a doctor could be secured in two or three hours at most, there were, of course, times when this was not possible, and sometimes serious complications developed so rapidly in babies and young children that even a short delay proved serious or even fatal. The baby of a family living 4 miles from the doctor in a house back in the woods, almost inaccessible from the main road, became sick when 6 days old. The father consulted the physician by telephone, and medicine was sent, but the baby died the following day.

Nursing care.—Trained nurses were no more available for sick children than they were for mothers at confinement, and, as in other rural areas, home care was the rule when children were ill. Emergencies frequently arose when there was really acute need for trained, or even practical, nurses. One mother said that when the baby was born both the father and the other children had measles. It was an unusually severe winter. No nurse could be found nor could they get domestic help. A neighbor came in once a day for a little while, but she was too busy with her own family cares to do much. The oldest child died about a week after the baby's birth. In another case, all the members of a family were ill at the time of the mother's confinement. The father, though convalescent, was not able to do much, and as a last resort his brother came in and did the housework. In another family the mother and four children were ill with malaria. The father had to do the nursing and housework himself while he hired cotton pickers to take his place in the fields, field laborers being much easier to find than nurses and housekeepers.

Situations similar to these described were likely to be brought about whenever the mother was incapacitated. Many mothers had no one who could take their place as nurse, because relatives and

neighbors were entirely occupied with their own family affairs, and furthermore many of the women, although willing to do their utmost, lacked skill and experience in the proper care of children seriously ill.

Deformities.—Several children needed special attention on account of some deformity. One white baby had deformed feet. The father had given up his farm and secured work with the railroad in order that he might earn money and perhaps secure a railroad pass to take the child to a specialist and have the deformity corrected. A mother was most anxious to know what ought to be done for her year-old baby who had a deformed hand and wrist. She brought the child to one of the children's health conferences, and the Government physician said that some manipulation and massage would do a great deal of good, but unfortunately there was no one in the county who could do it. One baby had club feet and his father, a Negro farm hand earning \$19.50 a month, had never taken him to a physician. Another Negro boy about 6 years old had a stiff knee and back so that he could not stand upright and could scarcely walk. His mother said that his condition was caused by paralysis from which he suffered while teething. The family owned a small farm on the river bottom, but had never considered it possible to take the boy to Memphis or Jackson. In several other cases similar to these the need for special medical attention seemed imperative if the children were to have a fair chance in life. A public health nurse could do much toward teaching parents that it is possible to have deformities corrected and toward making the necessary arrangements with specialists and hospitals.

Accidents.—Children everywhere are liable to injury from accidents of one kind or another. But in Mississippi accidents occurring while the parents are absent in the fields are far too common. The secretary of the board of health, in commenting on the large number of deaths from burning, said: "This carelessness which resulted in the death and suffering of so many children for the last two years * * * should be given thorough study and means provided, if possible, to reduce this unnecessary mortality."² As the open fireplace was used for cooking in many of the cabins, the danger from fire was serious at all times of the year. It was not uncommon to find a little baby left alone in its crib while its mother was off in the fields at work. One colored mother told of the death of her oldest son from burns. She had no one to leave him with while she went out in the field to plant potatoes. Presently she heard him scream, and rushed back to find his clothing all afire. In one family visited, the baby had no toes on the right foot. The mother ex-

* Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, p. 107. Jackson, Miss., 1918.

plained that she had left the baby on the floor while she went out for a little while, and that when she came back she found that the baby, then 6 months old, had crawled to the fireplace and one little foot was in the coals.

The custom of leaving infants in the care of older children too young to accompany their mothers to the field is bound to lead to serious results. During the hoeing season the Children's Bureau agents often found no one at home but a little 6 or 7 year old child in charge of one or two younger children. Sometimes he could point in the direction in which his mother had gone, sometimes he did not seem to know where she was. One mother left the baby with the older children while she went to work. The baby's dress caught fire and he was badly burned. Accidents of other kinds occurred while older brothers or sisters were tending the baby. One baby had been sick since the older children in their play let him fall out of bed while the mother was working in the field. Another mother said her baby had been very sick when 12 months old. She thought "the children might a' dropped the baby" while she was in the field. Such accidents as these described were more common among Negro babies because the Negro mothers did more field work than the white mothers. Some mothers tried to solve the problem by taking the babies with them to the field, but with no shelter from the hot sun this arrangement did not seem very satisfactory.

Illnesses.—The accounts of children's diseases given by the mothers did not differ very much from those given by mothers in other parts of the country. Colds, indigestion, and colic were mentioned frequently. In the winter previous to the survey there had been mild epidemics of measles and whooping cough with no effective quarantine regulations. The children were, of course, liable to the diseases peculiar to the South—malaria, hookworm, and pellagra. One physician said he had noticed a decided tendency among mothers to attribute almost any illness which children had to "worms" and to persist in the belief contrary to the doctor's diagnosis. Several mothers said that their children had had worms and that they had used various home remedies, turpentine, soot tea, castor oil, etc.

Home remedies for children.—The great extent to which the mothers in the area "doctored" their children presented one of the most serious phases of child care. Home remedies have a legitimate place in every household, but stories told by many of the mothers indicated a widespread tendency toward overdosing and unwise selection of drugs for the home medicine chest. Patent medicines were in common use, particularly among white mothers. The colored mothers made frequent use of teas of one kind or another. More or less superstition was evident in the remedies recommended by colored mothers. The midwife instead of the doctor was frequently

summoned in case of illness, and she was often responsible for the extravagant use of home remedies.

INFANT DEATHS.³

In any locality where the birth and death registration is as incomplete as in the rural areas surveyed by the Children's Bureau, it is impossible to discover all births during a given period even by a house-to-house canvass. The number of omissions is probably proportionately greater for stillborn infants and babies who died early in the period included in the canvass than for the others. The returns are especially likely to be incomplete in districts similar to the county studied in Mississippi where many families live on farms remote from the traveled roads, and a large part of the population is shifting and illiterate. As a consequence, infant mortality rates for the area studied, while as accurate as any that could be secured, are somewhat lower than they would be if returns for deaths had been as complete as for births. On the other hand, figures based not on a canvass but on birth and death registration alone are likely to exaggerate death rates since death registration is usually more complete than birth registration.

Of 155 white children born alive to the mothers interviewed, 12 died in the first year of life. This number includes only children born between April 1, 1916, and March 31, 1917, the first year of the period covered by the study, since most of the children born later than that were less than 1 year old at the time the information was secured. The infant mortality rate for these white children was 77.4,⁴ a rate lower than was discovered in any of the cities surveyed, but high as compared with rates for other rural districts studied. The rate found in Kansas was 40 to 1,000 live births;⁵ the rate among white infants in the lowland county of North Carolina was 48.1;⁶ in the mountain county of North Carolina the rate was 80.4;⁶ the rate in Wisconsin was 54.⁷ The rate in Montana (although based upon an incomplete record of deaths) was 71 per 1,000.⁸

³ Detailed information in regard to maternal and infant care was secured only for the last confinement of each mother; in considering infant deaths, however, all the births occurring in the two years covered by the survey were included. Thus while detailed information was secured for only 664 live births, 609 live births occurred to the mothers visited during the two years covered by the survey. Six deaths occurred among these 35 nonschedule births.

⁴ As in previous studies made by the Children's Bureau the rate is computed on the basis of the number of deaths at less than 1 year of age among infants born in the given period.

⁵ Children's Bureau Publication No. 26, *Maternity and Infant Care in a Rural County in Kansas*, p. 40.

⁶ Children's Bureau Publication No. 33, *Rural Children in Selected Counties of North Carolina*, p. 36.

⁷ Children's Bureau Publication No. 46, *Maternity and Infant Care in Two Rural Counties in Wisconsin*, p. 69.

⁸ Children's Bureau Publication No. 34, *Maternity Care and the Welfare of Young Children in a Homesteading County in Montana*, p. 70.

The accuracy of the infant mortality rate for Negro infants is open to more question than the rate for white, because of the greater obstacles to a complete canvass among Negro families. Therefore, for purposes of comparison, infant mortality rates are more sound which are based upon the whole maternity histories of the white and Negro mothers while resident in the area. Even these rates are likely to be an understatement of infant mortality, because mothers who had had many confinements often became confused as to the number and may have forgotten at the time to tell of the babies who died in early infancy. Since this was particularly true of Negro mothers, the figures show also an understatement of the difference between rates for white and Negro infants. The rate among white infants was 61.2 per 1,000 live births, while the rate for Negro infants was 107.3—a difference of 46.1 in favor of infants born to white mothers.

Medical care.—One of the most significant aspects of infant mortality was the small proportion of deaths attended by physicians. Information was secured as to the attendant at death for 43 of the babies who died at less than 1 year of age; only 15 were attended at death by a physician. Only 5 of the 9 white babies who died under 2 weeks of age were attended at death by a physician, and only 4 of the 6 who died over 2 weeks of age were attended by a physician. Of the 28 Negro babies who died at less than 1 year of age, only 6 were attended by a physician.

The proportion of deaths not attended by physicians was too large to be explained entirely by bad roads, poor telephone service, the distance of the family home from the physician, or by the fact that in some instances the baby died so suddenly that there was no time to call a physician. Parents often failed to realize that their children were sick, and did not appreciate the necessity of securing the best medical care possible for them.

One baby was sick for two days before death; her mother said "she seemed to have griping in the stomach and the stretches." The mother cut red onions and bound them on the child's hands and feet, but did not call a physician. Another Negro mother said she thought her baby died because she "couldn't keep the hives out on him." She said the baby was born "puny" because she had hoed right up to the time of confinement in very hot weather. This mother had had no prenatal care, a midwife had attended her at confinement, and no physician had been called for the baby. A white mother whose husband had not been able to get a physician for her confinement said that her baby had not been normal from birth, and he died when 6 days old. She seemed satisfied with the midwife's explanation that "the hives went in on it." This family

lived only 3 miles from a town with six physicians in it. One colored mother said that her baby had a hemorrhage from the navel shortly after birth, and that by the time they had brought the midwife back to tie the cord again, the baby had bled to death. Two colored babies died of whooping cough without the attention of a physician.

Causes of death.—Discussion of the causes of death is hampered at the outset by lack of complete registration. For 14 of the 49 infant deaths occurring in the period no death certificate was filed, and in 20 instances, although a death certificate was filed, no cause of death was entered on it. For only 15 cases could a physician's certificate showing cause of death be secured. Eight of these deaths were due to natal or prenatal causes (four of the eight to prematurity), and five to gastro-intestinal diseases.

Among white infants who died under 2 weeks of age the death rate per 1,000 live births was 40. The stillbirth rate, based on all births in the area studied, to mothers interviewed was 2 per cent for white infants and 4 per cent for Negro. About one-tenth of all pregnancies of both white and colored mothers resulted in miscarriage, a stillbirth, or a live-born infant that survived less than 2 weeks.

Obstetricians agree that most of the deaths under 2 weeks of age are due to prenatal and natal causes and can be prevented in large measure by good prenatal care and skilled care at confinement. In rural communities, where few mothers receive any prenatal care at all and where skilled help is not available, it is to be expected that the number of deaths in early infancy will be comparatively large. Reports on prenatal care were secured from 40 mothers whose babies were stillborn or died under 2 weeks of age. Only eight had any care, and only one had care that could be classified as fair; five of those who had care sought medical advice because they were ill during pregnancy. Information was secured also in regard to the kind of attendant present at 21 of the confinements resulting in a live-born infant who survived less than 2 weeks. Six of the 9 confinements of white mothers were attended by a physician and 3 by a midwife or other woman; 2 of the 12 confinements of Negro mothers were attended by a physician and 10 by a midwife or other woman. All 10 stillbirths to white mothers and only 1 of the 11 stillbirths to Negro mothers were attended by a physician.

Improper feeding also contributed to infant mortality in the county. One of the registered deaths occurred when the baby was about 2½ months old, about 2 weeks after the mother's death. Cow's milk had been used to supplement breast milk and the baby had been given solid food some time before his death. Another baby at 2

months of age had tastes of everything the family ate. The mother said that the baby had been bitten by mosquitoes a few days before its death and she attributed death to malaria rather than to improper feeding. Another baby weaned at 3 months of age died about four weeks later. The mother said she had tried cow's milk and then malted milk. She thought that the baby had measles, but the cause given on the death certificate was ileocolitis. Another mother said: "The baby was fine and healthy, but he had one of the spells I had at confinement (convulsions) and died of that and whooping cough."

CHILDREN'S HEALTH CONFERENCES.

In order to promote interest in child welfare, a series of children's health conferences were held in two counties in the State—in the county in which the intensive survey was made and in another located in the south central part of Mississippi which contains a city of more than 10,000 inhabitants known as one of the wealthiest cities in the South. This city was very progressive; it had well-paved streets, substantial public buildings, luxurious homes, good schools, and a good city hospital of 40 beds. Outside this city, however, the county was no more progressive than neighboring counties.

PREVIOUS PUBLIC HEALTH WORK.

An intensive sanitary survey of the southern county by the International Health Board (formerly the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission), in cooperation with the State board of health, had been completed in January, 1918, shortly before the children's health conferences began. As part of the work of the survey many persons were examined and treated for hookworm and many inoculated against typhoid. The survey also included a campaign for sanitary privies both in the city and in the rural districts of the county, and special attention was given to an educational campaign against pellagra.⁹ The extensive public health work done through the sanitary survey made it possible to arrange for a series of children's health conferences with a minimum of effort and with some assurance of response from the parents.

During the previous year a birth registration test had been made in the city which disclosed the fact that about one-third of the births in the city were unregistered. The births of 22 per cent of the children brought to the children's health conferences were definitely reported as unregistered.

⁹ Report of the Board of Health of Mississippi, 1915-1917, pp. 47-48 Jackson, Miss., 1918.

I —THE CONFERENCE AT A COUNTRY SCHOOLHOUSE.

II.—AN EXAMINATION AT A NEGRO CONFERENCE.

ATTENDANCE AND PLACES OF MEETING.

The aggregate attendance at the 35 meetings held in the two counties was about 3,000. In both counties meetings were held in towns and in the country. Meetings were held in the courthouses of the county seats, in the country schoolhouses, in churches, one in an open-air pavilion in the picnicking center, and in one of the smaller towns the proprietor of a store suspended business for the afternoon and expressed pleasure in turning over his store "to the use of Uncle Sam." The babies were examined on the counter and stereopticon slides were shown in a dark corner at the back of the store. At some of the night meetings families straggled in late; having worked all day in the fields, they had then dressed the children, hitched up the horses, and driven to the conference.

EXAMINATION OF CHILDREN.

At these meetings children under 6 years of age were examined by a Government physician, and the results of the examination, together with special recommendations in regard to the care of the child, were written out and given to the person bringing the child for examination. In all, 544 children were examined by the physician, 375 white and 169 colored. If the examination revealed defects that needed special medical attention, the parents were told what was wrong and were advised to consult the family doctor. Measures were also recommended to promote better physical development. The advice given to many mothers concerned feeding alone. The physician explained to these mothers that they had been giving their children too much food, feeding them too often, or allowing them too much starchy food; and regularity of feeding and a well-balanced diet were recommended. At the end of one of the conferences one mother was heard to say emphatically that she would never have another case of "summer complaint" among her children.

EXHIBITS.

An exhibit was shown at some of the conferences of miniature models illustrating the proper clothing for a baby, baby's bed and mother's bed, and the equipment needed for bathing a baby and for preparing its food, and charts were shown illustrating various phases of child welfare. A small model of an iceless refrigerator and a homemade fireless cooker excited much interest. For conferences held at night, when neither models nor charts could be shown to advantage stereopticon slides were used. The men who attended the meetings often showed great interest in the exhibits, and said they were going to make play pens and separate beds for their babies and fireless cookers and iceless refrigerators for their wives.

RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCES.

The value of the conferences was primarily educational. The instruction received by individual parents was probably of no less importance than the impetus given to systematic public health work for mothers and children. The advisability of securing a full-time public health nurse for the county was widely discussed, and at many of the meetings the local committee circulated a petition to the county supervisors asking that such a nurse be employed. This movement was indorsed not only by parents but also by physicians and others prominent in the county. Several of the leaders among the colored people desired to secure a nurse to work among the colored people alone.

SUMMARY.

The intensive survey of maternity and child care was made in a farming section typical of northern Mississippi. Over one-half of the population was Negro, and three-fourths of the farmers visited were tenants.

Six hundred and seventy-five families were visited, and most of these were living in poorly constructed houses far too small to accommodate the whole family with any degree of comfort. Very few were plastered or ceiled on the interior, and about 40 per cent of the families were living two or more persons per room. Study of sanitary conditions disclosed the fact that only about one-fourth of the families had a privy of any kind, and of these over four-fifths had the insanitary open-back type. Only 11 per cent of the houses were adequately screened against flies and mosquitoes. Although it was possible to obtain good water by drilling deep wells, many families were using water from dug wells and from springs which were not well protected against surface pollution.

Investigation of the status of maternity care showed that the low standards were due in large measure to ignorance of the need of it, to the scarcity of physicians and nurses, and to poverty. There were 14 physicians in active practice in the area studied; there was no trained nurse working regularly in the county. The nearest hospital was 100 miles away. There were about 100 midwives practicing in the county, but a large majority of them were untrained, ignorant, and careless, and their methods were primitive and insanitary. While 79 per cent of the white women were attended at confinement by physicians, nearly 88 per cent of the colored women were attended by midwives.

Only 116 of the 675 mothers studied received any prenatal care; 9 of these received care that could be classed as fair, and only one received really adequate care. Less than one-tenth of the mothers attended by a physician received three or more calls from the doctor during the lying-in period; only 7 mothers had trained nurses; and less than one-fourth had care by a practical nurse or midwife. Most of the mothers had great difficulty in securing anyone to do the nursing or help with the housework, and the majority had to depend on relatives and neighbors. The lack of conveniences made housework a rather strenuous task, and almost all of the mothers were used to

doing farm chores and field work as well as housework. As it was so very difficult to hire help, many of the mothers had neither adequate relief from work before confinement nor a sufficient period of rest afterwards.

Children as well as mothers suffered from the lack of skilled medical and nursing care. Frequently the parents failed to recognize that children were seriously ill, and they were content to use home remedies and advice from neighbors rather than to secure the best medical attention possible. Analysis of feeding customs showed that while the custom of breast feeding was almost universal the mothers tended to nurse their babies too long and give them solid food or the regular family diet too soon. Although about 85 per cent were wholly or partially breast fed during the first year, at the age of 6 months 65 per cent were receiving solid food and 47 per cent were given what the rest of the family ate. One-fifth of the children were still partially breast fed at 2 years of age.

Incomplete birth and death registration handicapped the authorities in studying the problem of infant mortality.

Standards of living were lower and the inadequacy of maternity and child care more extreme among the Negroes than among the white families. Only 8 per cent of the Negroes were farm owners, and about 57 per cent were half-share tenants—the lowest in the scale economically. Their homes were smaller and more crowded than those of the white families and sanitation was not so good. The percentage of illiteracy was high (26 per cent) among Negro mothers. Few Negro mothers had received any prenatal care or been attended by a physician at confinement. A larger proportion of Negro than of white mothers did field work, and they had less relief from work before confinement and a shorter period of rest afterwards.

Children's health conferences were held in two counties for the purpose of stimulating interest in public health activities. Children were examined by a Government physician, and exhibits were shown. The meetings had a large attendance and much interest was aroused.

In view of the conditions found to exist in the county it was evident that the most necessary steps in securing better care for the mothers and children were: The employment of a public health nurse for the county, and a county or district health officer on full time; the establishment of a county hospital, with free care available for those unable to pay; provision for the training and supervision of midwives; and the enforcement of the birth and death registration laws. In addition, it seemed imperative that steps should be taken to deal effectively with the problem of illiteracy which existed to a serious degree among the poor white and Negro families.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conditions revealed by this inquiry are by no means peculiar to the county studied; they are more or less typical of those existing in many rural communities. They call for a general constructive program for the conservation of the lives and health of mothers and babies, and of older children as well. Among the essential hygiene features of such a program are:

1. A county public health nurse (preferably one for white and one for colored), who, by doing educational work through the schools, clubs, and other organizations and by practical demonstrations of home nursing and preparation of food for babies, could accomplish much toward improving maternity and child care.

2. A well-trained public health official, devoting his entire attention to health problems in the county or the district of which it might form a part.

3. A county hospital conveniently located for all residents of the county.

4. The birth and death registration laws strictly enforced.

5. The law to prevent blindness in the new-born strictly enforced.

6. Midwifery practice controlled.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, *Secretary*

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief*

THE WORKING CHILDREN OF BOSTON

A STUDY OF CHILD LABOR UNDER A
MODERN SYSTEM OF LEGAL
REGULATION

By

HELEN SUMNER WOODBURY, Ph. D.



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, May 31, 1921.

SIR: I transmit herewith a study of the employment of children under 16 years of age in Boston, Mass., which is designed to show the conditions under which these young workers are employed in a typical city of diversified industries and a considerable volume of trade where their labor is regulated by advanced modern legislation.

The material for this report was secured under the direction of Mrs. Helen Sumner Woodbury, who has written the report. The statistical treatment of the material was planned by Dr. Robert M. Woodbury. The appendixes dealing with individual cases of child workers and with special home permits were prepared by Miss Ella Arvilla Merritt.

Respectfully submitted.

JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

PREFACE.

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the amount, character, conditions, and effects of employment of children under 16 years of age in an American city of diversified industries and a considerable volume of trade, and in a State having comparatively advanced child-labor legislation. The problems of child labor, it was believed, are not confined to backward communities or to backward industries but arise wherever the work of undeveloped young persons is used primarily for profit instead of primarily for training. Conditions under which children work to-day in a city like Boston differ widely from those under which they worked in England, when, in 1819, the first factory act forbade their employment under 9 years of age and limited the hours of those between 9 and 16 to 12 a day—an act which, by the way, was never enforced. Nevertheless, for the child laborers of the United States at the present time, as for those of England when Lord Shaftesbury began his agitation in their behalf, the questions to be asked are:

(1) Is the child worker able to grow into adult life with his health and physical vigor unimpaired?

(2) Does he receive training adapted to make him, when an adult, an efficient workman?

(3) Does he receive an education adequate to make him a good citizen?

In the days before the English factory acts these questions were all answered definitely in the negative. More recently they have been answered in the negative by many studies of the labor of children in this country, from the early Massachusetts inquiries to those which led to the 19-volume report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners.¹ But each year legislation regulating child labor has tended to become more voluminous; child labor codes have been enacted and uniform child-labor laws have been proposed and passed, in part at least, by a considerable number of States. The public conscience has approved a 14-year minimum age and the requirement of employment certificates until 16 years of age, with compulsory school attendance up to 14 and between 14 and 16 if a child is not employed. Nevertheless, until the questions asked above can be answered absolutely in the affirmative it is impossible to settle back in the complacent belief that the child-labor problem has been solved. Under each more advanced form of regulation, therefore,

¹ Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States. U. S. Bureau of Labor. 1910-1913.

these questions as to the effects of child labor on health, industrial efficiency, and good citizenship must be raised anew.

A study which would furnish the evidence necessary for definitely affirmative answers to these three questions would involve a thorough inquiry into the lives of a large number of young persons who had been child laborers. The present study does not pretend either to the breadth or to the depth necessary to furnish such answers. But in the past the gathering together of the more easily ascertainable facts has sufficed to furnish negative answers. Information on a special phase of the subject which may be inconclusive or which may even seem to point toward an affirmative answer usually indicates also that further study of that phase is needed. It is hoped, therefore, that this study, even though it does not involve so thorough an inquiry into the physical and mental effects of employment at an early age as would be desirable, may contribute information which will assist in forming a judgment as to the sufficiency of the more advanced types of child-labor legislation.

Boston was chosen for the study because, in addition to having industrial conditions fairly typical of those in other large American cities, it had legal regulations of child labor as stringent as any which are common in this country, a good system of records of its working children, and, in its continuation school, the beginnings, at least, of an attempt to apply the most modern methods to the problems of the child in industry. At the time of this study, however, the continuation school was new and its methods were frankly experimental. Therefore, although the records of this school were used and formed a valuable source of information in regard to its pupils, no attempt was made to study either its methods or their results.

The one possible objection to the selection of Boston was that the city proper is not a complete industrial unit. The bridges and tunnels connecting Boston with the neighboring cities to the north and northeast—Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—have served to link the four cities together industrially as they are not linked politically. In order to make as intensive a study as seemed desirable it was necessary, however, to select a smaller number of children than were at work in all four of these cities. It was therefore determined to secure and tabulate all the information in the employment-certificate records of the four cities, but to confine the intensive study to the children enrolled in the Boston continuation school—all of whom had taken out certificates for work in Boston, although some of them lived in the suburbs.

THE WORKING CHILDREN OF BOSTON.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The four chief sources of information in regard to these child workers were:

(1) The employment-certificate records of Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea.

(2) The Boston continuation-school records.

(3) Schedules taken in interviews by agents of the bureau with a group of children attending the Boston continuation school.

(4) Replies to a questionnaire sent out in December, 1918, to the children who had been interviewed.

The child-labor law, which became effective in Massachusetts in September, 1913, required that no child between 14 and 16 years of age should be employed or "permitted to work in, about, or in connection with any factory, workshop, manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment" without having secured an employment certificate.¹ If any machinery whatever was used, the establishment was either a factory or a mechanical establishment. The term "workshop" covered many other places, and a "mercantile establishment" was defined as any place where merchandise or goods were sold, including restaurants and hotels.²

The employment of a child under 14 was prohibited not only in any one of these establishments, but also in any—

barber shop, bootblack stand or establishment, public stable, garage, brick or lumber yard, telephone exchange, telegraph or messenger office, or in the construction or repair of buildings, or in any contract or wage-earning industry carried on in tenement or other houses.³

So far as employment during school hours is concerned, the requirement of an employment certificate for children between 14 and 16 years of age was at the time of this study even more far reaching than the prohibition of employment under 14, for the compulsory-education law provided that children under 16 should not remain out of school unless they had such certificates and were regularly employed at least six hours a day, or unless they had the written permission of the

¹ Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 57, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 15.

² Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 17, as amended by acts of 1912, ch. 191.

³ Acts of 1913, ch. 831, sec. 1, amending acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 56.

superintendent of schools "to engage in profitable employment at home."⁴ This written permission was in the form of a "special home permit," and the holder of such a permit was expected to show, not only before securing it, but also at intervals thereafter, that he or she was actually remaining at home to assist his or her parents and was not employed in any of the industries for which an employment certificate was required. This "special home permit" was similar in general form to an employment certificate.

The law, it is evident, provided adequate guaranties against the gainful employment during school hours of children under 16 years of age who had not procured employment certificates; and the positions in which their employment outside school hours was permitted without certificates were limited in number and difficult to secure, with one single exception specifically made in the law itself. For the law provided that children under 16 years of age employed in mercantile establishments from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m. on Saturdays only were not obliged to have certificates.⁵

Employment certificates were issued by local school authorities, were made out to the individual employer, and had to be returned to the issuing office within two days after the child had left the position or had been discharged.⁶ When the child found a new position, therefore, he had to come back for another certificate for the new employer. Each certificate was made out in duplicate and the carbon copy was kept at the issuing office.

This law went into effect on September 1, 1913, and under it all children employed in the State were obliged to obtain new certificates, even those who already held employment certificates issued under the former law. Since that date, therefore, a certain amount of information, not only in regard to children going to work, but also in regard to their industrial careers after they went to work, has been available in offices of the local school authorities in all Massachusetts towns and cities.

The probability that these records were complete up to the child's sixteenth year was increased, moreover, by the provision requiring children from 16 to 21, as well as those from 14 to 16, to have certificates. The older children were required to have educational certificates, which were of two kinds, orange colored, or "gold," certificates for those who could read and write the English language, and gray certificates for illiterates—that is, for young persons who were unable to pass a fourth-grade educational test and who were therefore obliged, in all places where evening schools had been established, to attend a public day or evening school. Massachusetts is the only

⁴ Revised Laws 1902, ch. 44, sec. 1, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 1, and by acts of 1915 ch. 81, sec. 1.

⁵ Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 57, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 15.

⁶ Acts of 1909, ch. 514, secs. 57 and 60, both as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779.

State in the Union which attempts to exercise any direct supervision over all working minors regardless of age.⁷

When this study was made, therefore, it was possible to secure a certain minimum amount of information in regard to all working children in the four cities—Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—which seemed together to constitute an urban industrial unit. In order to obtain a representative group of children going to work between 14 and 16 years of age, it was decided to obtain the records of all children who became 14 at any time during the year which ended on September 1, 1914, and who went to work before September 1, 1916. These children, therefore, could not have held certificates before the new law went into effect. At the same time they were all 16 years of age or over by September 1, 1916, and it was possible at that time to secure their complete industrial histories, in the meager outlines furnished by the employment certificate records, from the dates on which they first went to work to their sixteenth birthdays.

Accordingly, complete employment certificate records were secured and tabulated for all children who became 14 during the year ended September 1, 1914—that is, of all children born between September 1, 1899, and August 31, 1900—and who went to work at any time before their sixteenth birthdays in any one of the four cities—Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea. These children, of whom there were 5,692, are believed to be in all respects typical of the children going to work in this urban industrial area. The facts secured cover sex, age at going to work, evidence of age produced, birth-place, grade completed, and the occupation in each position for which a certificate was secured.

More details, however, are given in the records of the Boston continuation school than in those of the certificate office, and these records were accordingly used to supplement the certificate data for as many children as possible. Unfortunately, continuation-school attendance was compulsory, at the time of this study, only in Boston,⁸ and even there, during the early part of the period, it was a new

⁷ Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 66, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 23. The section of the law relating to educational certificates for children from 16 to 21, though it did not exempt children employed in mercantile establishments on Saturdays, was not as broad in its application as the section relating to employment certificates. This was in part because, though the list of establishments was the same, the words "permitted to work in, about, or in connection with" were omitted, and in part because, as these children were not required to attend any school whatever unless they were illiterate, and then only an evening school, the provisions of the educational certificate section were not reinforced by the compulsory-education law. The certificate system for children from 16 to 21 did not, in fact, cover all occupations, nor did it cover children who might be remaining at home. According to rulings of the State board of labor and industries, educational certificates were not required in the following establishments: Banks, express companies, insurance companies, telegraph and telephone messenger companies, bowling alleys, bootblack stands, pool rooms, and regular fire-department stations. Helpers on peddlers' wagons and laborers with pick and shovel were also exempt.

⁸ A law enacted in 1919 makes the establishment of continuation schools compulsory in all cities or towns in which 200 or more minors are regularly employed by authority of employment certificates or have permits. Acts of 1919, ch. 211, sec. 1.

requirement. As a result, none of the Cambridge, Somerville or Chelsea children was included in the continuation-school records, and not all the 4,401 Boston children. One reason for the omission of Boston children was that enrollment in the continuation school was not begun until January, 1914, and before that date 88 children who belonged in the selected group had escaped registration. A much larger number for whom continuation-school records could not be found, 589 in all, were children who had worked only during vacations; and 57 others were not enrolled because they were nearly 16 years of age when they took out their certificates. Although attendance at continuation school was compulsory for all employed children under 16 years of age, the school facilities were for some time inadequate, and therefore those children who were nearly 16, and so would be able to leave the school before they had derived much benefit from attendance, were not enrolled. Continuation-school records, on the other hand, were found for 268 children who, according to the dates of beginning and leaving positions, never actually worked during school term and who, therefore, were presumably vacation workers. But as no such records had been taken for the other 589 vacation workers, these 268 children were excluded from the continuation-school series of tables. These tables represent, therefore, as nearly as the data available permit, conditions among children who had actually left school to go to work.

In spite of these omissions, continuation-school records were used for 3,399 of the 4,401 Boston children for whom employment certificate records had been secured. The eliminations mentioned in the preceding paragraph tend to reduce the number of children appearing in the continuation-school records to represent a group of children who began their industrial careers at a somewhat younger age than the group included in the certificate record tables. At the same time, as all the vacation workers were omitted, they represent only children who had actually left school to go to work. In other respects the figures obtained included in these tables are believed to be fairly typical of the whole group.

The following facts secured from the continuation-school records relate to working status of father and mother, age at leaving school and reason for leaving, method of securing and reason for leaving work, sex, and years in the United States of foreign-born children.

The following table shows the reasons for omission of 1,002 children from the continuation-school series 3,399 children.	
Children omitted because no continuation-school records were taken.....	589
Children omitted because no continuation-school records were taken.....	268
Children omitted because they were nearly 16 years of age when the continuation school was opened.....	88
Children omitted because they had not yet reached the age of 16 when they began work, and for whom, therefore, no continuation-school records were taken.....	57
Total.....	1,002

Not all the information desired could be secured from existing records. Agents of the bureau, therefore, interviewed children in the continuation school and in this way secured much additional information in regard to 823 children, nearly all of whom were included in the group for which both certificate and continuation-school records were used. These interviews furnished much more accurate information as to unemployment and as to the time during which each child remained in each different position than did the certificate-office or continuation-school records. The certificate showed only the date when it was returned by the employer, which was frequently some time after the child had stopped work, and the continuation-school record was not made until the child returned for a new certificate. The interviews also furnished information as to the nationality of the parents, unemployment, time out on account of sickness, and the wages, hours, and character of work in each position, including positions held both before and after leaving school for which no certificates had been procured. In other words, they gave a fairly complete picture of the industrial careers of these 823 Boston children up to the date of the interview, but not, as did the certificate and continuation-school records, up to the age of 16.

The group of children interviewed, like that of children for whom continuation-school records were secured, consisted entirely of regular workers. Moreover, it contained an even larger proportion of children who had gone to work before they became 15 than did the group for whom continuation-school records were used. But the sample group of children interviewed was selected practically at random, so that with these two exceptions the 823 children in this special group seem to be fairly representative of the working children of Boston.

Nevertheless, in order to detect, so far as possible, any bias in either the larger or the smaller sample—the 3,399 children for whom continuation-school records were used or the 823 who were interviewed—a series of tables was prepared comparing, in as many respects as appeared to be both possible and desirable, the 4,401 Boston records and the 5,692 certificate records for the four cities combined with these two sources of information. These comparative tables assist in checking conclusions derived from both samples.

Still another series of tables is based on the 4,401 certificate records for Boston alone and compares the children who worked only during school vacations with those who actually left school to go to work before becoming 16. As has been seen, 857 vacation workers in Boston are included in the tables based on the certificate records, but are excluded from those based on the continuation-school records. These vacation workers were for the most part children who held certificates only between June 1 and October

requirement. As a result, none of the Cambridge, Somerville or Chelsea children was included in the continuation-school records, and not all the 4,401 Boston children. One reason for the omission of Boston children was that enrollment in the continuation school was not begun until January, 1914, and before that date 88 children who belonged in the selected group had escaped registration. A much larger number for whom continuation-school records could not be found, 589 in all, were children who had worked only during vacations; and 57 others were not enrolled because they were nearly 16 years of age when they took out their certificates. Although attendance at continuation school was compulsory for all employed children under 16 years of age, the school facilities were for some time inadequate, and therefore those children who were nearly 16, and so would be able to leave the school before they had derived much benefit from attendance, were not enrolled. Continuation-school records, on the other hand, were found for 268 children who, according to the dates of beginning and leaving positions, never actually worked during school term and who, therefore, were presumably vacation workers. But as no such records had been taken for the other 589 vacation workers, these 268 children were excluded from the continuation-school series of tables. These tables represent, therefore, as nearly as the data available permit, conditions among children who had actually left school to go to work.⁹

In spite of these omissions, continuation-school records were used for 3,399 of the 4,401 Boston children for whom employment certificate records had been secured. The eliminations mentioned in the preceding paragraph tend to reduce the number of children approaching 16 when they first went to work, so that the tables based on the continuation-school records represent a group of children who began their industrial careers at a somewhat younger age than the group included in the certificate record tables. At the same time, as all the vacation workers were omitted, they represent only children who had actually left school to go to work. In other respects the Boston children included in these tables are believed to be fairly typical of the whole group.

The additional facts secured from the continuation-school records related to working status of father and mother, age at leaving school and reason for leaving, method of securing and reason for leaving each position, and years in the United States of foreign-born children.

⁹ The certificate series for Boston alone contains 4,401 children and the continuation-school series 3,399 children. The following statement summarizes the reasons for omission of the remaining 1,002 children.

Vacation workers for whom no continuation-school records were taken.....	589
Vacation workers for whom continuation-school records were taken.....	268
Children who escaped registration before the continuation school was opened.....	88
Children who were nearly 16 when they began work, and for whom, therefore, no continuation-school records were taken.....	57
Total.....	1,002

Not all the information desired could be secured from existing records. Agents of the bureau, therefore, interviewed children in the continuation school and in this way secured much additional information in regard to 823 children, nearly all of whom were included in the group for which both certificate and continuation-school records were used. These interviews furnished much more accurate information as to unemployment and as to the time during which each child remained in each different position than did the certificate-office or continuation-school records. The certificate showed only the date when it was returned by the employer, which was frequently some time after the child had stopped work, and the continuation-school record was not made until the child returned for a new certificate. The interviews also furnished information as to the nationality of the parents, unemployment, time out on account of sickness, and the wages, hours, and character of work in each position, including positions held both before and after leaving school for which no certificates had been procured. In other words, they gave a fairly complete picture of the industrial careers of these 823 Boston children up to the date of the interview, but not, as did the certificate and continuation-school records, up to the age of 16.

The group of children interviewed, like that of children for whom continuation-school records were secured, consisted entirely of regular workers. Moreover, it contained an even larger proportion of children who had gone to work before they became 15 than did the group for whom continuation-school records were used. But the sample group of children interviewed was selected practically at random, so that with these two exceptions the 823 children in this special group seem to be fairly representative of the working children of Boston.

Nevertheless, in order to detect, so far as possible, any bias in either the larger or the smaller sample—the 3,399 children for whom continuation-school records were used or the 823 who were interviewed—a series of tables was prepared comparing, in as many respects as appeared to be both possible and desirable, the 4,401 Boston records and the 5,692 certificate records for the four cities combined with these two sources of information. These comparative tables assist in checking conclusions derived from both samples.

Still another series of tables is based on the 4,401 certificate records for Boston alone and compares the children who worked only during school vacations with those who actually left school to go to work before becoming 16. As has been seen, 857 vacation workers in Boston are included in the tables based on the certificate records, but are excluded from those based on the continuation-school records. These vacation workers were for the most part children who held certificates only between June 1 and October

1 or for a few days during the Christmas or Easter vacations; in addition, a few children are included who worked only before or after school hours and whose certificates were labeled "Not discharged from school."

A final series of tables was based on answers from 328 children to questionnaires sent out in December, 1918, to the 823 children who were interviewed in the continuation school asking them for information as to their occupations, wages, and hours at that time; that is, three years after the date of the interview and at a time when war production was little, if any, below its highest level. Of these 823 questionnaires 16 came back without description of the positions the children were holding, 92 were returned by the post office showing that the children could not be located, and 387 were never returned.

In addition a special study was made of the child-labor laws of Massachusetts and of their administration in Boston and its neighboring cities. This study was similar in character to the studies already published of the administration of employment-certificate laws in Connecticut, New York, Maryland, and Wisconsin.¹⁰ But in this report it is connected with statistics as to the number of violations of certain sections of the law, especially those relating to certification and to hours of labor. Although these statistics must necessarily underestimate the number of violations, as they are based on the histories of children who, at the time of the interview, were legally employed on certificates, they are for that reason all the more significant.

Two other sources were used for supplementary information, but the groups of children included in these subsidiary studies were not the same as the group which furnished the basis for the main investigation—those who became 14 during the year ended September 1, 1914. These sources were as follows:

1. Interviews by agents of the bureau with 118 children who held the "special home permits" above mentioned, especially to determine what use was made of such permits and in how many cases the children holding them were gainfully employed. The results of this study are summarized in the appendix.¹¹ These children all belonged to the same age group as those whose employment-certificate records had been copied.

2. The records of the certificate office in Boston as to employment certificates granted to children under 16 years of age from September 1, 1914, to August 31, 1918, the four years which represent roughly the period of the World War. Tables showing the principal facts available in these records are given in the introductory summary to this report.

¹⁰ Children's Bureau Publications Nos. 12, 17, 41, and 85.

¹¹ See Appendix, pp. 364 to 365.

OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES.

All the children included in this study were obliged, as already stated, to obtain permission to work, in the form of an employment certificate, from the local school authorities. In Boston these certificates were obtained from an office on the second floor of a building on Tremont Street near Boylston, close to the heart of the business section. In Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea they were obtained from the offices of the superintendents of schools of those cities. All these offices were centrally located. In none of the four cities were any printed instructions issued as to how to secure certificates. This kind of information is said to spread like wildfire among school children. Nevertheless, many a child had to visit the office more than once before he finally produced the four documents—(1) evidence of his age, (2) a school record, (3) a promise of employment signed by an employer or by his authorized representative, and (4) a physician's certificate of health—which entitled him to his entrance card to the industrial world.¹²

As for evidence of age,¹³ if the child did not bring a birth or baptismal certificate, a transcript of such certificate, or a passport, he was sent away with instructions as to where and how to apply for a birth certificate. In Boston, if a child stated that he had been born in the city, he was sent to the registry department, from which he returned either with a statement of his age or with a statement that his birth was not recorded. If born outside Boston, he had to produce at the office evidence, usually a registry receipt for his letter, that he had actually attempted to secure a transcript of his birth record. In such a case he was told to go back to school until he had received a reply to his letter or until sufficient time had elapsed for a reply. If no reply was received within a reasonable time, other documentary evidence was accepted, or if he could produce no satisfactory documentary evidence, he was required to secure a physician's certificate of age. This was obtained from the physician appointed by the school committee to give physical examinations to applicants for certificates. A child born in Boston who could not obtain a birth certificate had to follow the same procedure as to securing other documentary evidence or a physician's certificate of age.

Until the beginning of the World War the procedure was the same for foreign-born as for native children, but the war interrupted or

¹² 1909, ch. 514, sec. 58, as amended by 1913, ch. 779, sec. 16.

¹³ See pp. 295-297.

submit to regulations concerning the occupations he might enter and the hours he might work. He was prohibited from engaging in any of a long list of occupations—a list which the State board of labor and industries might extend, after hearings, to cover any occupation deemed by it to be sufficiently dangerous or injurious “to the health or morals of minors under 16 years of age to justify their exclusion.”²¹ He was permitted to work only eight hours a day and six days a week. He might not be employed in night work, that is, before 6.30 in the morning or after 6 in the evening.²² And wherever, as in Boston, the school committee had established a continuation school and made attendance compulsory he was obliged to attend for at least four hours a week, between 8 in the morning and 6 in the afternoon of a working day. The time spent in continuation school had to be counted as part of his working hours.²³ In other words, no child was permitted by law to spend in work and school attendance combined more than eight hours a day.

²¹ Acts of 1913, ch. 831, secs. 2-4.

²² Acts of 1913, ch. 831, sec. 3.

²³ Acts of 1913, ch. 805, sec. 1.

INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY.

The problem of child labor in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea is numerically an important one. Of the estimated number of children in these four cities who became 14 years of age during the year ended September 1, 1914, over one-third, 35.2 per cent, or 5,692 children, took out employment certificates for gainful labor before their sixteenth birthdays. The great majority, 4,401, went to work in Boston. Furthermore, Table A, which is based on the records of the Boston certificate office, shows that the number of children going to work in that city increased rapidly from September 1, 1914, to September 1, 1918. During the year which ended on August 31, 1915, 3,342 original certificates were issued in Boston—that is, 3,342 children who had never before held certificates took them out. The next year this number nearly doubled, and in the period from September 1, 1917, to August 31, 1918, the number of children taking out their first certificates was 8,760.¹

TABLE A.—*Sex of child, by year of issue; first and all employment certificates issued in Boston.*

Year of issue and kind of certificate.	Employment certificates issued to—				
	All children.	Boys.		Girls.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
FIRST OR ORIGINAL CERTIFICATES.					
Sept. 1, 1914–Aug. 31, 1915.....	3,342	(1)	.....	(1)	.....
Sept. 1, 1915–Aug. 31, 1916.....	6,653	4,145	62.3	2,508	37.7
Sept. 1, 1916–Aug. 31, 1917.....	7,017	4,224	60.2	2,793	39.8
Sept. 1, 1917–Aug. 31, 1918.....	8,760	4,994	57.0	3,766	43.0
ALL CERTIFICATES (FIRST AND SUBSEQUENT).					
Sept. 1, 1914–Aug. 31, 1915.....	6,412	3,586	55.9	2,826	44.1
Sept. 1, 1915–Aug. 31, 1916.....	12,043	7,219	59.9	4,824	40.1
Sept. 1, 1916–Aug. 31, 1917.....	16,805	10,262	61.1	6,543	38.9
Sept. 1, 1917–Aug. 31, 1918.....	20,683	11,609	56.6	8,984	43.4

¹ No figures available for sex of children to whom first employment certificates were issued in Boston in 1914.

Some children who take out employment certificates, of course, do not leave school, but work only during vacations or out of school hours. Nevertheless, nearly three-tenths, 28.9 per cent, of all children of the age group considered who lived in Boston at the time of

¹ During the next year this number fell to 6,781, and during the year which ended August 31, 1920, to 6,530.

this study became regular workers—that is, left school for work—before their sixteenth birthdays. About four-fifths, 80.5 per cent, of the children who took out certificates in that city appear to have definitely left school for industry.

Nativity and fathers' nationality.—A decidedly larger proportion of the foreign-born than of the native children—not far from three-fifths, 58.3 per cent, of the foreign born, but less than one-third, 32.3 per cent, of the native children—living in the four cities took out employment certificates. Approximately four-fifths, 81.6 per cent, of the children who took out certificates were native born. Russia and Italy furnished considerably larger numbers of foreign-born children than did any other country; only a very few children were born in Ireland.

The foreign-born children who took out certificates more generally became regular, as distinguished from vacation, workers than did the native children. Not far from twice as large a proportion of all the foreign-born as of all the native children living in Boston—nearly one-half, 47.7 per cent, of the foreign born but little over one-fourth, 26.4 per cent, of the native children—became regular workers. Of the children who took out certificates in Boston the foreign born constituted 18.8 per cent of the regular workers and only 14.5 per cent of the children who worked only during vacation or out of school hours. Italian children furnished a particularly large proportion, 7.4 per cent, of the regular workers as compared with their proportion, only 2.7 per cent, of the vacation workers.

Although only about 2 out of every 10 working children were themselves foreign born, about 7 out of every 10 had foreign-born fathers. Of those interviewed, who may be considered fairly typical, 72.1 per cent were children whose fathers came from some foreign country. More than one-third, 36.1 per cent, had fathers from south and east Europe, and not far from another third, 31.3 per cent, had fathers from north and west Europe. Comparatively few, only 8.7 per cent, of the native children had Russian-Jewish fathers, but approximately one-fourth, 24.8 per cent, had Italian fathers, and not far from two-fifths, 37.7 per cent, had Irish fathers. A comparison of these proportions for father's nationality with those for the child's own nativity shows merely that the immigration of Irish families to Boston has been comparatively slight within recent years, but was heavy a few years ago; that Russian-Jewish family immigration has begun recently, but has brought large numbers; and that Italian families have been coming in large numbers over a considerable period.

Sex.—More boys than girls went to work between 14 and 16 years of age. Boys constituted three-fifths, 60.1 per cent, and girls two-fifths, 39.9 per cent, of the children of the age group studied who took out certificates in the four cities. Over two-fifths, 42.3 per cent, of

the boys, but not much more than one-fourth, 28 per cent, of the girls of this age group took out employment certificates. But within more recent years, as shown in Table A, there appears to have been a tendency, at least in Boston, for the number of girls entering industry to increase more rapidly than the number of boys.

Less difference between boys and girls in the tendency to go to work early was found among foreign-born than among native children, and also among children of foreign parentage than among those of native parentage. Not far from two-thirds, 61.7 per cent, of the foreign-born boys and considerably more than one-half, 54.9 per cent, of the foreign-born girls of the age group studied who were estimated to be living in the four cities, became wage earners before they were 16 years of age. Among the native born the corresponding proportions were about two-fifths, 39.8 per cent, for the boys and less than one-fourth, 24.7 per cent, for the girls. Of the foreign-born children who went to work nearly half, 46.6 per cent, were girls; but of the native children less than two-fifths, 38.4 per cent, were girls. Similarly, of the children interviewed whose fathers were foreign born, only a slightly lower proportion than of those who were themselves foreign born, 44.7 per cent, were girls, while of those whose fathers were native not much more than one-third, 36.8 per cent, were girls. Evidently foreign-born fathers were much more likely to send their daughters, as compared with their sons, to work at an early age than were native fathers.

In regard to the tendency to become regular or merely vacation workers, little difference was found between boys and girls. A slightly larger proportion of the girls, as compared with the boys who took out certificates in Boston, became regular workers. Owing to the difference in tendency to take out certificates of any kind, over one-third, 34.5 per cent, of all the boys but less than one-fourth, 23.2 per cent, of all the girls of the age group considered who are estimated to have lived in Boston had left school definitely for industry before they became 16.

Among the foreign-born children the tendency of girls to become regular workers was nearly as pronounced as that of boys, but among the native born a great difference was observed between the two sexes. In Boston nearly one-third, 32.7 per cent, of the native boys, but only about one-fifth, 20.2 per cent, of the native girls had left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays.

Age at going to work.—A somewhat larger proportion of children took out employment certificates within the first six months after they became of legal age to work than during any other six-month period. Not far from one-third, 31.4 per cent, of all the children of the age group studied who were given certificates in Boston, and considerably more than one-third, 35.1 per cent, of those who

became regular workers, received their first certificates when between 14 and 14½ years of age. Of all the children who took out certificates in the four cities combined, a slightly larger proportion received them during the six months preceding their sixteenth birthdays than during the six months immediately following their fourteenth birthdays; but this was due mainly to the large number of children who went to work during a school vacation before the end of which they would be 16. As these children had not left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays, they were classed in this study as vacation workers, although many of them, possibly a considerable majority, never returned to school.

The figures relating to children to whom original employment certificates were issued in Boston during the years from September 1, 1914, to August 31, 1918, given in Table B, show a somewhat different distribution by age at going to work, but a decided tendency in the later years for more children to take out certificates soon after becoming 14. In the year which ended August 31, 1915, and also in the following year, a slightly larger proportion of children took out certificates when between 15 and 15½ years of age than during any other six-month period; but during the year which ended on August 31, 1917, practically one-third, 33 per cent, of all the children taking out their first certificates were between 14 and 14½, and in the next year this proportion rose to 37.2 per cent. These figures, however, like those for the children of the age group studied who took out certificates in the four cities, relate both to children who were going to work only during a vacation and to those who were leaving school permanently for industry.

TABLE B.—*Age of child and year of issue; first employment certificates issued in Boston.*

Year of issue.	First employment certificates issued to children of specified age.								
	All children.	14-14½ years.		14½-15 years.		15-15½ years.		15½-16 years.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Sept. 1, 1914-Aug. 31, 1915...	3,342	832	24.9	817	24.4	853	25.5	840	25.1
Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916...	6,653	1,583	23.8	1,595	24.0	1,747	26.3	1,728	26.0
Sept. 1, 1916-Aug. 31, 1917...	7,017	2,319	33.0	1,682	24.0	1,604	22.9	1,412	20.1
Sept. 1, 1917-Aug. 31, 1918...	8,760	3,256	37.2	2,223	25.4	1,849	21.1	1,432	16.3

The tendency for children to go to work within the first six months after they became 14 was more marked among the native than among the foreign born, apparently because many of the foreign-born children, and especially of those who had been in the United States less than five years, were prevented from going to work early

by inability to meet the educational requirements of the employment-certificate law. That the foreign-born children, if unhampered by educational requirements, would have gone to work as soon as they were old enough appears probable from the fact that among the children interviewed the comparatively large proportion of native children going to work before they were 14½ years of age was found to be due entirely to children whose fathers were foreign born. In this group both the foreign-born children and the native children of foreign-born fathers showed a greater tendency than did the native children of native fathers to leave school for work within one month after their fourteenth birthdays.

The general tendency in regard to age at going to work was the same for both sexes, although the boys showed a slightly greater tendency than did the girls to take out certificates soon after becoming 14, especially for vacation work. Among the native children of native fathers this difference was marked, but it was much less evident among the native children of foreign-born fathers, and appears not to have existed among the foreign-born children.

Evidence of age.—The great majority of children who had been born in the United States—87.9 per cent of those born in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea and 77.2 per cent of those born elsewhere in the United States—produced official birth records as evidence of age when applying for their employment certificates. Moreover, most of the other children born in the United States—10.1 per cent of the first group and 11.7 per cent of the second—produced baptismal certificates which were equally acceptable.

In spite of the fact that during a large part of this period the World War so interfered with communication with foreign countries that children were not required to send abroad for evidence of age, nearly half, 46 per cent, even of the foreign-born children, produced official records of birth, and 9.2 per cent produced records of baptism. Many of the foreign-born children, however, were obliged to use passports or other official or religious records, 18 per cent, or school registers, 21.9 per cent, as evidence of age; and 3.9 per cent of the foreign-born children, as compared with only 2.1 per cent even of the native children born outside and with only three-tenths of 1 per cent of those born in one of the four cities, could obtain no documents and were obliged to resort to a physician's examination for evidence of age.

Family conditions.—Of the children of the age group studied who were in Boston continuation school, and all of whom were, therefore, regular workers, exactly two-thirds are known to have lived at the time they went to work in normal families; that is, in families with both a father (or stepfather) and mother (or stepmother) in the

home. A few, 2.8 per cent, were not living with either parent, and nearly 1 in 20, 4.4 per cent, had either lost their mothers or had mothers who were not living with the family. A much larger proportion, however, 17.7 per cent, had lost their fathers, either by death or desertion, but were living with their mothers. Economic need, therefore, caused by the death of the father or by the fact that for some reason he was not living with his family appears to have caused many children to leave school for work.

The proportion of regular workers who came from broken families was highest among native children of native parentage, next highest among native children of foreign parentage, and lowest among foreign-born children. Evidently the death or desertion of the father was more often a factor in the circumstances leading to the child's employment in native than in foreign families. This was due to the greater tendency of children from foreign than from native families to leave school for work, even when home conditions were normal.

Although desertion by the father appears to have played its part in sending children from school to work, for the fathers of 21 of the 823 children interviewed were not living with their families, the death of the father appears to have been a much more important factor. Only about one-eighth, 12.2 per cent,² of children of 14 would normally have lost their fathers by death, yet approximately one-fifth, 20.7 per cent, of the children interviewed, and nearly one-fourth, 24.4 per cent, of those of native parentage, including all who had stepfathers, had lost their own fathers by death.

The unemployment of the father of the family also appears to have been less important than his death as a causal factor in the child's going to work. The information as to unemployment relates, however, merely to the date when the child took out his first certificate. If a father's work was irregular but he happened to be employed on that precise date, his occupation was given and nothing appears on the record to show that his irregular work may have necessitated his child's labor. Nevertheless, the fathers of about one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, of the interviewed children whose fathers were living with their families were unemployed at the time the children went to work. The proportion of children who had unemployed fathers was about the same in each of the three main nativity groups; but a considerably larger proportion of girls than of boys, 15.5 per cent as compared with 10.7 per cent, had unemployed fathers.

Of the interviewed children whose fathers were living with their families more than one-half had fathers who were laborers, factory

² Estimated from the mortality during 14 years of males aged 30 as given in U. S. Life Tables, 1910. The estimate is purposely slightly overstated in assuming a rather high average age of fathers at the births of their children and in assuming that the mortality of males applies to married males.

operatives, or skilled or semiskilled mechanics. The fathers of almost one-fifth, 18.6 per cent, were laborers, but exactly the same proportion had fathers who were skilled or semiskilled mechanics, and nearly as many, 14.3 per cent, had fathers who were factory operatives. The other two groups of occupations which showed the largest proportions were teamsters, drivers, and expressmen, 8.2 per cent, and merchants and peddlers, 8 per cent. A very small proportion, only 1.6 per cent, of these children had fathers who were clerical workers.

The native children of native parentage had a larger proportion of fathers who were skilled or semiskilled mechanics, those of foreign parentage a larger proportion who were laborers, and the foreign-born children larger proportions who were factory operatives and who were merchants or peddlers. Doubtless because relatively more of them were foreign born a considerably larger proportion of the fathers of working girls than of working boys were laborers, and a much smaller proportion were skilled or semiskilled mechanics.

The mothers of a considerable number, more than 1 in 6, 17.5 per cent, of the children interviewed were employed in some gainful occupation. In families where the father was native, the mother appears to have been more likely to go to work before the child was sent into industry than in those where the father was foreign born, and in families where the father was foreign born but the child native than in those where both father and child were foreign born. Similarly, mothers appear to have gone to work before their daughters more frequently than before their sons in each nativity group except that of foreign-born children.

In families where the father was unemployed, and to an even more marked degree in those where the father was dead or not living at home, the mother was much more likely to have preceded the child into industry than in normal families. About one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, of the children whose fathers were unemployed, and two-fifths, 40 per cent, of those whose fathers were dead or not living with their families, had employed mothers. Less than one-half, only 44.7 per cent, of the fatherless children had mothers at home and not employed as compared with more than four-fifths, 83.6 per cent, of the children whose fathers were living at home and employed.

Not all children, however, from families in which conditions might seem to indicate economic pressure, stated, when asked why they were leaving school, that their earnings were needed at home; and on the other hand, because of large families, low earnings of the fathers, illness or some other reason, many children from normal

families gave this as their reason for going to work. Economic need was given as a reason for leaving school by only two-fifths, 40.5 per cent, of all the children interviewed as compared with more than one-half, 53.5 per cent, of those whose fathers were dead or not living with their families, with not far from three-fifths, 57 per cent, of those whose mothers were employed and with over three-fourths, 77.8 per cent, of those whose fathers were unemployed.³

In spite of the fact that both the death or desertion of the father and the employment of the mother seem to have been more closely correlated with the employment of the children in families where the children were native born of native fathers than in any other nativity group, little more than one-third, 34.3 per cent, of these children, as contrasted, for example, with nearly two-thirds, 63.7 per cent, of those born in Italy, gave economic necessity as their reason for going into industry. To a certain extent this may have been due to unwillingness on the part of the native children of native parentage to confess to poverty, but in large part it was probably due to the actual existence of greater economic need in the families of immigrants, and particularly in those of recent immigrants.

That girls, particularly native girls of native parentage, are less likely than boys to go to work unless their earnings are actually needed, appears again to be indicated by the fact that nearly one-half, 48.6 per cent, of the girls, but little more than one-third, 34.6 per cent, of the boys, stated that they were leaving school because of the economic necessities of their families. Decided differences between girls and boys in this respect were found in each group classified by the child's nativity and the father's nationality, but the contrast was particularly striking among the native children of native fathers, where 44.6 per cent of the girls, but only 28.3 per cent of the boys, gave economic necessity as their reason for leaving school to go to work.

Leaving school.—A considerable number of children in the Boston continuation school, all of whom were regular workers, left school when under 14 years of age. The proportion was 8.1 per cent. Many of these children doubtless left school at the beginning of a summer vacation before the end of which they became 14 and took out employment certificates, so that they did not all violate the compulsory school attendance law. The same can not be said, however, for the 44 children who left school when less than 13½ years of age.

³ It must be borne in mind that the child's statement as to the reason why he left school for industry may not in all cases be trustworthy.

Both the children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families and those both of whose parents were dead or not living with their families showed a tendency to leave school, as well as to go to work, younger than those from normal families.

A better measure, however, of the amount of absence from school during the transition to industry is found in the time during school term which elapsed between the date of leaving school and the date of taking the first regular position. Nearly one-third, 31.3 per cent, of the interviewed children were out of school a week or more at this time. About one-sixth, 16.4 per cent, were out from one week to a month, and nearly one-tenth, 9.4 per cent, from one to three months, while 3.4 per cent were out from three to six, and 2.2 per cent six months or more.

The proportion who lost one or more weeks of school time was highest among the native children of native fathers and lowest among the foreign-born children. It was higher among the girls than among the boys, and the girls also lost longer periods of time. Over two-fifths, 41.9 per cent, of the native girls of native parentage were out of school for a week or more, and about one-sixth, 16.2 per cent, for three or more months just before they went to work. It should be remembered that some of these girls, however, who were over 14 years of age, may have held special home permits which entitled them to be legally out of school. Although those permits were much less frequently given to boys than to girls, a few boys also may have held them. It would appear that entrance into industry is frequently preceded by absence from school, and in many cases by long periods of absence, and that this is particularly common among native children of native parentage, especially girls.

To what extent the children—or their parents—took their school work seriously enough to wait until the completion of the year's work before leaving school for industry is shown in the figures relating to the number of children who went to work during the summer vacation and during the school term. As promotions took place in the Boston schools only in June, children who went to work at any other time than during the summer vacation must either have failed to attend school as required by law or else must have dropped their school careers without regard to the completion of the grade which they had begun. Yet there was nearly as great a tendency to go to work during the school term as during the summer vacation, for nearly three-fourths, 72.8 per cent, of the children interviewed went to work during the school year, which constituted only about three-fourths of the calendar year. Evidently there was nearly as great a tendency

to go to work during the school term as during the summer vacations. The slightly greater tendency to go to work in the summer was entirely among the girls.

Children whose fathers were unemployed were more likely to go to work during the school year than those whose fathers were employed. But this disregard of their schooling was not unusually prevalent among children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families, perhaps because in many of these cases the death or desertion had occurred some time before the child was of working age and the family affairs had already been at least partially adjusted to meet the situation.

Although economic pressure was more frequently given as a reason for leaving school by the children of foreign-born fathers, it was the native children of native fathers who were most likely to go to work during a school term. This was not due to any greater tendency among native children of native parentage to wait until autumn, when they would be obliged either to return to school or to go to work—before securing positions—but to their greater tendency, particularly that of the boys, to go to work in the spring before the closing of school. Almost exactly one-fourth, 24.9 per cent, of all the boys interviewed, but not far from one-third, 30 per cent, of those whose fathers were native took their first regular positions during April or May. The Russian-Jewish children, on the other hand, appear to have been less likely than children of any other nationality group to go to work in the middle of a school year, and showed no special tendency to take positions in the spring.

The fact that girls showed less tendency than boys to go to work in April or May may be due in part to more opportunities, especially for outdoor work, open to boys at this season. Regardless of any special opportunities, however, it seems probable that many children, especially boys, left school shortly before the end of the session in order to secure the better positions before the closing of the schools released other applicants. Knowledge that they were not to be promoted in school may also have been a factor in causing some children to leave school for work in the spring.

The end of the school year in June is generally believed to be the period of the greatest influx of children into industry; and, if both vacation and regular workers are considered, this belief is doubtless correct. But that it probably is not true for regular workers alone appears to be indicated, not only by the foregoing facts, but by the fact that only about one-tenth, 9.8 per cent, of the children interviewed—all regular workers—went to work in June after the close of the school year. During the entire month of June only a little

over one-eighth, 13.1 per cent, of these children took their first regular positions. The proportion going to work during the month of September, on the other hand, was more than one-sixth, 17.4 per cent. The girls showed an even greater tendency than the boys to go to work rather than to return to school in the fall. September, then, appears to be the most popular month for the children who are definitely leaving school to begin their industrial careers, a fact which seems to point to lack of adjustment to school life as a very important reason for leaving school.

In fact, about one-fifth, 20.2 per cent, of all the children interviewed stated that their reason for leaving was that they were discontented with school, either because they disliked their school or their teacher, or because of slow progress or failure to receive a promotion. To these children may be added the one-eighth, 12.3 per cent, who said, when asked why they left school, that they wished to work, and also perhaps the small proportion, 4 per cent, who had finished the eighth grade and did not wish to go on to high school.

Discontent with school was more often given as a reason for leaving by native children, of both native and foreign-born fathers, than by foreign-born children and by boys than by girls. But these differences are accounted for by the greater proportions of foreign-born children and of girls who stated that they left because of economic need for their earnings.

Grade completed.—If a child began school at 6 and continued steadily without repeating grades he would have completed the grammar-school course by the time he was 14. Yet little more than one-half, 52.4 per cent, of the 14 and 15 year old children who took out certificates in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea had completed the eighth or a higher grade in a regular school. A slightly larger proportion, 54.1 per cent, of those who took out certificates in Boston alone had completed the grammar-school course. But even if all the children from vocational, disciplinary, and other special schools were considered to have completed the eighth grade, the proportion would be under three-fifths. Within more recent years, as shown in Table C, the proportion of children taking out certificates in Boston who had completed the eighth or a higher grade has been between 55 and 60 per cent. Between September 1, 1914, and August 31, 1918, some tendency was shown for the proportion who had completed high school or other grades above the eighth to increase. This may be due partly, however, to an increase in the proportion of children who worked only during vacations or out of school hours.

TABLE C.—Grade completed by child, and year of issue; first employment certificates issued in Boston.

Year of issue.	First employment certificates issued to—						
	All children.	Children who had completed specified grade.					
		Lower than fourth.		Fourth.		Fifth.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Sept. 1, 1914-Aug. 31, 1915.....	3,842	2	0.1	185	5.5	228	6.8
Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916.....	6,653	143	.6	271	4.1	485	7.3
Sept. 1, 1916-Aug. 31, 1917.....	7,017	139	.6	245	3.5	563	8.0
Sept. 1, 1917-Aug. 31, 1918.....	8,760	130	.3	322	3.7	609	7.0

Year of issue.	First employment certificates issued to—							
	Children who had completed specified grade.							
	Sixth.		Seventh.		Eighth.		Higher than eighth.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
Sept. 1, 1914-Aug. 31, 1915.....	467	14.0	493	14.8	994	29.7	973	29.1
Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916.....	845	12.7	1,083	16.3	1,655	24.9	2,271	34.1
Sept. 1, 1916-Aug. 31, 1917.....	976	13.9	1,199	17.1	1,655	23.6	2,340	33.3
Sept. 1, 1917-Aug. 31, 1918.....	1,217	13.9	1,558	17.8	2,252	25.7	2,772	31.6

¹ The increase in number of certificates granted to children from grades lower than the fourth was due to a change in the law, first effective in the summer of 1916, which permitted the issuance of vacation certificates to children who had not fulfilled the educational requirements of the law, namely, completion of fourth grade. With this exception, all children receiving certificates were obliged to have completed the fourth grade, except children who had attended school 7 years and whom the issuing officer deemed incapable of completing that grade.

The vacation workers included in this study, because of the fact that they were, on an average, decidedly older than the regular workers, would be expected to have completed higher grades. The difference, however, is even greater than would be expected from the mere difference in age. Nearly three-fourths, 73 per cent, of the children who were employed only during vacations or out of school hours, as compared with less than one-half, 49.6 per cent, of those who left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays, had completed the eighth or a higher grade in regular schools. The difference between vacation and regular workers in the proportion who had completed one or more years of high-school work is even more striking, 48 per cent as compared with 13.8 per cent. These figures suggest that the children who were well advanced in school may have been more likely to work only during vacations while those who were behind were more likely to leave school for regular positions in industry.

The tendency, already noted, for foreign-born children to become regular rather than vacation workers appears to be in part, at least,

responsible for the different proportions of children from the higher and the lower grades who worked regularly and merely during vacations. Only about one-third, 33.1 per cent, of the foreign-born children, as compared with considerably more than one-half, 56.7 per cent, of the native children, had completed the eighth or a higher grade. One in 8, 12.5 per cent, of the foreign-born children, and about 1 in 5, 21.4 per cent, of those born in Italy, were barely able to satisfy the low educational requirements for a certificate, completion of the fourth grade. Of the children born in Russia, however, a very creditable proportion, 44.2 per cent, as compared with only 15.7 per cent of those born in Italy, had completed the eighth or a higher grade. Even the proportion, 56.7 per cent, of native children who had completed the grammar-school course seems low when it is remembered that all these children were over 14, and a large number over 15 years of age.

Many of the native children were of foreign parentage, and it is interesting to note for the children interviewed—the only group for which the nationality of the father is available—the differences in grade attained between the native children whose fathers also were native and those whose fathers were foreign born. As would be expected, the proportion of native children of native fathers who had completed the eighth or a higher grade was somewhat larger than that of native children of foreign-born fathers, 54.8 per cent as compared with 48.5 per cent. The difference was slight as compared with that between the native children of foreign-born fathers and the foreign-born children, little more than one-fourth, 27.7 per cent, of whom had completed the grammar-school course. All the children interviewed, of course, were regular workers, and their grade standing averaged considerably lower than that of the entire group of children who took out certificates, including vacation workers.

In each different group of children, except the native, smaller proportions of girls than of boys came from the eighth and higher grades. This difference appears to have been due, at least in part, to the longer periods among girls than among boys between leaving school and going to work. Both boys and girls who had completed the seventh or eighth grades were more likely than those from lower grades to remain out of school for a time during this transition. In the case of eighth-grade graduates this was undoubtedly due primarily to difficulty in enforcing high-school attendance. Although many of the girls and some of the boys may have held special home permits during this interval between school and industry, it is significant that about 1 in 8, 12.4 per cent, of the girls who had completed only the seventh or eighth grades, as compared with only about 1 in 20, 4.9 per cent, of the boys, were out of school for three months or more at this time.

That the girls who took regular positions before they were 16 were less likely than the boys to go on from the grammar to the high school is further shown by the fact that the difference between the proportions of the two sexes who left school upon completion of the eighth grade was small as compared with the difference between the proportions who had completed a high-school grade.

The same causes which make it necessary for a child to go to work may also lead to retardation, and that they probably did so among the children studied is suggested by the fact that an even larger proportion of those who gave economic reasons for leaving school than of those who stated that they left because of slow progress or nonpromotion had completed only the sixth or a lower grade. It should be remembered, however, that the reason given by the child for leaving school may not in all cases have been the true one.

Retardation.—Actual retardation, measured on the conservative scale adopted for this report,^{3a} appears to have been very frequent among the children who left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays. Not far from one-third, 31.5 per cent, of the children who took out certificates in Boston for work during school hours were found to be retarded. For the other two groups of regular workers, those for whom continuation school records were used and those who were interviewed, the percentages of retarded children were nearly the same, 31.4 and 32.4, respectively.

Children who were in normal, and especially those who were in higher than normal grades for their ages appear, on the other hand, when they worked at all, to have sought employment during vacations or out of school hours, rather than to have left school. Only one-sixth of the vacation workers, as compared with more than three-tenths of the regular workers, were retarded; and a surprisingly large proportion, over three-tenths, of the vacation workers, as compared with less than one-tenth of the regular workers, had completed higher grades than normal for their ages. About half, 50.6 per cent, of the vacation workers, but less than half, 48.1 per cent, of the regular workers, had completed normal grades. Nor was the high percentage of retardation among regular workers due entirely to the comparatively large proportion of children of foreign birth among those who left school for industry before they were 16 years of age. Even of the native children for whom continuation school records were taken—all regular workers—more than one-fourth, 27.5 per cent, had failed to attain a normal grade before leaving school. The corresponding proportion for the foreign-born children, however, was nearly half, 48.2 per cent, and for the Italian children it was not far from two-thirds, 63.1 per cent.

^{3a} See pp. 126-127, and appendix, p. 362.

All the children who were born in this country had enjoyed presumably the same school advantages and had been required to attend for the same period. Nevertheless, for some reason, perhaps in part because of the use of foreign languages in their homes and in part because of other unfavorable home conditions affecting both their health and their ambition for success in school, the native children of foreign parentage were more often retarded than were the native children of native parentage. Less than one-fourth, 22.9 per cent, of the latter group of children, those with fathers born in this country, were retarded, as compared with not far from one-third, 31.9 per cent, of the children interviewed who were native born of foreign parentage. Thus the difference between the native children of native and of foreign-born fathers in the matter of retardation is greater than in that of grade attained. Of the foreign-born children, not far from half, 45.2 per cent, were retarded. Apparently the difference between native and foreign-born children in retardation, as well as in grade attained, was greater than that between native children of native and those of foreign parentage.

Among children of foreign parentage retardation appears to have had a close connection with language difficulties, for it was found that over two-fifths of the children interviewed whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities, and only one-fourth of those whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities were retarded. At the same time, the foreign-born children in the Boston continuation school who had been in the United States long enough to have begun their school lives here were much less likely to be retarded than were the foreign-born children who had come to this country since they were of school age. But that this latter difference was due in part, at least, merely to changes in schools is suggested by the fact that among the native children who took out certificates in the four cities a similar difference appears between those born in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea and those born elsewhere in the United States. Children of Italian fathers furnished the largest percentage of retardation, while comparatively little retardation was found among children whose fathers were Russian Jews.

As in the case of grade attained, girls made a poorer showing than boys. In each group—children given certificates, continuation-school children, and children who were interviewed—larger proportions of girls than of boys were retarded and smaller proportions were advanced in their school work. Among the interviewed children this difference was particularly striking between the foreign-born boys and girls and was slight between the native boys and girls whose fathers were foreign born. The high percentage of retardation among foreign-born children appears to have been due primarily to the

girls, 52.2 per cent of whom were retarded as compared with only 36.8 per cent of the boys. Nevertheless, among the children of Italian fathers a larger proportion of boys than of girls was retarded.

The group of continuation-school children who went to work within six months after becoming 14 years of age contained an unusually large proportion both of retarded and of advanced children as compared with the groups going to work within any other six months' period. Some retarded children were probably prevented from going to work until after their fifteenth birthdays by inability to meet earlier the low educational requirement for a certificate—completion of the fourth grade—for a slightly larger proportion of retarded children was found among those who went to work when over 15 than when between 14 and 15, and both groups of children who went to work when over 15 showed unusually high proportions who were three or more grades below normal for their ages.

The effect of family conditions and the economic status of the family upon retardation among the children studied is not capable of any exact statement. The data concerning family conditions relate only to the time when the child took out his first certificate, whereas the home influences which might cause retardation would cover the entire period of the child's school life. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that of the children attending the Boston continuation school both of whose parents were employed and also among those both of whose parents were unemployed—neither a normal family status—unusually large proportions were retarded. That the employment or absence from home of the mother may have more influence on the retardation of the child than the status of the father is suggested, too, not only by the higher proportion of retarded children who had both parents employed than who had both parents unemployed but also by the somewhat larger proportion whose mothers than whose fathers were dead or not living with their families.

The father's occupation, which is a rough index to the economic status of the family, appears to have had some connection with the child's retardation, even when differences due solely to the distribution of fathers of the various nationality groups among the occupations are eliminated. Children of skilled or semiskilled mechanics and of factory operatives were found, for example, to have been much less frequently retarded than would be expected in those groups if the rate of retardation prevailing in the different nationality groups had prevailed also in each occupational group of the particular nationality. On the other hand, the children of laborers and of merchants and peddlers were more frequently retarded than would be expected. At the same time, the conclusion that the economic pressure which forces the child into industry often causes also his retardation in school is strengthened by the fact that a larger proportion of the

children who gave economic reasons for leaving school were retarded than of those who gave all other reasons, and even than of those who stated that they had left school because they disliked their school or their teacher or because of slow progress or failure to obtain a promotion.

Retarded children showed a more pronounced tendency than any other group to take their first positions during the school year. Of all the children interviewed who went to work during a summer vacation only 19.2 per cent, but of those who went to work at some other time, 37.4 per cent, were retarded. This tendency appeared in each nationality group, but particularly among the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities, notably the Italian.

At the same time less than one-fourth, 24 per cent, of the retarded children, as compared with nearly one-third, 32.3 per cent, of the normal children and with 44.1 per cent of the advanced children, lost one week or more of school time between leaving school and going to work. Evidently the retarded children more frequently went immediately to work upon leaving school than did the normal and advanced children. Many of the latter, doubtless, finished a school year and then failed to return to begin the new grade in the fall. The greater tendency of girls than of boys to stay out of school before going to work was found mainly not among retarded girls but among girls from normal and higher than normal grades for their ages.

Work before leaving school.—Many of the children who left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays had also worked during vacation periods or out of school hours before leaving school. Some of this work was done after they were 14 years of age, but many of the interviewed children, who were questioned as to all the positions they had ever held, were found to have worked before they were 14, when, of course, they could not secure certificates. Not all this work, however, was illegal, for in some cases it was in occupations in which children were permitted to work under 14 during vacations or outside school hours, and in others street-trades licenses, which boys could get at 12 years of age, had been secured.

The children interviewed, it should be remembered, were decidedly younger when they left school for work than was the average child taking his first regular position, so that they had had comparatively little time for vacation work. Nevertheless, about two-fifths, 39.4 per cent, of all these children, and not far from three-fifths, 58.7 per cent, of the boys, had been employed before leaving school; and all but 46 of the 324 who had been employed had begun their vacation work before they were 14, at least 40 before 12, and 12 before 10 years of age. Comparatively few girls, only about one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, worked before leaving school, and a much larger proportion of them than of the boys secured their first school positions after they were 14, and worked only during a vacation period.

Opportunities to work before or after school hours or on Saturdays during school term at such occupations as street trading, odd jobs, and outdoor work appear to have been much more common for boys than for girls. Because of these opportunities and also because most of the boys took their first school positions before they were 14 years of age when factory and mechanical occupations were closed to them by law, nearly nine-tenths, 89.6 per cent, of the boys who worked before leaving school were first engaged in occupations classed as "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods." Over two-fifths, 41.1 per cent, of these first school positions held by boys were for occupations involving selling, generally as newsboys or peddlers' helpers; but an even larger proportion, 46.1 per cent, were for messenger, errand, and delivery work.

Owing to the fact that a larger proportion of girls than of boys took their first school positions when they were over 14 years of age, 9 of the 15 children who were employed in factory or mechanical occupations were girls. Only 29 first school positions, 11 of them held by girls, were for personal and domestic occupations. These positions constituted 9 per cent of all the first school positions held by both sexes, and this percentage was noticeably larger than the percentage, 4.6, of regular positions in personal and domestic occupations.

Foreign-born children, especially Italians, showed a greater tendency than did native children to leave school definitely for work rather than to go through an intermediate period of combined school and work. The tendency of native children to work before leaving school was entirely, however, among the boys. Similarly, a larger proportion of native children of native than of foreign-born fathers worked before leaving school, and this again was true only for the boys, the girls showing an opposite tendency. The native boys whose fathers were native appear, however, to have been more likely than those whose fathers were foreign born to take school positions for work during vacation only, and less likely to work during school term only.

The work done before leaving school appears to have been less desultory and irregular than might be expected. Two-thirds, 66.7 per cent, of the children who worked before leaving school held only one school position, though over one-fifth, 21.3 per cent, held two, nearly one-tenth, 9.3 per cent, three, and nine boys, 2.8 per cent of the total number of children, four or more positions each. More than one-third, 34.6 per cent, of these positions lasted less than three months; but a surprisingly large proportion, 30.2 per cent, lasted for a year or more and nearly one-sixth, 15.9 per cent, for two years or more. The positions held by girls were much more frequently of short duration than those held by boys. On the other hand, as would be expected from the fact that the girls' positions were more frequently for work only during vacation, their hours of labor averaged

decidedly longer than those of boys. In comparatively few, only 19.6 per cent, of the positions held by boys but the great majority, 62.2 per cent, of those held by girls the hours worked were 36 or over a week. More than one-third, 34.9 per cent, of the boys' positions involved between 12 and 24 hours and more than one-fourth, 27 per cent, less than 12 hours work a week. In nearly one-half, 48.8 per cent, of the positions in which children worked less than 12 hours they were employed for only one day a week. Over half, 51.3 per cent, of all the positions held by both sexes in which the hours were from 24 to 48 a week were held for less than three months, and most of these were vacation positions. Nevertheless, practically one-fifth, 19.9 per cent, of the positions in which the hours were from 24 to 48 a week were held for a year or over, and not far from one-fourth, 23.4 per cent, of the positions in which the hours were from 12 to 24 a week lasted for two years or more.

Although weekly wages depended to a considerable extent upon weekly hours of labor, some of these children appear to have received somewhat high rates of compensation, considering the hours, for the work they did before leaving school as compared with the rates usually prevailing in the positions which they held after leaving school. In more than one-third, 35.3 per cent, of the positions in which the hours were from 24 to 48 a week the children received \$4 or more, whereas in over three-fourths, 76.6 per cent, of those in which the hours were from 12 to 24 they received less than \$4. Nevertheless, in not far from one-third, 31.1 per cent, of the positions in which children worked from 12 to 24 hours—that is, from two to four hours daily on an average—they made \$3 or more a week, and 13 boys working these hours made \$4 or over a week, 3 of them \$6 or more.

A larger proportion of the children who had worked than of those who had not worked before leaving school took their first regular positions during school term. At the same time those who had worked showed themselves more likely than those who had not worked to go straight from school to industry without losing any important amount of school time in the transfer. Little over one-fourth, 26.9 per cent, of the children who had worked, but more than one-third, 34.3 per cent, of those who had not worked before leaving school, had lost one week or more of school time between leaving school and taking their first regular positions. This difference was due almost entirely, however, to the large number of girls who had not worked previously who lost school time during the transfer to industry.

Among the children who were interviewed vacation work meant, in most cases, work before the fourteenth birthday, which was performed without having secured employment certificates. In other words, it meant work performed at an age and under conditions when it might most logically be expected to have an influence upon

standing in school. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a larger proportion of the children who had worked, 36.1 per cent, than of those who had not worked, 30.1 per cent, before leaving school were retarded, and that a smaller proportion, 13.3 per cent as compared with 18.6 per cent, had completed higher grades than normal for their ages.

Nor is it surprising to find that work during school term appears to have had more serious effects on school standing than work done at any other time. Of the children whose first positions were held only during school term, 45.1 per cent were retarded, as compared with 31.1 per cent of those whose first positions were held during both school term and vacation and with 28.2 per cent of those whose first positions were held only during vacation. As two-thirds of the children who worked before leaving school held only one position, these figures seem to indicate that employment during school term is likely to cause a child to fall behind in his school work.

Occupations.—The occupations in which children between 14 and 16 years of age could be employed were of course decidedly restricted by their ages, lack of physical strength, and lack of education and experience. To a certain extent they were also restricted by law, particularly by the provisions in regard to hours, continuation-school attendance, and employment on machines. As a result most of the positions held by the children studied were for simple mechanical tasks or for running errands or carrying articles either inside or outside the establishment. Although none of these positions required any real skill, some of them permitted the development of a certain dexterity, and others made it possible for the child to acquire a little practical knowledge of the business apart from his own small task. A few of them, doubtless, offered opportunities for promotion to more skilled or responsible positions if the child remained, which he rarely did, until he grew older. In the vast majority of cases, however, the occupation was not of such a character as to offer either a future in itself or training for any other occupation by which the child could hope to earn a living as an adult.

Not far from two-thirds—63.5 per cent—of all the positions held by children who took out certificates in the four cities were for “clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, or delivery of goods, etc.,” and most of the others—33 per cent of all—were for factory or mechanical occupations. The most important of the clerical and similar occupations was messenger, errand, and delivery work, which alone furnished nearly one-third—32.8 per cent—of all these positions; and next most important was cash and messenger work in department stores, which furnished about one-eighth—12.4 per cent. Office work accounted for 7.3 per cent, packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work for 6.8 per cent, and selling for 4.1 per cent.

As positions for messenger and office work in factories, as well as for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work, were classified under clerical and similar occupations, most of the positions for factory and mechanical occupations involved work as factory operatives. The only other kind of employment under this general designation was work as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades, and only 2.6 per cent of these positions could be thus classified. Few positions were in personal or domestic or any other occupations outside the two main groups—factory and mechanical occupations and “clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, or delivery of goods.”

The increase in child labor which, as already noted, occurred in Boston during the war period appears to have been more conspicuous in factories than in workshops, stores, or other places. According to Table D, the proportion of first certificates which were issued for factories during the year ended August 31, 1916, was 38.4 per cent. During the next year this proportion dropped to 37.4 per cent, while the proportion issued for workshops increased from 16 to 18.3 per cent. During the year ended August 31, 1918, the proportion for factories rose to 42.6 per cent and that for workshops dropped back to 16 per cent. Meanwhile the proportion of first certificates for work in stores decreased from 24.7 per cent to 21.5 per cent, and then to 20 per cent. Similar changes occurred in the figures relating to all certificates issued. The figures in this table, however, are based upon a purely industrial classification, and therefore can not be compared with those for positions held by the children studied during this inquiry, which are based upon a classification primarily according to occupation.

TABLE D.—*Place of employment, and year of issue; first and all employment certificates issued in Boston.*

Year of issue and kind of certificate.	Employment certificates issued for work in specified place of employment.								
	All places of employment.	Factories.		Workshops.		Stores.		Other places.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
FIRST (OR ORIGINAL) CER-TIFICATES.									
Sept. 1, 1914-Aug. 31, 1915...	3,342	(1)	.....	(1)	.....	(1)	.....	(1)	.....
Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916...	6,653	2,554	38.4	1,066	16.0	1,645	24.7	1,338	20.9
Sept. 1, 1916-Aug. 31, 1917...	7,017	2,623	37.4	1,281	18.3	1,510	21.5	1,603	22.8
Sept. 1, 1917-Aug. 31, 1918...	8,760	3,729	42.6	1,405	16.0	1,749	20.0	1,877	21.4
ALL CERTIFICATES (BOTH ORIGINAL AND SUBSE-QUENT)—									
Sept. 1, 1914-Aug. 31, 1915...	6,412	2,058	32.1	(2)	.....	1,948	30.4	(2)	.....
Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916...	12,043	4,766	39.6	2,107	17.5	2,714	22.5	2,456	20.4
Sept. 1, 1916-Aug. 31, 1917...	16,805	6,498	38.7	3,570	21.2	3,605	21.5	3,132	18.6
Sept. 1, 1917-Aug. 31, 1918...	20,683	9,522	46.0	3,453	16.7	3,580	17.3	4,128	20.0

¹ No figures available for places of employment in 1914.

² Separate figures for workshops and other places not available for 1914. The total is 2,406.

Among the children included in this study considerable difference was found in the occupational distribution of boys and of girls. More than one-half, 51.7 per cent, of the certificates taken out by boys in the four cities were for messenger, errand, and delivery work, and nearly nine-tenths, 89 per cent, of the certificates taken out for this kind of work were held by boys. Although less than one-tenth, 9.4 per cent, of the positions held by boys were for office work, this occupation also showed a preponderance of boys who held not far from three-fourths, 72.7 per cent, of the office-work certificates. Boys also held most, 89.4 per cent, of the positions as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades.

On the other hand, nearly half, 48.3 per cent, of the certificates taken out by girls were for work as operatives in factories, and nearly seven-tenths, 69.1 per cent, of the certificates taken out for this kind of work were held by girls. In clothing factories and other needle trades a particularly large proportion, 94.3 per cent, of the positions were held by girls. Girls also preponderated in cash and messenger work in department stores and in packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work. More than one-sixth, 17.3 per cent, of the girls' positions were for cash and messenger work in department stores, and girls held three-fifths, 60.7 per cent, of the positions for this kind of work. Similarly, one-eighth, 12.4 per cent, of the girls' positions were for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work, and girls held four-fifths, 80 per cent, of the positions for this kind of work. As would be expected, a larger proportion of the positions held by girls than of those held by boys were in personal and domestic occupations.

Decided differences were found in the tendencies shown by native and by foreign-born children, and also by children from different foreign countries, toward various occupations. Owing, primarily, to a decidedly larger proportion of foreign-born than of native children who secured their first positions in clothing factories and other needle trades, the foreign-born children, especially the Italians, showed a greater tendency to begin their industrial careers in factory and mechanical occupations. This difference was particularly pronounced among the girls. More than one-fifth, 21.8 per cent, of the foreign-born girls who took out certificates in the four cities—over one-third, 36.2 per cent, of those born in Italy and more than one-sixth, 17.3 per cent, of those born in Russia—as compared with less than one-tenth, 9.2 per cent, of the native girls, began work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades.

The native children, on the other hand, showed a greater tendency than the foreign born to enter each of the occupations classed as clerical, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods, except "selling" and "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work." Over one-

tenth, 11.1 per cent, of the first positions held by Italian children and 8.6 per cent of those held by Russian children involved selling, generally in small shops or from peddlers' wagons. The Russian children appear to have been more like the native in their distribution between the two big occupation groups than were the Italian, but the reason was that a much larger proportion of Russian, 11.7 per cent, than of either native, 5.8 per cent, or Italian, 4.6 per cent, were first employed in packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work. The children who were born in England and Wales entered in general much the same occupations as the native children, and an even larger proportion of them were employed in cash and messenger work in department stores. Nevertheless, department stores furnished first positions for only 7.9 per cent of all the foreign-born children, and 11.3 per cent of all the foreign-born girls, including those from Great Britain, as compared with more than one-eighth, 14.4 per cent, of the native children and nearly one-fourth, 23.8 per cent, of the native girls.

Among the native children were included, however, many whose fathers were foreign born. These children tended to resemble in their choice of occupations those whose fathers also were native more closely than they resembled foreign-born children. Nevertheless, they distinctly tended to modify the tendencies shown by native children of native parentage. The contrast, therefore, between the foreign-born children and the native children whose fathers also were native was in most cases even more pronounced than that between the foreign born and the entire group of native children. In general, too, the children whose fathers were foreign born of each special nationality showed the same tendency, though in lesser degree, as those who were themselves foreign born of the same nationality.

These figures concerning the nationality of the fathers relate, of course, only to the interviewed children, all of whom were regular workers, whereas those given previously concerning the nativity of the children relate to all those who took out certificates, both vacation and regular workers. Only comparatively slight differences in occupational distribution were found, however, between the vacation and the regular workers who took out certificates in Boston. In spite of the fact that more of them were native born and that they were, as a rule, older and more advanced in school, the vacation workers appear to have been somewhat more likely to enter factory and mechanical occupations than the regular workers. The only occupation included in the group of clerical and other similar occupations which the vacation worker less frequently entered was messenger, errand, and delivery work. The greater tendency of vacation workers to begin in factories appears to have been due primarily to a comparatively large proportion of girl vacation workers who began

their industrial lives as operatives in shoe factories. In clothing factories and other needle trades, as would be expected from the large proportion of foreign-born children employed, a smaller proportion of vacation than of regular workers secured their first positions.

The differences in occupational distribution between the entire group of continuation-school children and those who were interviewed, like those between the vacation and regular workers, were not great. Most of the conspicuous differences which occurred were in occupations in which, as will be seen later, the interviewed children were found to have held a considerable number of uncertificated positions. For example, 4.6 per cent of the positions held by the children interviewed, as compared with only 2.7 per cent of those held by the children in continuation school, were in personal and domestic occupations; and 9.5 per cent of those held by the children interviewed, as compared with only 7.2 per cent of those held by the children in continuation school, were as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. Evidently the chief differences were due to the fact that, in the records of the children interviewed, positions were included for which no certificates were secured. On the other hand, the fact that only 1.3 per cent of the positions held by the interviewed children, as compared with 2.1 per cent of those held by the continuation-school children, were as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades is probably due to more accurate description during the interview of the actual work performed.

Children who were behind in their school work showed a greater tendency than did normal or advanced children to enter factory and mechanical occupations, and also to take positions involving "selling" or "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work," and to enter personal and domestic occupations. In spite of the fact that the younger children showed less tendency than the older to begin work as factory operatives, it appears that, in general, the lower the grade a child had completed in school the more likely was he to begin his industrial career in such an occupation. Actual retardation seems, as would be expected, to have had the same effect. Over one-third, 35.5 per cent, of the regular positions held by retarded children, but little over one-fourth, 27.5 per cent, of those held by children from normal grades, and not much more than one-fifth, 21.8 per cent, of those held by children from grades higher than normal for their ages were for work as factory operatives. The only kind of work in which retarded, normal, and advanced children showed about the same tendency to begin their industrial lives was messenger, errand, and delivery work.

Children from higher grades than normal for their ages showed, on the other hand, a decidedly greater tendency than other groups to go into offices and also into cash and messenger work in depart-

ment stores. Nearly one-third, 32.1 per cent, of the advanced girls, as compared with little more than one-fourth, 27.1 per cent, of the normal and with less than one-sixth, 14.8 per cent, of the retarded girls, went into cash and messenger work in department stores.

These differences in occupational distribution between normal and retarded children appear in the main to coincide with the differences already pointed out between the occupational tendencies of native and foreign-born children. A larger proportion of the foreign-born than of the native children, for example, were retarded, and these children more frequently than the native secured factory positions.

The children interviewed, who constitute a fair sample of all, were not usually employed in positions involving work at or in connection with machines. In only about one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of all the positions held by them was there any machine work and in many, if not most, of these the children were employed at machine work for only part of the time. Most of the machine work was in factory operative positions, and it was especially common in clothing factories and other needle trades. As girls much more frequently than boys worked in these positions, machine work was much more common in the positions held by girls than in those held by boys.

Children not infrequently worked at more than one occupation in a position. When not needed for errands, for example, they were often assigned to some other occupation, its nature depending on the nature of their employers' business. Frequently, too, children were transferred from the occupation for which they were hired to a different one not contemplated by the issuing officer or the examining physician when the certificate was made out. In over one-eighth, 13.5 per cent, of all the positions held by the children interviewed they were transferred to occupations different from those for which their certificates read.

These occupational shifts were most likely to occur, however, in establishments employing a considerable number of children in similar occupations—for example, in shoe factories—and, as a result, many of them did not involve changes to occupations of a different kind, so far as the classification adopted for this report is concerned. In little more than 1 position in 20, 5.6 per cent, were the children transferred to wholly different occupations. Shifts to occupations of other kinds than those for which the children were employed were most common in positions held by girls in messenger, errand, and delivery work and in "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work." In nearly one-fourth, 23 per cent, of the former positions, and in about one-eighth, 12.9 per cent, of the latter, girls were so transferred. In these two general types of occupations, at least, promises of employment evidently constituted peculiarly weak evidence as to what a girl might actually be expected to do.

Methods of securing positions.—Few of these children—less than one-tenth, 9.3 per cent, of those in the continuation school and a still smaller proportion of those who were interviewed—secured their first positions through any agency engaged in the placement or vocational guidance of children. Of those who did make use of such an organization more than half were placed by private employment agencies. The Boston Placement Bureau, which had offices in the building where the certificate office was located and on the same floor, worked mainly among high-school graduates and children over 16 years of age who were applying for educational certificates, and, as a result, secured first positions for only 54, or 1.6 per cent, of the 3,399 children in the Boston continuation school. The State employment office secured first positions for only 31 of these children. The day schools, most of which had vocational counsellors, but did not attempt to find positions, appear to have been more important as placement agencies than any other public organization; yet the fact that they secured first positions for only 2.1 per cent of the continuation school and 0.4 per cent of the children interviewed shows that their influence was slight and was mainly among the older boys and girls.

The children who held more than one position appear, however, to have been much more likely to use placement agencies of all kinds in securing their second than their first positions. Nearly twice as large a proportion of these children, 15.3 per cent as compared with 8.1 per cent, secured their second as secured their first positions through agencies of this sort. Even the day schools obtained more second than first positions, and the placement bureau increased from 1.5 per cent of first to 2.3 per cent of second positions. The greatest difference, however, was found, naturally, in the use made of the placement facilities of the continuation school where the children were enrolled after they had secured their first but before they had secured their second positions. Only three, or 0.2 per cent, of the children who held more than one position secured their first, but 84, or 4.4 per cent, secured their second positions through the continuation school. Nevertheless, the continuation school at the time of this study was new and had as yet developed no systematic placement work. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that only one-ninth of the continuation-school children of the age group studied secured even their second positions through any form of placement agency other than private employment bureaus.

Slightly over three-fourths, 76 per cent, of the children in the Boston continuation school, and an even larger proportion of those who were interviewed, stated that they had secured their first regular positions either independently or through friends or relatives. A

larger proportion of those who held more than one position secured their first positions independently, oftener through personal application than through friends or relatives. About two-fifths, 40.2 per cent, stated that they had no assistance in finding their first places in the industrial world, as compared with 35.8 per cent who were assisted by friends or relatives. An even larger proportion of children who held more than one position secured their second than their first positions independently. A decrease of family influence is also shown in the smaller proportion who secured their second positions through relatives or who worked for relatives. On the other hand, as would be expected from the fact that the children's previous industrial experiences must have opened up new associations, the influence of friends over the choice of second positions was greater than their influence over the choice of first positions.

High-school children appear to have been much more likely than children from the grammar schools, and eighth-grade graduates than children from the lower grades, to secure their first positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. Not far from one-fifth, 18 per cent, of the children from high schools, and nearly one-tenth, 9.6 per cent, of the eighth-grade graduates made use of such agencies. At the same time native children, who constituted comparatively large proportions of all those from the higher grades, and particularly of those who had completed a year or more of high-school work, appear to have been much more likely than foreign-born children to secure their first positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. The children who had completed only the fourth or fifth grades, among whom the proportion of foreign born was comparatively high, rarely found their first positions through such agencies, but unusually large numbers of them were assisted by or went to work for relatives.

As would be expected from the fact that the proportion of children from the higher grades who secured their first positions through placement agencies was so much higher than that of children from the lower grades, comparatively few, only 22.8 per cent, of the children who made use of such agencies were retarded. On the other hand, retarded children formed over two-fifths, 42.6 per cent, of those whose employers were relatives, and nearly one-third, 32.4 per cent, of those who secured their first positions through relatives, as compared with only a little over one-fourth, 27.9 per cent, of those who secured their first positions through friends. The children who were assisted only by friends, as well as those who secured their positions through private employment agencies and through the placement bureau, seem to have been normal or advanced rather than retarded in their school work.

To a certain extent at least the method of securing a position would doubtless influence the occupation; or, conversely, positions in certain occupations would be more likely than positions in others to be secured by certain methods. It is not surprising to find, for example, that a larger proportion of the positions for clerical and similar occupations than of those for factory and mechanical work were secured through some sort of employment agency. Office work and messenger, errand, and delivery-work positions were particularly apt to be secured through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. Positions for cash and messenger work in department stores, on the other hand, were more often secured independently than by all other methods combined. A larger proportion of positions for factory and mechanical work than for clerical and other similar occupations were secured through friends or relatives, and also a larger proportion of the former than of the latter were secured independently. Considerable difference was found, however, between different kinds of factories. Thus, the children who began work in clothing factories and other needle trades, an unusually large proportion of whom were foreign born, much more often secured their first positions through friends or relatives than did the children who began work in shoe factories.

Length and number of positions and unemployment.—Considerable difference was found between occupations in the length of time during which children remained in their positions. In studying this subject only the first regular positions held by children interviewed were considered, for later positions were too frequently not terminated and the exact length of positions was not known for the other groups of children. The largest proportion of short-time positions was found in cash and messenger work in department stores. More than half, 51 per cent, of these positions, and not far from three-fifths, 57.9 per cent, of those held by girls lasted less than one month. Positions as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades were also likely to be of short duration. Over two-fifths, 43.6 per cent, of these positions, and a still larger proportion, 45.7 per cent, of those held by girls lasted less than three months. More than half these clothing factory positions which were terminated within three months lasted, however, more than one month. Though the work in clothing factories is seasonal, the rush seasons are much longer than department store "sales," and this fact is evidently reflected in the comparative length of positions held in the two occupations. Shoe factories appear to have offered the steadiest work for operatives. Considerably more than two-fifths, 43.7 per cent, of the shoe factory operative positions and nearly one-half, 48.3 per cent, of those entered by girls were held for a year or more.

Doubtless, because girls preponderated in cash and messenger work in department stores and in work as operatives in clothing factories

and other needle trades, the positions held by girls generally lasted for shorter periods than those held by boys. Over two-fifths, 41 per cent, of all the first positions held by girls, as compared with less than one-third, 32.1 per cent, of those held by boys, lasted less than three months.

Even children who had been at work only a short time before their sixteenth birthdays had often held a number of positions, but in general the longer the industrial histories the larger the proportion of children who had worked, for example, in as many as four different places. Of the children taking out certificates in the four cities who began work before they were 14½ years of age—that is, from 18 months to 2 years before their sixteenth birthdays—nearly one-third, 32.3 per cent, held only one certificate, and not far from one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, held four or more certificates. Fourteen of these children held 10 or more certificates. This group of children includes, however, many who worked only during vacation, and in such a group the proportion holding one position would naturally be larger, while that holding four or more positions would be smaller, than among children who had spent the whole 18 months to 2 years before their sixteenth birthdays as industrial workers. Of the continuation-school children, all regular workers, who began at the same ages, less than one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, held only one certificate but not far from three-tenths, 28.1 per cent, held four or more certificates.

Of the children interviewed, all regular workers, not far from one fourth, 23.1 per cent, held only one position in a year or more of work history and were therefore classified as "steady;" a somewhat larger proportion, 24.7 per cent, held on an average one position within each period of from six months to one year and were classified as "active;" about one-third, 33.2 per cent, held new positions on an average within each period of from three to six months and were classified as "restless;" and a comparatively small proportion, less than one-tenth, held new positions on an average within each period of less than three months and were classified as "unsteady."

In each of these groups of children girls held more positions on an average than did boys. Over one-fourth, 27.1 per cent, of the girls who took out certificates in the four cities, but less than one-fifth, 19.6 per cent, of the boys held four or more positions.

The steady workers appear to have been decidedly less likely to be retarded in their school work than those who shifted their positions frequently. Of the continuation-school children who took out their first certificates before their fifteenth birthdays only about one-fourth, 25.5 per cent, of those who held only one position, but about two-fifths, 40.6 per cent, of those who held four or more positions before

they became 16, were retarded. In the group of children interviewed the largest proportion of retarded children, about two-fifths, 39.9 per cent, was found among those classed as "restless," but nearly as large a proportion, 37.9 per cent, appeared among the considerably smaller number classed as "unsteady." On the other hand, only about one-fourth, 24.7 per cent, of the "steady" workers had failed to attain a normal grade. Apparently children who were behind in their school work were more likely than were those from normal or higher than normal grades for their ages to make frequent changes in their positions after going to work.

The figures in regard to unemployment relate only to the children interviewed, as the dates of termination of positions could not be determined accurately enough for the other groups of children. Moreover, only children who had been at work one year or more are here considered, as those with shorter work histories may not have had a normal amount of unemployment. Among these children the proportion of unemployed time was 14.4 per cent. The boys alone had only about one-eighth, 12.4 per cent, of their time unemployed, but the percentage for the girls was much higher, 17.

The order of nativity groups in amount of time unemployed was for girls exactly opposite to that for boys. Among native boys whose fathers also were native the percentage of unemployment was only 10.5, somewhat less than among native boys of foreign parentage, 12.6, and decidedly less than among foreign boys, 16.9. Among girls, on the other hand, the most favorable showing was made by those who were foreign born, with only 14.1 per cent of their time unemployed, and the next most favorable by the native girls whose fathers were foreign born, with 16.4 per cent of unemployed time. The highest percentage of unemployment for any sex and nativity group was 22.9 for the native girls whose fathers also were native. This peculiarity appears to be due to a greater tendency on the part of the native girls, and especially those of native parentage, to work only when they could secure the more attractive positions, for, as already shown, these girls more frequently than any other group tended to take temporary positions, especially for cash and messenger work in department stores, and were consequently out of work a great deal of the time.

This tendency to take temporary work especially in department stores, is also probably the cause of the otherwise surprising fact that girls who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages had nearly twice as large a percentage of unemployment as boys of the same class, 19.8 as compared with 10. For boys the percentage of unemployment, like the number of positions held, was largest among those who were retarded, but for girls it was somewhat larger among those from higher than among those from lower grades than normal for their ages.

Another strange fact is that both the boys and the girls who were very much retarded—three or more grades below normal—had lower percentages of unemployment, the boys only 6.8 per cent and the girls 14.2 per cent, than any other groups of the same sex. This was probably due primarily to the fact that the much retarded children of both sexes were more likely to go to work in factories where short-time positions were comparatively rare.

The children who had held only one position within a year or more of work history—those called “steady” workers—naturally had very little unemployment. Among these children the percentage of unemployed time was almost negligible, only 2.7. Among the “active” workers this percentage rose to 15.1, but it was more than doubled among the “unsteady” workers, who were unemployed during more than one-third, 34.9 per cent, of their work histories. Even the “restless” workers were unemployed for more than one-fifth, 21.9 per cent, of their time. All the different groups of girls showed higher percentages of unemployment than the corresponding groups of boys, but the difference was especially marked among the “unsteady” workers.

It is interesting to note that although in this study of Boston children it was found that the girls on an average remained in their first positions for shorter periods of time, held more positions within given periods, and had more unemployment—in a word, were less steady workers—than the boys, in a similar study of all the working children of Connecticut the exact reverse was found. The girls in that study remained in their first positions for longer periods of time, held fewer positions within given periods, and had less unemployment—in a word, were more steady workers than the boys.⁴

This difference appears to be due entirely, however, to differences in the occupations open to girls. In Boston, a typical commercial city, large numbers of girls, and much larger than of boys, were employed in cash and messenger work in department stores where, as already seen, a large proportion of the positions were temporary in character and of short duration. Not far from one-fourth, 23.4 per cent, of all the positions held by the Boston continuation-school girls, but only 7.1 per cent of those held by the boys, were for this occupation. In each different group of children studied girls held from three-fifths to three-fourths of all such positions. The Boston girls, therefore, were at a distinct disadvantage, as compared with the boys, in the matter of steadiness of employment. In Connecticut, on the other hand, only about one-sixth, 16.6 per cent, of the girls held first positions in any kind of “trade,” including not only positions for cash and messenger work but for selling and for work of

⁴ *Industrial Instability of Child Workers*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 74, Industrial Series, No. 5, pp. 18-30 *passim*.

various kinds which in Boston would have been classified as "messenger work, errands, and delivery." ⁵ At the same time more Connecticut boys than girls were employed in "trade." Evidently the Connecticut girls were not handicapped, as compared with the boys, by temporary positions in department stores.

Furthermore, the clothing factories of Boston, which furnished about one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, of the positions held by girls and a very small proportion, only 0.6 per cent, of those held by boys, were largely engaged in the manufacture of outer garments and offered much seasonal work, whereas those of Connecticut were more commonly engaged in the manufacture of corsets and underwear and offered more steady work. On the other hand, textile factories, where in Connecticut the greatest steadiness in employment was found and which furnished over one-fourth, 26.5 per cent, of the first positions held by girls but only about one-sixth, 16.6 per cent, of those held by boys in that State, were of comparatively little importance in Boston, where they furnished only 3 per cent of all the positions held by both sexes. Though the numbers are small it is also worthy of remark that, in spite of their more frequent employment in seasonal work in clothing factories, Boston girls worked for longer periods than boys in their first regular positions as factory operatives.

Other illustrations of the differences in opportunities for steady work offered to girls and to boys in the city of Boston and in the State of Connecticut might be cited, if the positions held were all classified either upon an occupational or an industrial basis. This rough comparison is sufficient, however, to show that the greater steadiness of boys in Boston and of girls in Connecticut is due to differences in industrial opportunities open to the two sexes in a commercial city like Boston and in a manufacturing State like Connecticut.

Wages and earnings.—Not far from three-fourths, 73.5 per cent, of the children interviewed received less than \$5 initial weekly wages in their first regular positions. As only 5.1 per cent made less than \$3, the initial weekly wages of the great majority, 68.4 per cent, were from \$3 to \$5. Wages of from \$4 to \$5 were more common than those of from \$3 to \$4. The latter amounts were received by little more than one-fourth, 26.5 per cent, and the former by over two-fifths, 41.9 per cent, of the children.

The initial weekly wages of the boys were decidedly higher than those of the girls. Nearly one-half, 48.6 per cent, of the boys but only about one-third, 32.7 per cent, of the girls earned \$4 but less than \$5, while about one-fifth, 20.3 per cent, of the boys and only

⁵ The material available for the Connecticut study made possible only an industrial, and not an occupational, classification.

one-twentieth, 5.2 per cent, of the girls earned \$5 but less than \$6. Less than \$3 weekly wages were received by about one-twelfth, 8.7 per cent, of the girls, but by only 2.5 per cent of the boys.

Foreign-born children, both boys and girls, appear to have received higher initial weekly wages than native children of either native or foreign-born fathers. Not far from one-third, 31.6 per cent, of the foreign-born boys earned \$5 or more, as compared with less than one-fourth of the native sons of native and of foreign-born fathers, 23.6 per cent and 23.4 per cent, respectively. This appears to have been due in part to the fact that foreign-born children, particularly boys, much more frequently worked long hours—that is, over 48 a week—than did children of any other nativity group. In part, as will be seen later, it appears to have been due to higher wages in factory and mechanical occupations in which, as already noted, foreign-born children showed a greater tendency than native to engage.

Higher initial weekly wages were received by children who went to work during the summer vacation than by those who went to work at any other time, by children who left school for other than economic reasons than by those who left school for economic reasons, and by children who secured their first regular positions through friends or relatives than by those who secured them independently or through employment bureaus or placement agencies.

Advancement in school work and employment before leaving school also seem to have exercised a favorable influence over the children's initial weekly wages in their first regular positions. Not far from one-fourth, 22.1 per cent, of the children from higher than normal grades for their ages received \$5 or more, as compared with about one-sixth, 16.4 per cent, of those from normal grades and with an even smaller proportion of the retarded children. The same tendency was shown by both boys and girls. The advantage of children who had worked before leaving school was even more pronounced. Over one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, of these children, as compared with little more than one-tenth, 11.2 per cent, of those who had not worked before leaving school, received initial weekly wages of \$5 or more. Nor was this due to the preponderance of boys with their higher wages among the children who had worked before leaving school, for the boys alone showed the same tendency.

Wages in factory and mechanical occupations were higher for both boys and girls than in clerical and other similar occupations. In part, at least, because of comparatively high wages received by boys as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades, over two-fifths, 41.8 per cent, of the positions held by boys in the entire group of factory and mechanical occupations paid initial weekly wages of \$5 or more. Although girls received these wages in only about one-sixth, 16.8 per

cent, of their positions in factory and mechanical occupations, this proportion was higher than for their positions in clerical and other similar occupations, which was less than one-tenth, 9 per cent. The difference between these two main groups of occupations was due primarily to the unusually low wages received by both sexes, but particularly by girls, in positions for cash and messenger work in department stores. The most frequent wages for this occupation were \$3 but less than \$4, and less than \$5 a week was received in not far from nine-tenths, 87.8 per cent, of all these positions and in over nine-tenths, 91.8 per cent, of those held by girls. Office work showed the highest proportion of positions in which the initial weekly wages were \$5 or more, but the positions held by boys in messenger, errand, and delivery work, like those in cash and messenger work in department stores, carried lower wages than positions in the entire group of clerical and other similar occupations.

Piecework was particularly common in factory and mechanical occupations, and, although in general wages were lower in piece than in time work positions, girls appear to have earned the higher rates of wages more often when engaged in piecework. Children were paid by the piece in only about one-eighth, 12.6 per cent, of all their positions, but in about one-third, 33.2 per cent, of those in factory and mechanical occupations, and in nearly three-fifths, 59.8 per cent, of those in shoe factories alone. The only other type of occupation in which any considerable proportion of positions involved piecework was "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," and in less than one-sixth, 15.4 per cent, of these positions were the children paid by the piece. For both sexes combined, the initial weekly wages were decidedly higher in time work than in piecework positions. Nevertheless, girls, who held nearly seven-tenths, 69.3 per cent, of all the piecework positions, received wages of \$4 or more in 54.5 per cent of their piecework, as compared with only 49.6 per cent of their timework positions, and \$6 or more in 7.7 per cent of their piecework, as compared with only 3.3 per cent of their timework positions.

Initial weekly wages do not represent the rate of compensation received by these children during the whole of the period before their sixteenth birthdays, for in two-fifths, 40.5 per cent, of all the timework positions held for three months or more their wages were raised, and in over one-fourth, 28.6 per cent, the increases amounted to \$1 or more a week. Although office work was, for boys, the occupation which showed the largest proportion, 52.8 per cent, of positions in which wages were increased, in general the children appear to have been most likely to receive increases in the occupations in which their initial wages were lowest. Thus both boys and girls received wage increases in a larger proportion of positions in clerical and other

similar occupations than in factory and mechanical occupations. Girls also received a larger proportion of increases which amounted to \$1 or more in clerical occupations, but for boys the larger proportion of such increases was found in factory and mechanical occupations. In 43.4 per cent of the positions held by boys for messenger, errand, and delivery work the wages were increased, but in only 29.5 per cent of them did the increase amount to \$1 or more. Girls received increases in a larger proportion, 60.8 per cent, of their positions which lasted three months or longer for cash and messenger work in department stores than in any other occupation, and in almost one-half, 49 per cent, of these positions the increase amounted to \$1 or more. Evidently the girls who secured fairly permanent positions in this occupation fared better than would be indicated by the low initial wages paid in their first positions.

Both because of increases in particular positions and because of changes in positions, before the date of the interview many of the children were earning more than in their first regular positions. Of those who had been at work for a year or more, the great majority, 69.4 per cent, were receiving higher, and a very small proportion, only 5.9 per cent, lower wages when interviewed than when they began work. In the majority of cases their increases amounted to less than \$2, the largest number being in the group \$1 but less than \$2. Twenty children had received increases of \$4 or more. The proportion of girls whose wages had increased was nearly as high as that of boys, and the proportion who had received increases of \$2 or more was higher. Nevertheless, decreases occurred in the wages of a larger proportion of girls than of boys.

Although the foreign-born children had the advantage in initial weekly wages, in wage promotions they appear to have been not so well off as the native children, and particularly as the native children of native parentage. Increases of \$2 or more were received by less than one-fourth, 23.1 per cent, of the foreign-born children, but by more than one-fourth, 27.9 per cent, of the native children whose fathers were foreign born and by about three-tenths, 30.1 per cent, of those whose fathers also were native. At the same time decreases in wages were reported by 7.7 per cent of the foreign-born children but by only 5.5 per cent of the native children whose fathers were foreign born and 4.9 per cent of those whose fathers also were native.

Retardation appears to have exercised an unfavorable influence, not only over initial weekly wages, but also over wage increases. Only about three-fifths, 59.1 per cent, of the retarded children, as compared with not far from three-fourths, 72.7 per cent, of the children from normal grades and with more than three-fourths, 77.7 per cent, of those from higher grades than normal for their ages,

received increases in wages between their first regular positions and the date of the interview. Moreover, the increase amounted to \$2 or more for only about one-fifth, 19.9 per cent, of the retarded children, as compared with three-tenths, 30.2 per cent, of the children from normal grades and with an even larger proportion, 31.3 per cent, of those from higher grades than normal for their ages.

The figures for wage increases in connection with average duration of positions seem to indicate that frequent changes are not desirable. The "steady" workers, it was found, were more likely than any other group of children to receive increases. Over three-fourths, 76.4 per cent, of the children classed as "steady," as compared with only 68.5 per cent of those classed as "active" and 65.4 per cent of those classed as "restless," received wage increases. The increases received by the "steady" workers were also, in general, more substantial than those of other children. Increases of \$2 or more were reported by 30.4 per cent of the "steady," by 29 per cent of the "active," and by 24.2 per cent of the "restless" children. Although these larger proportions of wage increases and of fairly substantial increases among the "steady" workers may have been due in part to the fact already shown that these children were less frequently than any other group retarded in their school studies, it appears probable at least that the children who change their positions frequently are not the ones who secure most rapid advancement in wages.

The average monthly earnings, which depend not only upon weekly wages and increases in weekly wages but also upon amount of unemployment, differed for children who had been at work more, and for those who had been at work less, than one year. For those who had been at work for a year or more the average monthly earnings of both sexes were \$16.68, slightly higher than for the children with shorter work histories, \$16.62. Although the difference amounted to only 6 cents, the children with the longer work histories had more unemployment and would, therefore, be expected to show lower earnings, so that even this slight difference appears to suggest again that the wages of children tend to rise slightly with increased industrial experience. Many of the children whose industrial histories had lasted less than a year, however, had been at work for too short periods to have had typical percentages of unemployment and, therefore, typical average earnings, and for that reason the following discussion relates only to those who had been at work for a year or more. The boys, as would be expected from their higher initial weekly wages and their lower percentage of unemployment, had larger monthly earnings than the girls, \$17.90, as compared with \$15.06. But the higher initial wages of foreign-born boys were not sufficient to counterbalance their comparative failure to secure wage advances and their high percentage, 16.9 per cent, of unemployment. The highest aver-

age monthly earnings, therefore, \$18.44, were received by the native boys whose fathers also were native. The native girls of native parentage, on the other hand, who were unemployed not far from one-fourth, 22.9 per cent, of their time, received lower average monthly earnings, \$13.98, than the girls of any other group.

The children who had completed normal grades for their ages, owing to their higher initial wages, their greater success in obtaining increases, and their smaller amount of unemployment, received decidedly higher average monthly earnings than did the retarded children, \$17.24, as compared with \$15.35, and for the same reasons the advanced children received slightly higher monthly earnings, \$17.34, than did the normal children. The boys of these different groups showed the same tendency as both sexes combined, but the girls from higher grades than normal had such a large amount of unemployment, due to their selection of occupations, that their average monthly earnings, \$14.11, fell behind those of the girls from normal grades, \$15.87, and were only a trifle higher than those of retarded girls, \$14.07.

The tendency already noted for wages to rise with increased industrial experience was found mainly among children who were advanced in their school work, though also to a certain extent among those from normal grades. The retarded children, on the other hand, showed exactly the opposite tendency—for wages to fall with increased industrial experience. In spite of a markedly unfavorable percentage of unemployment, the average monthly earnings of children from higher grades than normal who had been at work for a year or more were \$1.20 more than those of the same class of children who had been at work less than a year. Even for children from normal grades, with only a comparatively slight disadvantage in the matter of unemployment, a difference in earnings of 21 cents in favor of the children with longer work histories was found. But the average monthly earnings of retarded children who had been at work for one year or more were actually 70 cents lower than those of retarded children who had been at work less than one year, though the difference in amount of unemployment was smaller than for any other group of children.

Decided differences in average monthly earnings corresponding to those in percentages of time unemployed were found between "steady," "active," "restless," and "unsteady" workers. For example, the "steady" workers made nearly twice as much, \$19.54, on an average, as the "unsteady" workers, \$10.71. Less difference was found among the boys, but the average monthly earnings of the "steady" girls were \$18.15, as compared with only \$7.30 earned by the "unsteady" girls.

Hours of labor.—In more than three-fourths, 76.9 per cent, of their positions the children interviewed worked either between 36 and 48 or exactly 48 hours a week. In nearly two-fifths, 39.1 per cent, they worked exactly 48 hours. The hours in most occupations were for a large majority of the children from 36 to 48, inclusive, and these may therefore be considered to be the customary hours for both boys and girls. For both sexes, moreover, the hours in the last positions held appear to have been much more likely to be within these limits than those in the first positions. Not only did children work over 48 hours but they also worked less than 36 hours, in a smaller proportion of last than of first positions.

The hours in factory and mechanical occupations were more often than in clerical and similar occupations either from 36 to 48 or exactly 48 a week. These two groups together included more than four-fifths, 83.5 per cent, of all the positions in factory and mechanical occupations, and over nine-tenths, 92.9 per cent, of those in shoe factories. In not far from two-thirds, 64.3 per cent, of the shoe factory positions the hours were exactly 48 a week. In less than three-fourths, 74.1 per cent, of the positions in clothing factories and other needle trades, on the other hand, were the hours from 36 to 48, inclusive, and in little over one-fifth, 21.1 per cent, were they exactly 48. Although a somewhat smaller proportion of the positions in clothing factories and other needle trades than of those in the entire group of clerical and other similar occupations required from 36 to 48 hours, inclusive, the special occupations included in the latter group showed wide variations. Thus in cash and messenger work in department stores the hours were either between 36 and 48 or exactly 48 in more than nine-tenths, 92.5 per cent, of all positions, while in messenger, errand, and delivery work these were the weekly hours in less than three-fourths, 73.3 per cent, of all positions.

Positions with unusual hours—that is, with hours of either less than 36 or more than 48 a week—were most common in proportion to the number of positions in personal and domestic occupations. Much the largest number of such positions, however, was found in messenger, errand, and delivery work, and the next largest in work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. In nearly half, 49.4 per cent, of all positions in personal and domestic occupations, and in over one-half, 51.1 per cent, of those held by girls, the weekly hours were either less than 36 or more than 48. Nevertheless, of the 84 positions in which the children worked less than 36 hours a week, or less than the six hours a day required by law for exemption from school attendance, only 13 were in personal and domestic occupations as compared with 37 in messenger, errand, and delivery work. And of the 297 positions in which the children worked more than 48 hours a week, or more than the hours permitted by law in

most occupations, only 31 were in personal and domestic occupations, as compared with 147 in messenger, errand, and delivery work, and 39 in clothing factories and needle trades. About one-fifth of the positions in each of these two latter occupations, 19.5 per cent of the messenger, errand, and delivery work positions and 21.1 per cent of the clothing factory and other needle trades positions required more than 48 hours' work a week.

The hours of girls, doubtless because of the occupations entered, appear to have been much more frequently than those of boys either from 36 to 48 or 48 a week. On the other hand, the hours were less than 36 in a larger proportion and more than 48 in a decidedly larger proportion, of the positions held by boys than of those held by girls.

The fact that foreign-born boys worked long hours—that is, over 48 a week—much more frequently than the boys of any other nativity group may account for their comparatively high initial weekly wages. In more than one-fourth, 27.5 per cent, of all their positions the hours were over 48, as compared with about one-sixth, 17.4 per cent, of the positions held by the native sons of foreign-born fathers and with only about one-eighth, 13.6 per cent, of those held by the native sons of native fathers.

The conclusion that this greater tendency to take positions with long hours of labor is the true explanation of the high wages of the foreign-born boys appears to be confirmed by the fact that, in general, the higher rates of wages were found to have been paid in positions involving long hours and the lower rates in positions involving comparatively short hours. In nearly one-fourth, 23.1 per cent, of the positions in which boys received initial weekly wages of \$5 or more, but in only about one-sixth, 16.4 per cent, of those in which their initial weekly wages were less than \$5, were their hours over 48 a week. The wages of the girls, like those of the boys, were distinctly affected by their hours, and in the same way.

Reasons for leaving positions.—As the information obtained from the children who were interviewed in regard to their reasons for leaving positions is probably more accurate than that obtained from the continuation-school records, only the figures for the interviewed children are here used. Even for this group it should be remembered that the figures probably understate the number of cases of "lay offs," because children would be more likely to state that they had left because of dissatisfaction when actually they had been discharged, than to state that they had been discharged when they had actually left because they were dissatisfied with their positions. Moreover, the group of children interviewed, primarily because they were all at work on the date of the interview, contains an abnormally small proportion of children who left positions in order to return to school.

More positions were left because children were "laid off" than because they were dissatisfied with their positions, 42.5 per cent as compared with 37.8 per cent. For the girls alone the difference was even greater; practically one-half, 49.5 per cent, of the positions held by girls, as compared with little more than one-third, 36.8 per cent, of those held by boys, ended with a "lay off."

Probably a considerable majority of these discharges, however, were not due to any fault on the part of the children but solely to the character of the industries in which they were employed. All three of the occupations in which over two-fifths of the terminated positions held by both sexes ended in discharge were more or less seasonal in character; and in all three, girls were more commonly employed than boys. These three occupations were work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades, "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," and cash and messenger work in department stores. The latter occupation, in which girls held about three-fourths of all the positions, was mainly responsible for their higher proportion of "lay offs." In this occupation not far from seven-eighths, 85.5 per cent, of all positions, and nearly nine-tenths, 89.7 per cent, of those held by girls, ended with a "lay off."

Discharges because the work was temporary, business was dull, or for some unassigned reason accounted, moreover, for the termination of over one-half, 50.4 per cent, of the positions left by native girls of native parentage—who were most commonly employed in cash and messenger work in department stores—as compared with only 38.3 per cent of those left by native girls whose fathers were foreign born and by an even smaller proportion, 29.5 per cent, of those left by foreign-born girls. Although native boys whose fathers were foreign-born were more frequently "laid off" for these reasons than any other group of boys, even for them the proportion of positions, 25.1 per cent, terminated in this way was less than for any group of girls.

Owing to the large number of positions from which girls were "laid off" all other reasons were naturally given less frequently by them than by boys. Thus dissatisfaction with their positions was the reason given for the termination of about two-fifths, 40.6 per cent, of the positions held by boys but less than one-third, 31.9 per cent, of those held by girls. Dissatisfaction was not only the chief reason for leaving positions for messenger, errand, and delivery work, but also for leaving places in personal and domestic occupations and in shoe factories. Moreover, the differences were found to be so pronounced between the proportion of positions left by boys and that left by girls because of too hard work or too long hours, 7.9 per cent as compared with 4.6 per cent, that it appears probable that the boys, doubtless because they were more frequently employed for long

hours and at heavy work, tended actually to leave positions because of excessive physical demands more often than did the girls. The boys, moreover, appear to have been much more successful than the girls in securing new positions before leaving their old ones.

As would be expected from their choice of occupations, the girls who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages were more likely to be "laid off" than any other group, and those from normal grades were more likely to be "laid off" than those who were retarded. Considerably more than one-half, 55.3 per cent, of the positions held by advanced girls, as compared with 53.6 per cent of those held by normal girls and with only 37.9 of those held by retarded girls, were terminated for this reason. Retarded boys, on the other hand, were "laid off" in a larger proportion of cases, 37.4 per cent, than advanced boys, 36.6 per cent, or than normal boys, 34.5 per cent.

As retarded children received lower initial wages and fewer wage advances than normal or advanced children, it is not surprising to find that they more frequently left positions because of low wages. Not far from one-eighth, 11.5 per cent, of the positions left by retarded children, as compared with only 4 per cent of those left by advanced and 6.2 per cent of those left by normal children, were terminated for this reason.

In the matter of "lay offs," as in amount of unemployment, number of wage increases, and average monthly earnings, the steadier workers appear to have been more fortunate than those who shifted their positions frequently, and the more frequent the shift the larger the proportion of cases in which the children were "laid off." So many positions held by children classified as "steady" had not been terminated by the date of the interview that no comparison can be made for this group. But the proportion of terminated positions from which "active" workers were "laid off" was only 37.2 per cent, as compared with 41.3 per cent for "restless" and 45.3 per cent for "unsteady" workers. At the same time at least a partial explanation for differences in amounts of unemployment is found in the fact that, before leaving their old positions, "active" workers much more frequently than "restless" workers, and the latter than "unsteady" workers, secured new places which they believed, at least, to be better.

Sickness and accidents.—At the time of this study the physical examination given children applying for certificates in Boston rarely resulted in the refusal of a certificate, and in this examination and certification little attention was paid to the occupation in which the child was to be employed. Moreover, the records of the physical examinations which had been given the children studied were too

incomplete to use as a basis for any statistical statement. Every child interviewed was questioned, however, in regard to all cases of sickness or accident which had occurred to him between the time he took his first regular position and the date of the interview, and the records of the Massachusetts Accident Board were searched for reports of accidents to these children. The information given by the children has, of course, no medical value and is probably not even complete. Nevertheless, from these two sources a rough estimate, at least, could be obtained of the number of cases of sickness or accident and the amount of time which they caused the children to lose from work.

At least one case of sickness since leaving school for work was reported by more than one-third, 36 per cent, of the children interviewed. A larger proportion of the girls than of the boys, 37.9 per cent, as compared with 34.6 per cent, reported sickness. All four of the children who reported three cases each and 21 of the 34 who each reported two cases of sickness were girls. Less than three-fourths, 71.3 per cent, of the children who reported sickness, however, stated that they had lost time on account of it, and a smaller proportion of the cases among girls than among boys, 66.9 per cent, as compared with 75.3 per cent, resulted in loss of time from work. A case of sickness during a period of unemployment, it should be noted, was not classified as having caused loss of time from work even though it may have delayed the child in securing a new position.

Accidents were not so common as was sickness. Nevertheless, nearly 1 child out of every 12, 8 per cent, had suffered some accident, either in the course of his work or otherwise, since taking his first regular position. Although the boys, as has been seen, did not so often suffer from sickness as did the girls, they appear to have been decidedly more liable to accidents. Less than one-twentieth, 4.3 per cent, of the girls, but more than one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of the boys, reported some accident. Moreover, two boys and one girl reported three or more, and three boys and one girl reported two accidents each. Almost two-thirds of these accidents, and about the same proportion for girls as for boys resulted in loss of time from work.

Sixty accidents, about seven-tenths of the entire number, occurred while the children were at work. Of the accidents which occurred to boys alone, however, only about 6 in every 10 occurred during the course of employment. Probably because of the fact already shown that girls more often than boys were employed in machine work, most of their accidents, but only a few of those to boys, were caused by machinery. On the other hand, the more frequent employment of boys in messenger, errand, and delivery work is reflected in the fact that nine of their accidents, but none of those to girls, were caused by elevators or vehicles.

The amount of time lost from work on account of both sickness and accident was small as compared with the amount lost on account of unemployment. The children who had been at work for one year or more lost through sickness or accident 2.6 per cent of their working time—the girls more than the boys, 3 per cent as compared with 2.4 per cent. This does not mean, however, that these children were in good health during all the rest of the time between leaving school and the date of the interview. Not only were some of the illnesses and accidents from which the children suffered too trivial to cause absence from work, but no sickness or accident which occurred during a period of unemployment was considered to have caused loss of time from work even though it may have prevented the child from securing another position promptly.

Violations of law.—The story of child labor in Boston presented in this report, except for the work of interviewed children before leaving school, covers a period of three years, at the very beginning of which there went into effect a series of acts not only establishing higher standards for child labor but making important changes in the employment certificate system and reorganizing completely the labor law enforcement machinery of the State of Massachusetts. These three years include a period during which employers, parents, and children had to be educated to an understanding of a new law which required that employment certificates be secured for each separate position, that the hours of children be limited to eight a day, and that working children attend continuation school. This education, too, had to be given mainly by an agency which was itself in process of organization and which had many other heavy responsibilities.

These conditions, as well as the fact that the information as to violations rests entirely upon the unverifiable statements of the children, should be considered in connection with the cases of violation of child-labor laws discovered in the course of this study. At the same time it should be remembered that for many years certificates of some sort had been required in Massachusetts for the employment of children, and that in many, if not most, occupations their hours had been limited to 10 a day and 54 or 58 a week. Moreover, not only did there seem no reason to doubt that in most instances the child's statement was substantially correct but in case of the slightest doubt the work was classified as legal. The figures, therefore, include only definitely reported violations of some provision of law.

Failure to comply with the provisions of the child-labor law were particularly common in positions held before the children left school for work. About three-fifths, 60.8 per cent, of the children who worked before leaving school had violated one or more of the pro-

visions of the child-labor or the compulsory-school-attendance law in one or more of their school positions. Many of these positions, moreover, were held before September 1, 1913, and in these cases the law violated was not the new one of that year but the older law with its lower standards. Perhaps, in part, because a larger proportion of the girls were over 14 before they took their first school positions, fewer of them than of the boys, only 38.6 per cent as compared with 64.3 per cent, were employed in violation of the law in positions held before leaving school.

Both "factory and mechanical" and "clerical and similar" occupations showed higher proportions of school positions in which violations of law occurred than their proportions of all school positions. The difference was greatest in messenger, errand, and delivery work, which accounted for less than half, 47.6 per cent, of all school positions but for nearly three-fourths, 74.5 per cent, of those in which violations occurred. In domestic service, on the other hand, no legal restriction except that of the compulsory-school-attendance law existed, while in some of the other occupations included under personal and domestic occupations—for example, bootblacking—the standards of legal protection for children were comparatively low. Because of this comparative lack of law, violations were rare in the entire group of personal and domestic occupations.

In many school positions more than one violation occurred. Thus, though violations were found in only 235 positions, in 71 there were two violations, in 32 three, and in 5 four, so that in all 385 violations of different kinds were counted. Employment under legal age was the most common and accounted for about two-fifths, 40.3 per cent, of the entire number. Next came night work, which accounted for not far from one-third, 31.9 per cent. Both these were especially common in messenger, errand, and delivery work, in which boys were often employed as delivery boys for small stores and as peddlers' helpers on Saturdays and after school hours. About one-eighth, 11.9 per cent, of all the violations consisted in failure to obtain employment certificates, and in most of the other cases, 14.8 per cent of the entire number, the children worked too long hours. In only 3 cases did they report that they had been employed during school hours.

Even in their regular positions practically one-half, 49.8 per cent, of the children were employed at some time in violation of some provision of the child-labor law; and, as in the case of school positions, a considerably larger proportion of boys than of girls, 57.7 per cent as compared with 39 per cent, were illegally employed. It was found, too, that illegal employment was somewhat more common among foreign-born children than among native children of foreign-born fathers, and decidedly more so than among native children of native fathers.

Children who had worked before leaving school and those who were retarded in their school work were both especially prone to violate the child-labor law in one or another of the positions which they held after leaving school. About three-fifths, 60.7 per cent, of the boys who had worked before leaving school, as compared with 53.3 per cent of those who had not, were illegally employed in some regular position. Among the girls, however, a somewhat larger proportion of those who had not worked were illegally employed. The proportion of retarded children who violated the child-labor law in one or another of their regular positions was considerably over half, 55.4 per cent, while that of children from normal grades was decidedly less than half, 46.2 per cent. Owing entirely, however, to a greater tendency of boys from higher grades than normal to work illegally, the proportion of advanced children who violated the child-labor law was higher than that of normal children, 49.3 per cent.

Certification violations.—Although only 1 child in every 20, 5 per cent, had worked in a first regular position without the certificate required by law, more than 1 in every 8, 13.6 per cent, had worked illegally without a certificate in at least one position before the date of the interview. Evidently the children were more likely to violate the law in this way in later than in first positions—a fact which suggests that some, at least, of these violations may have been due to lack of familiarity with the new law which required a separate certificate for each different position. In this connection it should be noted also that the foreign-born children—among whom and among the employers of whom knowledge of the requirements of the new law would be likely to spread most slowly—though least likely to work without certificates in their first regular positions, were most likely to work without certificates in later positions. The largest proportion of children who held one or more illegally uncertificated positions was found, too, among the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities, and specifically among the children of Russian Jewish fathers. Of all the children of foreign-born fathers the Irish showed the smallest proportion who held such positions.

The preceding figures relate only to positions for which certificates were never secured. Often, however, in positions for which certificates were eventually secured they were not taken out until the children had been at work for some time. For instance, about one-tenth, 9.4 per cent, of the children did not take out certificates for their first regular positions until they had been at work more than 10 days. In many cases these children may have been found at work by school-attendance officers or factory inspectors who ordered that they secure employment certificates or be discharged.

Late certification, unlike failure ever to secure a certificate, was most common among native children of native fathers and least common among foreign-born children. This was due entirely, however, to the greater frequency of late certification among native boys of native parentage.

Both failure to secure certificates required by law and late certification in first regular positions were decidedly more common among children who went to work during the summer vacation than among those who went to work at any other time. Of the children who went to work during a summer vacation 8 per cent were illegally not certificated and 17.9 per cent were certificated late, while of those who went to work at some other time only 3.8 per cent were illegally not certificated and 6.2 per cent were certificated late. In both cases the difference was more pronounced among the boys. More than one-third, 36.4 per cent, of the boys who went to work during the summer vacation, as compared with only about one-ninth, 11.3 per cent, of those who went to work during the school year, were either illegally not certificated or certificated late.

The children from normal and higher than normal grades for their ages, in part probably because of their greater tendency to go to work during the summer vacation and in part because of the occupations they entered, were more likely than the retarded children both to work illegally without certificates and to be certificated late in their first regular positions. One or the other violation of the employment certificate law was found in the first regular positions held by nearly one-fifth, 19.1 per cent, of the advanced children and by over one-sixth, 16.9 per cent, of the normal children, but by only about one-twelfth, 8.6 per cent, of the retarded children. The tendency of children from higher grades than normal more frequently than those from normal grades to violate the certificate law was due entirely to the boys; but both normal girls and normal boys showed a greater tendency than did retarded girls and retarded boys to be illegally not certificated or certificated late in their first regular positions.

Perhaps because so many of them had already violated the child-labor law without difficulty, the children who had worked before leaving school were more likely to be employed without certificates in their first regular positions than were those who were going into industry for the first time. Moreover, the children who had worked before leaving school were decidedly more likely to neglect to secure certificates until after they had been employed for more than a week.

Although the method of obtaining positions seems to have had much less influence than the occupation entered over whether or not certificates were secured, it is interesting to note that both illegal failure to secure certificates and failure to secure them on time were particularly common in positions obtained through private

employment agencies. This was probably due, however, to the character of the positions filled by such agencies. The employer is primarily responsible for having a certificate on file for the child. It is upon him, and not upon the child, that the penalties of the labor law fall in case of violation. In positions, therefore, in which the employer understands the legal requirements and is careful to obey them a child is not likely to work in violation of the certificate law. These positions, moreover, are most likely to be found in establishments where a number of children are employed and where, consequently, some system of employment and of keeping certificates has been developed. Violations of the certificate law, on the other hand, are most likely to occur in positions where the employer hires, more or less casually, only a single child.

Because of the prevailing number of children working for a single employer in the different kinds of positions it is not surprising to find that in factory and mechanical occupations the children were either illegally not certificated or certificated late in only one-ninth, 11.1 per cent, of all their positions, whereas in personal and domestic occupations they violated the certificate law in over two-fifths, 43.8 per cent, and even in office work in not far from one-fourth, 23.8 per cent, of their positions. Nor is it surprising to find a considerable variation in the different occupations classified as factory and mechanical. In only 2.5 per cent of the shoe factory positions, for example, was the certificate law violated, but violations occurred in 17.8 per cent of all the positions in clothing factories and other needle trades, an industry in which the establishments were decidedly smaller.

The greater frequency with which girls complied with the requirements of the certificate law, both by securing certificates and by securing them promptly, is accounted for in part, but not wholly, by their more frequent employment in the occupations, especially factory and mechanical occupations, in which more than one child were commonly employed in an establishment and in which the employers were most likely to be familiar with the law. Of the factory operative positions precisely the same proportion, 4.3 per cent, of those held by girls as of those held by boys were illegally not certificated, and precisely the same proportion, 5.7 per cent, were certificated late. Nevertheless, in the occupation in which the largest number of boys was employed—messenger, errand, and delivery work—both lack of certification and late certification were more common in positions held by boys than in those held by girls; and in all positions for cash and messenger work in department stores, although only five such violations were found, three of these five positions were held by boys. It appears probable, therefore, either that girls were more careful to secure certificates or that employers were more careful to demand them for girls.

Hour violations.—Five provisions of law, one of the school-attendance law and four of the labor law, related to hours of labor. A child could work too short hours, less than 6 a day or 36 a week, while school was in session; such short hours did not legally entitle him to exemption from school attendance. On the other hand, he could work too long hours, either by the day or by the week; and he could be employed at night or 7 days a week. Each kind of violation could occur in combination with other kinds.

One or more of these five legal provisions as to hours were broken in over one-fifth, 21.2 per cent, of all the positions held by the children interviewed. Moreover, violations did not usually occur singly. In about three-fourths of all the positions in which any violation occurred more than one provision of the law were broken; and in over one-fourth three or four provisions were broken. In four cases children were employed in violation of all four provisions of the labor law, too long hours a day and a week, at night, and 7 days a week.

The most common violation was too long daily hours, and the next was too long weekly hours. In over one-sixth, 17.5 per cent, of all the positions held, the provisions of law relating to daily hours were violated, and in about one-seventh, 14.2 per cent, those relating to weekly hours were violated. Usually too long daily hours meant also too long weekly hours. In over three-fourths, 78.3 per cent, of the positions in which a violation of daily hours was found one of weekly hours was also found. Moreover, too long weekly hours rarely—in only nine cases—occurred except in connection with too long daily hours. Frequently, too, when children were employed too long daily or weekly hours, or both, they were also employed at night, and occasionally they were required to work 7 days a week. In about 1 position in 12, 8.4 per cent, the children were employed in violation of the night work provision, but in only about 1 in 100 were they employed in violation of the 7-day provision of the law. In a few positions—about 1 in 50—they worked less than the 6 hours a day or 36 a week required for exemption from school attendance, and in some of these cases too short weekly hours were combined with too long daily hours or too short daily or weekly hours with night work.

In 36 positions, also, about 1 in every 50, although no violation was found because the law limiting hours did not apply to the particular occupations, the hours were excessive—that is, longer than permitted by the law in occupations which it covered. Most of these positions were in domestic and personal occupations and were held by girls.

Boys were much more frequently employed in violation of the provisions of law relating to hours of labor than were girls. Violations occurred in over one-fourth, 26.3 per cent, of the positions

held by boys, but in only about one-seventh, 14.7 per cent, of those held by girls. Each different kind of violation, too, was more common among boys. In over one-fifth, 21.4 per cent, of the positions held by boys, but only about one-eighth, 12.6 per cent, of those held by girls, the daily hours were too long; and in over one-sixth, 17.9 per cent, of the positions held by boys, but less than one-tenth, 9.6 per cent, of those held by girls the weekly hours were too long. In the case of night work the difference was even greater, 13.2 per cent as compared with 2.2 per cent; and of the 19 positions in which children were required to work 7 days a week, 15 were held by boys. Even undertime was slightly more common among boys than among girls.

These differences between boys and girls were due in large part to the occupations in which they were employed. As in the case of certificate violations, too long as too short hours were most likely to occur in occupations in which as a rule only one child was hired by an employer. In messenger, errand, and delivery work positions, for example, in which boys largely preponderated, violations of the law relating to hours occurred in nearly three-tenths, 29.6 per cent, and in the entire group of clerical and other similar occupations in not far from one-fourth, 23.4 per cent, of all the positions held. In factory and mechanical occupations, on the other hand, in which girls preponderated, the law relating to hours was violated in less than one-sixth, 16.2 per cent, of all the positions.

The differences found in the number of hour violations between children of the various nationality groups also appear to be due primarily to occupation. For example, it was found that the children of foreign-born fathers, especially those of non-English-speaking nationalities, were more likely than the children of native fathers to be employed too long hours; and at least two occupations in which these children were largely employed, "selling" and operative work in clothing factories and other needle trades, showed particularly high proportions, 44.7 per cent and 24.9 per cent, respectively, of positions in which some legal provision relating to hours was violated. Most of the selling positions were in small shops or similar places where only one child was employed, and even the clothing factories and other needle-trades establishments in which children were employed were in many cases small and conducted by foreign-language-speaking employers. In shoe factories, on the other hand, where the establishments were usually large and hired many children of native fathers and of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities, little more than one-twentieth, 5.5 per cent, of the positions involved hour violations.

In occupations in which children often worked without certificates or were certificated late, they were frequently employed also in vio-

lation of the legal provisions relating to hours of labor. In little more than one-eighth, 13.3 per cent, of all the positions in which the hours were legal and not excessive, but in nearly three-tenths, 29.6 per cent, of those in which the hours were illegal the children had either failed illegally to take out certificates or had taken them out late.

Although this was probably due in part to greater carelessness as to hours when the children were working without certificates, it was primarily due to the fact that violations of the certificate law and of the law relating to hours of labor were both most likely to occur in occupations in which employers usually hired only a single child. In many of these cases the employer, either because of inexperience or because of lack of familiarity with the English language, may have had imperfect knowledge of the requirements of the law. These small employers, of course, are most difficult to reach by an educational campaign or by visits of labor-law inspectors.

Occupations, hours, and wages three years later.—The questionnaires sent the children in December, 1918, about three years after they had been interviewed and at a time when the war had created unusual demand for labor and unusually high wages, were answered by only about two-fifths, 39.8 per cent, of the children, 38.2 per cent of the boys and 42.4 per cent of the girls. Moreover, of the 182 boys who replied, 37—and doubtless many of those who failed to reply—had enlisted in the United States military or naval service and were therefore omitted from the comparisons of occupations, hours, and wages in 1918. Among the children who answered, a somewhat larger proportion had been in higher grades and a somewhat smaller proportion in lower grades than normal when they left school than among all the interviewed children; and for this reason, as well as because the children who were not doing well would perhaps be less likely to answer, this group may have been somewhat more prosperous, on an average, than the children who were not located or failed to reply. Nevertheless, it is believed that this bias is not great enough to prevent the figures from being roughly indicative of the progress made by the entire group of children during this period. These figures, especially those relating to wages, should not, however, be considered as indicative of the progress usually made by working children in normal times.

When the children answered this questionnaire they were all from 17 to 19 years of age and were, therefore, still minors and subject to certain restrictions in hours and occupations as well as to the requirement that, in most positions, they hold educational certificates. They were no longer, however, subject to the 8-hour law or obliged to attend continuation school, and their choice of occupations was wide as compared with the choice they had before they became 16.

Wider opportunities, combined with the greater strength, experience, and training which the children must have acquired during this period, are doubtless responsible for their drift away from messenger, errand, and delivery work, and from cash and messenger work in department stores. The first of these occupations accounted for only about one-sixteenth, 6.5 per cent, of the positions held in 1918, as compared with not far from two-fifths, 38.8 per cent, of those held before the date of the interview; and the last accounted for only 1.4 per cent of those held in 1918, as compared with about one-ninth, 11 per cent, of those held before the date of the interview.

All three of the other occupations included in the main group of clerical and similar occupations furnished, on the other hand, larger proportions of the positions held three years later than of those held before the children were interviewed in the continuation school. In office work, although both sexes increased, the greater increase was among the girls. More than one-eighth, 13.7 per cent, of the girls were engaged in 1918 in office work—an even larger proportion than of the boys, which was only about one-ninth, 11 per cent. Both in selling and in “packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work,” however, the positions held by boys showed a greater rate of increase than the positions held by girls.

In spite of these increases the proportion of positions in clerical and other similar occupations fell, because of the drift away from messenger, errand, and delivery work and from cash and messenger work in department stores, from nearly two-thirds, 64.2 per cent, before the interview to not much over one-third, 36.1 per cent, three years later. At the same time the proportion in factory and mechanical occupations rose from less than one-third, 30.3 per cent, before the interview to considerably over half, 54.3 per cent, three years later. This tendency to enter factory and mechanical occupations as they grew older was particularly pronounced among the boys, and was due in large part to their employment as apprentices or helpers in skilled trades—occupations from which they had been in most industries debarred before their sixteenth birthdays by the legal prohibition of work on or about dangerous machinery. In nearly three-tenths, 29 per cent, of their positions in 1918, as compared with less than one-fortieth, 2.3 per cent, of those which they held before the date of the interview, the boys were employed as apprentices or helpers in skilled trades. Even in factory operative positions, however, perhaps also because of the removal of legal restrictions, there was a decided increase in the proportion of positions held by both boys and girls. But both sexes showed a pronounced tendency to leave shoe and clothing factories, where they had been so largely employed when younger, for other types of manufacturing industries.

In each nativity group the children showed the same drift away from carrying positions toward heavier and more skilled work; but the tendency to transfer to factory and mechanical occupations as they grew older was more pronounced among the children of native fathers than among those of foreign-born fathers, and among the children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities than among those of non-English-speaking nationalities. As will be remembered, in the positions which they held before the date of the interview the children of fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities were most likely, and all those of foreign-born fathers were more likely than those of native fathers, to be employed in factory and mechanical occupations. The tendencies shown by the different groups after the interview were calculated therefore to diminish the differences in occupational distribution. In 1918 a decidedly larger proportion of children of native fathers than of either native or foreign-born children of foreign-born fathers were employed as apprentices or helpers in skilled trades. But the relatively greater tendency toward factory operative positions shown in their earlier positions by the newer elements of the population was still pronounced three years later.

The differences in occupational distribution between retarded and normal children appear to have increased, instead of diminished, as the children grew older. The proportion of positions in factory and mechanical occupations held by children who had been in normal grades for their ages when they left school increased 62.9 per cent between the date of the interview and 1918. During the same period, however, the proportion held in these occupations by children who had been retarded when they left school increased 72.2 per cent. Conversely, the normal children showed a greater tendency than did the retarded children to remain in clerical and other similar occupations. This was especially true of office work, in which in 1918 only about 1 in 100, 1.1 per cent, of the retarded children, but nearly 1 in 5, 19.3 per cent, of the normal children was found.

As for hours of labor, it should be remembered that the questionnaire was answered at a time when many manufacturing establishments still had on hand large war orders. The hours in 1918, therefore, were not only much longer than those which the children had worked when they were restricted by the child-labor law, but were in many cases, doubtless, longer than they would have worked in normal times. In more than two-fifths, 43.3 per cent, of the positions held in 1918, as compared with only 15.3 per cent of those held before the children were interviewed, their hours were over 48 a week; and in nearly one-fifth, 19.2 per cent, of the positions held in 1918, as compared with only 6.4 per cent of those held before the date of the interview, the children worked 54 hours or more.

In the positions held in 1918, as in those held before they were 16, the boys more frequently worked long hours than did the girls. This was due entirely, however, to the places in clerical and other similar occupations. Over half, 51.9 per cent, of the boys employed in this group of occupations, but less than one-fourth, 23.5 per cent, of the girls, worked over 48 hours a week. In factory and mechanical occupations, on the other hand, in which the hours were over 48 in not far from half, 44.9 per cent, of all the positions held, more girls than boys were employed for these hours. Moreover, in spite of the law limiting the hours of all women to 54 a week, over one-fifth, 20.9 per cent, of the girls employed in factory and mechanical occupations, as compared with less than one-tenth, 9.7 per cent, of the boys, worked 54 hours or more.

The pressure of war work also accounts in large part for the comparatively high wages received in 1918. The removal of restrictions on their employment, as well as their greater age and experience, would doubtless have enabled the children to earn more three years after they were interviewed than they were earning at that time, and still more than when they began work. But the great demand for labor and the increased cost of living doubtless raised their wages to a decidedly higher point than they would have reached in the same time under normal conditions.

A large proportion, 57 per cent, of the children who replied to the questionnaire earned in 1918 from \$10 to \$20 a week; only about one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, made less than \$10; but nearly one-fourth, 24.4 per cent, made from \$20 to \$30; and nine boys received \$30 or more. Boys, as in their earlier positions, received higher wages than girls. None of the girls in 1918 made as much as \$25 and only about 1 in 40 made over \$20 a week. But more than half, 52.4 per cent, of the boys earned over \$20 and not far from one-fourth, 22.1 per cent, over \$25. Although these wages are not high, there seems to have been considerable increase when it is remembered that nearly three-fourths, 73.5 per cent, of the children interviewed had received less than \$5 a week in their first regular positions.

The children from normal grades for their ages and those who had worked before leaving school—both groups in which the proportion of native children, and especially of native children of native fathers, was unusually high—appear to have continued to hold three years later the advantage in wages which they were found to have had before they were interviewed. More than one-eighth, 14 per cent, of the normal children, but only a little over one-twentieth, 5.5 per cent, of the retarded children, earned \$25 or more a week in 1918. At the same time, probably because the normal children were more frequently employed in clerical and other similar occupations in which wages were lower than in factory and mechanical occupations,

a larger proportion of these children, 14 per cent, than of the retarded children, 5.6 per cent, earned less than \$10 a week.

The higher wages in factory and mechanical than in clerical and similar occupations may have been due in part to a greater influence of war production; but in part it was doubtless due to a larger proportion of positions requiring some skill and experience. For boys the difference was slight. Somewhat more than half, 52.8 per cent, of the boys employed in factory and mechanical occupations, and exactly half, 50 per cent, of those employed in clerical and similar occupations, made \$20 or over a week. But for girls a much greater difference was found. Over one-fourth, 25.6 per cent, of the girls employed in factory and mechanical occupations, but less than one-twentieth, 3.9 per cent, of those employed in clerical and similar occupations, made \$15 or more a week.

The wage increases during the three years following the interview were large as compared with those between the first and last regular positions before the children were interviewed. All the children reported higher weekly wages in 1918 than when interviewed and more than half, 51.5 per cent, reported increases of \$10 or more, while in 10 cases the increases amounted to \$24 or more. As would be expected, the wage increases of boys were greater than those of girls. For both sexes, however, the period of greatest wage increase was evidently after the sixteenth birthday and, although this was due in part to the rapid changes in industrial conditions which occurred during the three years from 1915 to 1918, greater freedom from legal restrictions and wider choice of occupations, as well as increased age and strength, undoubtedly had much to do with these wage increases.

Conclusion.—As suggested in the introduction to this study, three points stand out in any consideration of public policy with regard to the industrial labor of physically and mentally half-developed children. First is the health and normal growth of the child, second his training for useful labor in adult life, and third his preparation for citizenship in a democracy. The productivity of the labor of children is of little consequence, even from a purely economic standpoint, for what an individual can produce during his years of childhood is negligible as compared with what he can produce during his adult years.

The present inquiry throws little light upon the first of these points. When it is remembered that these 5,692 children—one-third of all the children of their ages in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—were living through perhaps the most critical years of their bodily growth and development at the very time that they were being initiated into industrial life, it is evident that a far more thorough study is needed of the effects of child labor upon health than was here attempted. Before the results of this early

labor can be adequately measured it is necessary, too, that its influence over physical growth and development should be carefully considered. At present very little is known as to the effects of different occupations upon the plastic bodies of the young children who are employed in them.

As for preparation for industrial efficiency and for the duties of citizenship in adult life, this study appears to show that, for the four-fifths of these child workers who had definitely left school for industry, the period between the date of leaving school and the sixteenth birthday was in nearly all cases almost, if not completely, wasted, and that for many it was worse than wasted. Equipped with at best only a rudimentary education and guided, except in rare instances, only by chance, these children were necessarily excluded by law from all trades involving the use of dangerous machinery, and by their own ignorance and inexperience from practically all other occupations which would offer them any opportunity to acquire either mental or manual skill. In the vast majority of cases even the little dexterity which they might have obtained in a position was soon lost because as they grew older they passed on from their children's tasks to entirely different occupations.

Thus, with no opportunity to acquire industrial experience of any real value, these children drifted about restlessly from one simple task or errand position to another, on the one hand often unemployed for long periods, and on the other hand frequently obliged to work excessively, and generally illegally, long hours or at night—all for wages which averaged only \$16.68 a month. Permanently handicapped, in most cases for life, by an educational training inadequate either to make them adaptable to the changing industrial conditions of modern life, or to give them the background necessary for an understanding of the duties of citizenship, they were subjected also to positive damage from irregular habits of work, from labor unadapted to their needs and capacities, and from unsuitable associations and environments.

Each of the two outstanding, yet to a considerable extent overlapping, groups of child workers found in this study—the misfits in the school system as evidenced both by retardation and by dislike of school, and the children from immigrant families—presents its own special problems. That over half the children leaving school for industry at 14 and 15 years of age had failed to complete the eighth grade; that retardation, measured by the very conservative scale adopted for this report, was very prevalent among these children; that about one-fourth of them gave as their reason for leaving that they disliked school or did not wish to go on to high school; that their entrance into industry was frequently preceded by a period, in many cases a long period, of absence from school; and that more of

them went to work just after school had opened in September than in any other month of the year—all these facts show the pressing need for the study and application of methods of training adolescent boys and girls which will make the most of whatever capacity each may possess. That some of these children, probably, were hampered by more or less feeble intellects only emphasizes the need for special training, adapted to their abilities, in order that as many as possible may be made self-supporting and self-respecting citizens instead of public burdens or public problems.

Retardation appears in many cases, however, to have resulted merely from the difficult and often painful process of being transplanted from one country to another or from being surrounded by families so transplanted. Moreover, because of their comparative failure in school, their greater poverty, their national customs, or all three combined, the children of foreign parentage, and especially those who were themselves foreign born, were more likely to leave school for industry before their sixteenth birthdays than were the children of native parentage. That nearly half the foreign-born children in the four cities, as compared with only about one-fourth of the native children, became regular workers at this early age; that only about one-third of them had completed the eighth or a higher grade; and that about half were decidedly retarded in school—these facts show comparative failure at the very point where greatest success might be anticipated in the process of transforming recent immigrants into American citizens. This failure is further evident when it is recalled that, although four-fifths of the children who took out employment certificates had been born in the United States, some seven-tenths had foreign-born fathers, and that these children of foreign parentage were handicapped, though to a less degree, in all the ways that the children who were themselves foreign born were handicapped.

The definite advantage which children from normal or higher than normal grades for their ages had over those who were retarded, in occupations, steadiness of work, initial wages, wage increases, and average earnings—an advantage which was, if anything, more pronounced three years later than at the time the children were interviewed—though in large part due to the same superior intelligence or thorough familiarity with the language and customs of the country which made the children successful in their school work, was great enough, for the boys at least, to suggest that even the small amount of education which the eighth-grade graduate could boast over the sixth-grade graduate was a real industrial asset. For the girls the effect of differences in education is blurred by the frequent employment of those who were normal or advanced in their school work in temporary positions in department stores. But this merely suggests

that, if children of school age are to be permitted to enter industry, at least, before they are allowed to take the serious step of abandoning their school studies, their employers should be required to offer them something more than a few days' work.

The problems here studied are those of practically all the larger cities of the United States, and the main facts shown, with only slight modifications due to local conditions, are probably as true of other cities as of Boston. Massachusetts, indeed, through its continuation-school law, its law requiring evening school attendance of all minors who are unable to read and write English, its eight-hour law, and other acts, has done more to improve conditions than most other States. Since the period of this study, moreover, Massachusetts has raised the educational requirement for employment under 16 to completion of the sixth grade, has elaborated its certificate system, has made continuation-school attendance compulsory in all the larger cities of the State, and has made special efforts to enforce the physical requirements for an employment certificate. Nevertheless, although the degree of damage caused by employment is thus doubtless somewhat reduced, even a child who is in perfect health and has completed the sixth grade is very poorly equipped to assume the burdens of adult life. The findings of this study point to the fact that, whether in Boston or any other similar commercial and manufacturing city, both the child and the community have more to lose than to gain by a policy which permits children to go to work when less than 16 years of age.

THE CHILDREN.

Approximately one-third, 35.2 per cent, of the children who became 14 years of age during the year ended September 1, 1914—in all, 5,692 children—in the four cities studied, took out employment certificates for gainful labor before they became 16 years of age. According to Table 1, more boys than girls went to work at this early age, 42.3 per cent of the boys as compared with only 28 per cent of the girls.

Of these children about four-fifths were native and one-fifth foreign born; about three-fifths were boys and two-fifths girls. A much larger proportion of the foreign-born than of the native children in the four cities, however, went to work before they became 16 years of age. Less than one-third, 32.3 per cent, of all native children, and less than one-fourth, 24.7 per cent, of the native girls, took out certificates. But of the foreign born nearly three-fifths, 58.3 per cent, of all children—over three-fifths, 61.7 per cent, of the boys and more than one-half, 54.9 per cent, of the girls—became wage earners before they were 16 years of age. Among the foreign born there appears less difference between the sexes in the tendency to go to work early than among the native.

TABLE 1.—*Prevalence of employment of children between the fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays, by sex and nativity; children in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea who were 14 but less than 15 years of age on Sept. 1, 1914.*

Sex and nativity.	Children aged 14 but less than 15 years, Sept. 1, 1914—		
	Estimated total. ¹	Who took out employment certificates between their fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays.	
		Number.	Per cent of estimated total.
All children.....	16, 192	² 5, 692	35.2
Boys.....	8, 088	² 3, 419	42.3
Girls.....	8, 104	2, 273	28.0
Native.....	14, 402	4, 646	32.3
Boys.....	7, 185	2, 960	41.1
Girls.....	7, 217	1, 786	24.7
Foreign born.....	1, 790	1, 044	58.3
Boys.....	903	557	61.7
Girls.....	887	487	54.9

¹ Estimated from the figures for children aged 10-14, 1900 and 1910, assuming in each nativity group an arithmetical increase of population, multiplied by the proportion of the age group 10-14 that was 14 in Boston in 1910. The ratio of the sexes in 1910 is then applied to find the numbers of boys and girls. Native is the sum of native white and Negro; foreign born the sum of foreign white and other colored.

² Including two (boys) for whom nativity was not reported.

TABLE 2.—*Prevalence of employment of children between the fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays, by nativity and city of employment; children in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea who were 14 but less than 15 years of age on Sept. 1, 1914.*

City of employment and nativity.	Children aged 14 but less than 15 years, Sept. 1, 1914—		
	Estimated total. ¹	Who took out employment certificates between their fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays.	
		Number.	Per cent of estimated total.
All children.....	16, 192	5, 692	35. 2
Boston.....	12, 273	4, 401	35. 9
Cambridge.....	1, 925	664	34. 5
Somerville.....	1, 417	380	27. 2
Chelsea.....	577	241	41. 8
Native.....	14, 402	4, 646	32. 3
Boston.....	10, 875	3, 609	33. 2
Cambridge.....	1, 762	538	30. 5
Somerville.....	1, 345	345	25. 7
Chelsea.....	420	154	36. 7
Foreign born.....	1, 790	1, 044	58. 3
Boston.....	1, 398	791	56. 6
Cambridge.....	163	125	76. 7
Somerville.....	72	41	56. 9
Chelsea.....	157	87	55. 4

¹ Estimated from the figures for children aged 10-14, 1900 and 1910, assuming in each city an arithmetical increase of population, multiplied by the proportion of the age group 10-14 that was 14 in Boston in 1910. Native is the sum of native white and Negro; foreign born the sum of foreign-born white and other colored.
² Including two for whom nativity was not reported.

The tendency of children to seek employment seems to differ decidedly in the four cities. Boston and Cambridge, according to Table 2, show figures which vary only slightly from the average for the four; the Boston figures are slightly higher and the Cambridge figures slightly lower than the average. But Somerville and Chelsea differ markedly not only from each other, but also from the average; in the former only 27.2 per cent of the children took out employment certificates as against 41.8 per cent in the latter.

This difference appears to be due primarily to differences in the proportion of foreign born. In Somerville, as appears in Table 3, only 5.1 per cent of the children aged 14 on September 1, 1914, were foreign born, while in Chelsea the foreign born constituted 27.2 per cent of the children of this age. The proportion of foreign-born children in Boston was 11.4 per cent, and in Cambridge only 8.5 per cent—somewhat lower as compared with Boston than might have been expected from the comparative proportions of children going to work. This difference appears to be due to the unusually large proportion, 76.7 per cent, of foreign-born children who took out certificates in Cambridge, for Table 2 shows that the native

children of that city showed somewhat less tendency to go to work than those of Boston. On the other hand, Chelsea had the largest proportion, 36.6 per cent, of native children taking out employment certificates. To a considerable extent, doubtless, the differences which can not be accounted for by the nativity of the children of the different cities might be accounted for by the nativity of their parents.²⁷

TABLE 3.—*Nativity, by city; children in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea who were 14 but less than 15 years of age on Sept. 1, 1914.*

City.	Per cent ¹ of children aged 14 but less than 15 years, Sept. 1, 1914.		
	Total.	Native.	Foreign born.
All cities.....	100.0	88.9	11.1
Boston.....	100.0	88.6	11.4
Cambridge.....	100.0	91.5	8.5
Somerville.....	100.0	94.9	5.1
Chelsea.....	100.0	72.8	27.2

¹ For figures see Table 2, p. 71.

TABLE 4.—*City of issuance of certificate, by nativity of child; children issued certificates in four cities.*

City of issue.	Per cent ¹ distribution of children to whom employment certificates were issued.		
	All children.	Native.	Foreign born.
All cities.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Boston.....	77.3	77.7	75.8
Cambridge.....	11.7	11.6	12.0
Somerville.....	6.8	7.4	3.9
Chelsea.....	4.2	3.3	3.3

¹ For figures see Table 2, p. 71.

The actual numbers of working children in Somerville and Chelsea, and even in Cambridge, as shown in Table 2, were small as compared with those in Boston. Over three-fourths, 77.3 per cent, of all the children to whom certificates were issued in the four cities went to work²⁸ in Boston; 11.7 per cent went to work in Cambridge, 6.8 per cent in Somerville, and 4.2 per cent in Chelsea, as shown in Table 4.

²⁷ The nativity of the father is tabulated for the continuation-school children who were interviewed by agents of the bureau, and the results, though relating only to Boston children, seem to justify this conclusion. See Tables 12 and 13, pp. 79 and 80.

²⁸ The figures relate to children who went to work in each city and not necessarily to children living in that city.

The figures thus far given relate to children who took out employment certificates for work at any time, and some of these children worked only during summer vacations or out of school hours. Except for Boston, no information was available in the records as to the proportion of children taking out employment certificates who were actually beginning their working lives; that is, who were leaving school to become regular workers. In Boston, 3,544 of the 4,401 children who took out certificates, or 80.5 per cent, appear to have definitely left school for industry. Table 5 shows, therefore, that the proportion of the estimated population of this age group actually leaving school to begin work before they were 16 years of age was 28.9 per cent. Over one-third, 34.5 per cent, of all the boys of this age, but less than one-fourth, 23.2 per cent, of the girls, belonged to this group.

Only a little over one-fourth, 26.4 per cent, of the native children and nearly half, 47.7 per cent, of the foreign-born children left school to become regular workers before they were 16. Among the foreign born, too, the tendency of girls to become regular workers was nearly as great as that of boys, while among the native a great difference is observed between the two sexes, for 32.7 per cent of the boys and only 20.2 per cent of the girls had left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays.

TABLE 5.—*Prevalence of regular employment of children between the fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays, by sex and nativity; children in Boston who were 14 but less than 15 years of age on Sept. 1, 1914.*

Sex and nativity.	Children aged 14 but less than 15 years, Sept. 1, 1914—		
	Estimated total. ¹	Who took out employment certificates for regular work between the fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays.	
		Number.	Per cent of estimated total.
All children.....	12,273	² 3,544	28.9
Boys.....	6,121	² 2,114	34.5
Girls.....	6,152	1,430	23.2
Native.....	10,875	2,876	26.4
Boys.....	5,406	1,769	32.7
Girls.....	5,469	1,107	20.2
Foreign-born.....	1,398	667	47.7
Boys.....	715	344	48.1
Girls.....	683	323	47.3

¹ Estimated from the figures for children aged 10-14, 1900 and 1910, assuming an arithmetical increase of population, and then multiplied by the proportion of the age group 10-14 that was 14 in Boston in 1910.

² Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

SEX.

As has been seen, a decidedly larger proportion of boys than of girls went to work in the four cities combined, almost exactly three-fifths, 60.1 per cent, of the child workers being boys and two-fifths, 39.9 per cent, being girls. Table 6 shows also that the proportion of girls was slightly larger in Boston, according to both the certificate and the continuation-school records, than in the four cities combined, and was a little more than two-fifths, 42 per cent, of the 823 children interviewed.

Among native children the proportion of boys was somewhat larger than among children of both nativities combined, and the different series of records and schedules showed less than 1 per cent difference in sex distribution.

TABLE 6.—*Sex of employed children, by nativity; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.*

Sex and nativity.	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	1 5,692	100.0	2 4,401	100.0	2 3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Boys.....	1 3,419	60.1	2 2,633	59.8	2 2,026	59.6	477	58.0
Girls.....	2,273	39.9	1,768	40.2	1,373	40.4	346	42.0
Native.....	4,646	100.0	3,609	100.0	2,761	100.0	657	100.0
Boys.....	2,860	61.6	2,215	61.4	1,701	61.6	401	61.0
Girls.....	1,786	38.4	1,394	38.6	1,060	38.4	256	39.0
Foreign-born.....	1,044	100.0	791	100.0	637	100.0	166	100.0
Boys.....	557	53.4	417	52.7	324	50.9	76	45.8
Girls.....	487	46.6	374	47.3	313	49.1	90	54.2

¹ Including two boys for whom nativity was not reported.

² Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

Among the foreign-born children girls constituted nearly half, 46.6 per cent, of all the children who took out employment certificates in the four cities; they formed 47.3 per cent of those in Boston, 49.1 per cent of those in the Boston continuation-school group, and over one-half, 54.2 per cent, of the children who were interviewed in the continuation school. As the 47.3 per cent shown in the Boston certificate records may be considered typical of all children taking out certificates in that city, it is evident that the continuation school and schedule records included a few too many girls to be entirely representative of the sex distribution of foreign-born children. The disproportion is not great, however, and the figures for the certificate

records show again a decidedly greater tendency for foreign-born than for native girls to go to work. In Boston alone, where girls constituted 47.3 per cent of the foreign born, they constituted only 38.6 per cent of the native children who took out certificates.

NATIVITY.

Approximately four-fifths of all the children, and also of the children in each of the smaller groups, as shown in Table 7, were native born.^{28a} Somewhat less than one-fifth, indeed, were foreign born in every group except that of the interviewed children, where the proportion of foreign born was exactly 20.2 per cent.

The greater tendency, already noticed, of foreign born than of native girls to go to work is shown again in the fact that the foreign born constituted 21.4 per cent of all the girls who took out certificates in the four cities as compared with only 16.3 per cent of all the boys. The figures for the continuation-school group show 22.8 per cent of the girls to have been foreign born and those for the schedule group 26 per cent. The larger proportion, therefore, of foreign-born children found in the schedule group, as compared with the other groups, was evidently due to an excess of girls.

TABLE 7.—*Nativity of employed children, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.*

Nativity and sex.	Per cent distribution.			
	Children issued certificates.		Children in Boston continuation school.	Children interviewed (Boston).
	All cities.	Boston.		
Both sexes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native.....	81.6	82.0	81.2	79.8
Foreign born.....	18.3	18.0	18.7	20.2
Boys.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native.....	83.7	84.1	84.0	84.1
Foreign born.....	16.3	15.8	16.0	15.9
Girls.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native.....	78.6	78.8	77.2	74.0
Foreign born.....	21.4	21.2	22.8	26.0

The four cities, as shown in Table 10,^{28b} differed decidedly in the proportion which the foreign born constituted of all children who took out employment certificates. In Boston and Cambridge, as in the four cities combined, about 18 per cent of these children were foreign born. But in Somerville only about one-tenth, 10.6 per cent,

^{28a} As the certificate record did not specify whether the children were colored or white, and as only 18 colored children were included in the continuation-school group, colored children are not separately itemized in the tabulation.

^{28b} See p. 78.

were foreign born, while in Chelsea the foreign born constituted over one-third, 36.1 per cent, of all the children who obtained certificates. It is said that after the Chelsea fire of 1908 a large number of the former inhabitants moved away and were replaced by immigrant families.

BIRTHPLACE.

Of all the children who took out certificates in the four cities, as shown in Table 8, 6.1 per cent were born in Russia, 5.7 per cent in Italy, 2 per cent in England and Scotland, and 1.7 per cent in British North America. Only six-tenths of 1 per cent were born in Ireland. These figures, as will be seen later in discussing the nationalities of the children's fathers,²⁰ reflect, not the distribution of the different nationalities in the entire population but merely the relative recency of immigration from different countries. The Russians and Italians constituted the newer immigration. The English and Irish had been in this country longer and, therefore, a larger proportion of their children of working age had been born here.

TABLE 8.—*Place of birth of employed children; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.*

Country of birth.	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed in Boston.	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	15,692	100.0	4,401	100.0	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Native.....	4,646	81.6	3,609	82.0	2,761	81.2	657	79.8
Foreign born.....	1,044	18.3	791	18.0	637	18.7	166	20.2
British North America...	96	1.7	56	1.3	44	1.3	5	.6
England and Scotland...	111	2.0	91	2.1	69	2.0	18	2.2
Ireland.....	32	.6	23	.5	16	.5	6	.7
Italy.....	323	5.7	284	6.5	249	7.3	90	10.9
Russia.....	349	6.1	266	6.0	204	6.0	33	4.0
Other.....	133	2.3	71	1.6	55	1.6	14	1.7

¹ Including two boys for whom nativity was not reported.

² Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

In Boston alone the certificate records show a somewhat higher proportion of Italians—6.5 per cent—and this proportion is even higher, 7.3 per cent, in the continuation-school records, and still higher, 10.9 per cent, in the group of children for whom schedules were taken. The children interviewed show, on the other hand, a comparatively low proportion, only 4 per cent, of Russian children. The larger proportion of Italian children in the continuation-school group may be accounted for by the fact, which will later be shown

²⁰ See page 80.

statistically,³⁰ that of all children who applied for certificates the Italians were more likely than children of other nationality groups to leave school permanently to go to work; for vacation workers are included in the certificate but not in the continuation-school records. But it is evident that, for some reason, a larger number of Italian children and a smaller number of Russian children were interviewed than were typical of their respective groups in the child-labor population of Boston.

Table 9, which gives the distribution by place of birth of the 166 foreign-born children who were interviewed, shows that, though nearly as many children born in Russia as children born in Italy took out certificates in Boston, over one-half, or 54.2 per cent, of the foreign-born children who were interviewed were born in Italy, and less than one-fifth, 19.9 per cent, in Russia. This discrepancy is even greater among the girls, for nearly two-thirds, 63.3 per cent, of the foreign-born girls interviewed had been born in Italy. Italian girls, therefore, appear to constitute the nativity element composing the excess already mentioned³¹ of foreign-born children among those for whom schedules were taken.

TABLE 9.—*Place of birth, by sex; foreign-born children interviewed.*

Place of birth.	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	166	100.0	76	100.0	90	100.0
British North America.....	5	3.0	3	3.9	2	2.2
England.....	12	7.2	7	9.2	5	5.6
Ireland.....	6	3.6	5	6.6	1	1.1
Scotland.....	6	3.6	4	5.3	2	2.2
Italy.....	90	54.2	33	43.4	57	63.3
Russia.....	33	19.9	15	19.7	18	20.0
Other.....	14	8.4	9	11.8	5	5.6

The four cities differ quite as much in the proportions of their working children born in different countries as in the proportions of foreign born. Table 10 shows that the high proportion of foreign born in Chelsea, for example, is due to children born in Russia; over one-fourth, 26.1 per cent, of all the children who took out certificates in that city came from Russia, as compared with 6 per cent in Boston, 2.9 per cent in Cambridge, and 0.3 per cent in Somerville. In Cambridge, on the other hand, 36 children who were born in Portugal (including those born in the Azores) took out certificates—a larger proportion than of any other foreign-born group. In other words, though in the four cities combined this group furnished only 40

³⁰ See Table 64, p. 150.

³¹ See p. 75.

children, or less than 1 child in 100, in Cambridge more than 1 child in every 20 taking out certificates was born in Portugal or the Azores. Cambridge and Chelsea, however, and even Somerville, had fewer Italian children than had Boston.

TABLE 10.—*Place of birth, by city of issue; children issued certificates in four cities.*

Place of birth.	Children to whom certificates were issued in—									
	All cities.		Boston.		Cambridge.		Somerville.		Chelsea.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All countries.....	15,692	100.0	4,401	100.0	2,664	100.0	386	100.0	241	100.0
United States.....	4,646	81.6	3,609	82.0	538	81.0	345	89.4	154	63.9
Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea.....	4,023	70.7	3,163	71.9	455	68.5	281	72.8	124	51.5
Elsewhere in United States.....	623	10.9	446	10.1	83	12.5	64	16.6	30	12.4
Foreign countries.....	1,044	18.3	791	18.0	125	18.8	41	10.6	87	36.1
Russia.....	349	6.1	266	6.0	19	2.9	1	.3	63	26.1
Italy.....	323	5.7	284	6.5	17	2.6	16	4.1	6	2.5
England, Scotland, and Wales....	111	2.0	91	2.1	9	1.4	3	.8	8	3.3
British North America.....	96	1.7	56	1.3	24	3.6	10	2.6	6	2.5
Portugal, including the Azores....	40	.7	2	.....	36	5.4	2	.5	.....	.....
Ireland.....	32	.6	23	.5	3	.5	5	1.3	1	.4
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark..	25	.4	17	.4	6	.9	2	.5	.....	.....
Austria-Hungary.....	12	.2	9	.2	2	.3	.....	.....	1	.4
Turkey, including Syria.....	12	.2	12	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Germany.....	7	.1	6	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.4
Other countries.....	37	.7	25	.6	9	1.4	2	.5	1	.4

¹ Including two children whose place of birth was not reported.

² Including one child whose place of birth was not reported.

YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The certificate records do not show how long the foreign-born children had been in the United States, but, according to Table 11, in the group for whom continuation-school records were used about one-fourth, 24 per cent, of the foreign-born children had been in the United States less than 5 years; somewhat more than one-third, 35.2 per cent, had been in this country 5 years but less than 10; and not quite one-third, 31.8 per cent, had been here for 10 years or more. The last group had been brought to this country when they were under school age and had therefore received all their education in the United States. Of the foreign-born children who were interviewed practically the same proportion, 31.3 per cent, had been in this country for over 10 years, about two-fifths, 40.4 per cent, between 5 and 10 years, and about one-fifth, 21.7 per cent, less than 5 years. Considering the small numbers involved, there is no particular significance in the slight differences between the two groups of children.

TABLE 11.—Years of residence in the United States; comparison of foreign-born children interviewed with foreign-born children in Boston continuation school.

Years in the United States.	Foreign-born children in Boston continuation school.		Foreign-born children interviewed (Boston).	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	637	100.0	166	100.0
Under 5.....	153	24.0	36	21.7
5 but under 10.....	224	35.2	67	40.4
10 and over.....	203	31.8	52	31.3
Not reported.....	57	8.9	11	6.6

FATHER'S NATIVITY AND NATIONALITY.

Although only about one-fifth of the working children of Boston were themselves foreign born, nearly three-fourths, 72.1 per cent, of the children interviewed had foreign-born fathers. Table 12, which shows these proportions, may slightly overstate the importance of the foreign element, for a somewhat higher percentage of interviewed children than of all children who took out certificates were foreign born. But it is safe to say that at least 7 out of every 10 children taking out certificates were of foreign parentage. Yet fully two-thirds of these children of foreign-born fathers had themselves been born in the United States.

The two groups of nationalities, those of north and west Europe and of south and east Europe, each furnished, as shown in Table 13, a larger number of fathers of interviewed children, 31.3 per cent and 36.1 per cent, respectively, than did the United States. Of the separate nationalities the Italians predominated; 23.9 per cent of the children had Italian fathers, nearly as many as had native fathers.²³ But not far from the same proportion, 20.3 per cent, had Irish fathers. On the other hand, the fathers of only 8.5 per cent of the children interviewed were Russian Jews.²⁴

TABLE 12.—Nativity of father and child, by sex of child; children interviewed.

Nativity of father and child.	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	823	100.0	477	100.0	346	100.0
Both fathers and children native.....	201	24.4	127	26.6	74	21.4
Fathers foreign born.....	593	72.1	328	68.8	265	76.6
Children native.....	427	51.9	252	52.8	175	50.6
Children foreign born.....	166	20.2	76	15.9	90	26.0
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	3.5	22	4.6	7	2.0

²³ As shown on p. 76 the proportion of Italian children in the schedule series is somewhat larger than for Boston alone in the certificate series, which includes all the children going to work.

²⁴ This, as already shown on p. 77, is too small a proportion to be representative of all children taking out certificates in Boston.

TABLE 13.—*Nationality of father, by sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father.	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	823	100.0	477	100.0	346	100.0
Father native.....	201	24.4	127	26.6	74	21.4
Father foreign born.....	593	72.1	328	68.8	265	76.6
North and west Europe.....	258	31.3	165	34.6	93	26.9
English.....	26	4.4	26	5.5	10	2.9
Irish.....	167	20.3	101	21.2	66	19.1
Scotch.....	15	1.8	9	1.9	6	1.7
German.....	20	2.4	17	3.6	3	.9
Scandinavian.....	18	2.2	11	2.3	7	2.0
Other.....	2	.2	1	.2	1	.3
South and east Europe.....	297	36.1	142	29.8	155	44.8
Russian Jewish.....	70	8.5	40	8.4	30	8.7
Other Jewish.....	9	1.1	7	1.5	2	.6
Italian.....	197	23.9	85	17.8	112	32.4
Other.....	21	2.6	10	2.1	11	3.2
Asia, Syrian.....	6	.7	1	.2	5	1.4
North America.....	¹ 32	3.9	¹ 20	4.2	12	3.5
French Canadian.....	6	.7	3	.6	3	.9
English and Scotch Canadian.....	25	3.0	16	3.4	9	2.6
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	3.5	22	4.6	7	2.0

¹ Including 1 boy the nationality of whose father was not specified.

The sources of the newer immigration stand out distinctly when the parentage of the native children is compared with that of the foreign-born children. For example, Table 14 shows that of the native children whose fathers were foreign born 55 per cent had fathers from north and west Europe and only 37.9 per cent had fathers from south and east Europe, while Table 15 shows that of the foreign-born children only 13.9 per cent had fathers from north and west Europe and 81.3 per cent had fathers from south and east Europe. Although only 24.8 per cent of the native children with foreign-born fathers were Italian, 54.8 per cent of the foreign-born children were Italian. This difference is still more marked in the case of the Russian Jews, for only 8.7 per cent of the native children of foreign parentage but 19.9 per cent of the foreign-born children belonged to this group. On the other hand, all the different groups of nationalities classed under "north and west Europe" show opposite conditions. Irish children, indeed, constituted over one-third, 37.7 per cent, of the native children of foreign parentage, and only 3.6 per cent of the foreign-born children.

As would be expected from comparisons already made, a smaller proportion of the girls than of the boys, 21.4 per cent as compared with 26.6 per cent, were native born of native fathers: Table 12 shows that over three-fourths, 76.6 per cent, of the girls had foreign-born fathers, and only 50.6 per cent of them, as compared with 52.8

per cent of the boys, were native children of foreign parentage. In Tables 13, 14, and 15 the nationalities of the fathers of these boys and girls are further analyzed in detail.

TABLE 14.—Nationality of father, by sex of child; native children with foreign-born fathers interviewed.

Nationality of father.	Native children.					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Father foreign born.....	427	100.0	252	100.0	175	100.0
North and west Europe.....	235	55.0	147	58.3	88	50.3
English.....	29	6.8	21	8.3	8	4.6
Irish.....	161	37.7	96	38.1	65	37.1
Scotch.....	9	2.1	5	2.0	4	2.3
German.....	19	4.4	16	6.3	3	1.7
Scandinavian.....	15	3.5	8	3.2	7	4.0
Other.....	2	.5	1	.4	1	.6
South and east Europe.....	162	37.9	85	33.7	77	44.0
Russian Jewish.....	37	8.7	23	9.1	14	8.0
Other Jewish.....	5	1.2	4	1.6	1	.6
Italian.....	106	24.8	51	20.2	55	31.4
Other.....	14	3.3	7	2.8	7	4.0
Asia, Syrian.....	1	.2	1	.4	.....	.....
North America.....	129	6.8	119	7.5	10	5.7
French Canadian.....	5	1.2	3	1.2	2	1.1
English and Scotch Canadian.....	23	5.4	15	6.0	8	4.6

¹ Including one boy the nationality of whose father was not specified.

TABLE 15.—Nationality of father, by sex of child; foreign-born children interviewed.

Nationality of father.	Foreign-born children.					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Father foreign born.....	166	100.0	76	100.0	90	100.0
North and west Europe.....	23	13.9	18	23.7	5	5.6
English.....	7	4.2	5	6.6	2	2.2
Irish.....	6	3.6	5	6.6	1	1.1
Scotch.....	6	3.6	4	5.3	2	2.2
German.....	1	.6	1	1.3	.....	.....
Scandinavian.....	3	1.8	3	3.9	.....	.....
South and east Europe.....	135	81.3	57	75.0	78	86.7
Russian Jewish.....	33	19.9	17	22.4	16	17.8
Other Jewish.....	4	2.4	3	3.9	1	1.1
Italian.....	91	54.8	34	44.7	57	63.3
Other.....	7	4.2	3	3.9	4	4.4
Asia, Syrian.....	5	3.0	.....	.....	5	5.6
North America.....	3	1.8	1	1.3	2	2.2
French Canadian.....	1	.6	.....	.....	1	1.1
English and Scotch Canadian.....	2	1.2	1	1.3	1	1.1

The relative tendency of the different nationality groups to send their daughters to work as compared with their sons is best shown, however, in Table 16. Where the fathers were native, girls furnished only about one-third, 36.8 per cent, of the working children. In other words, from American families only one girl to every two boys went to work before the age of 16. But in families where the father was foreign born the proportion of girl workers rose to 44.7 per cent. In other words, nearly half the child workers from the families of immigrants were girls.

TABLE 16.—*Sex of child, by nationality of father and nativity of child; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father and nativity of child.	Children.	Boys.		Girls.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	823	447	58.0	346	42.0
Both fathers and children native.....	201	127	63.2	74	36.8
Fathers foreign born.....	593	328	55.3	265	44.7
Children native.....	427	252	59.0	175	41.0
Children foreign born.....	166	76	45.8	90	54.2
North and west Europe.....	258	165	64.0	93	36.0
Children native.....	235	147	62.6	88	37.4
Children foreign born.....	23	18	.....	5	.....
English and Scotch.....	51	35	68.6	16	31.4
Children native.....	38	26	.....	12	.....
Children foreign born.....	13	9	.....	4	.....
Irish.....	167	101	60.5	66	39.5
Children native.....	161	96	59.6	65	40.4
Children foreign born.....	6	5	.....	1	.....
Other.....	40	29	.....	11	.....
Children native.....	36	25	.....	11	.....
Children foreign born.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
South and east Europe.....	297	142	47.8	155	52.2
Children native.....	162	85	52.5	77	47.5
Children foreign born.....	135	57	42.2	78	57.8
Russian Jewish.....	70	40	57.1	30	42.9
Children native.....	37	23	.....	14	.....
Children foreign born.....	33	17	.....	16	.....
Italian.....	197	85	43.1	112	56.9
Children native.....	106	51	48.1	55	51.9
Children foreign born.....	91	34	37.4	57	62.6
Other.....	30	17	.....	13	.....
Children native.....	19	11	.....	8	.....
Children foreign born.....	11	6	.....	5	.....
British North America.....	32	20	.....	12	.....
Children native.....	29	19	.....	10	.....
Children foreign born.....	3	1	.....	2	.....
Other.....	6	1	.....	5	.....
Children native.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Children foreign born.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	22	.....	7	.....
Children native.....	29	22	.....	7	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

This high proportion of girl workers, as compared with boy workers, in the newer elements of the population was due entirely to a greater

tendency among fathers from south and east Europe, particularly Italian fathers, to send their daughters, as compared with their sons, to work at an early age. Of the children of fathers from north and west Europe an even smaller proportion, only 36 per cent, than of the children of native fathers were girls. Though Irish fathers showed a somewhat greater tendency to send their daughters to work than native fathers, only 39.5 per cent of the children of Irish fathers who were interviewed in continuation school were girls. Even of the children of Russian Jewish fathers only 42.9 per cent were girls. On the other hand, over one-half, 52.2 per cent, of the children of all fathers from south and east Europe, including the Russians, and a still larger proportion, 56.9 per cent, of the children of Italian fathers, were girls. The tendency of Italian fathers to send their daughters to work may be somewhat exaggerated by these figures, for, as already shown,⁸⁵ a larger proportion of girls who were born in Italy were included in the schedule group than is typical of the entire group of children taking out employment certificates in Boston. Nevertheless, although this tendency was most marked when the child as well as the father was foreign born, over half, 51.9 per cent, of the native children of Italian fathers who were interviewed were girls.

AGE AT GOING TO WORK.

Apparently a considerable number of children went to work at the earliest possible date, for Table 17 shows that in the four cities combined—Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—more children took out employment certificates between the ages of 14 and 14½ than between the ages of 14½ and 15 or 15 and 15½, and nearly as many as between the ages of 15½ and 16. Of all the children who took out certificates before their sixteenth birthdays 29.9 per cent entered industry before they were 14½ years of age, only 19.1 per cent between that age and their fifteenth birthdays, and 20.9 per cent between 15 and 15½. Between 15½ and 16, more children—30 per cent of the total—took out certificates, but this group included children who began work during a summer vacation before the end of which they would be 16 and no longer subject to the compulsory-education or child-labor laws.⁸⁶

The boys showed a slightly greater tendency than did the girls to take out their certificates soon after becoming 14, but a somewhat larger proportion of girls than of boys went to work between 14½ and 15 years of age. The general tendency, however, was the same for both sexes.

⁸⁵ See p. 77.

⁸⁶ See Table 67, p. 153.

TABLE 17.—*Age at taking out first certificate and sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.*

Age at taking out first certificate, and sex.	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston). ¹	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	5,092	100.0	4,401	100.0	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
14 under 14½.....	1,703	29.9	1,381	31.4	1,151	33.9	2 611	74.2
14½ under 15.....	1,089	19.1	854	19.4	710	20.9	162	19.7
15 under 15½.....	1,191	20.9	892	20.3	732	21.5	43	5.2
15½ under 16.....	1,709	30.0	1,274	28.9	806	23.7	7	0.9
Boys.....	3,419	100.0	2,633	100.0	2,026	100.0	477	100.0
14 under 14½.....	1,048	30.7	838	31.8	687	33.9	2 357	74.8
14½ under 15.....	620	18.1	473	18.0	395	19.5	88	18.4
15 under 15½.....	740	21.6	562	21.3	464	22.9	29	6.1
15½ under 16.....	1,011	29.6	760	28.9	480	23.7	3	0.6
Girls.....	2,273	100.0	1,768	100.0	1,373	100.0	346	100.0
14 under 14½.....	655	28.8	543	30.7	464	33.8	2 254	73.4
14½ under 15.....	469	20.6	381	21.5	315	22.9	74	21.4
15 under 15½.....	451	19.8	330	18.7	268	19.5	14	4.0
15½ under 16.....	698	30.7	514	29.1	326	23.7	4	1.2

¹ These two columns relate to actual date of going to work, whereas the others relate to date of taking out certificate.

² Including 21 children—18 boys and 3 girls—who went to work before they were 14.

The method of selection, as already stated, was such that both the continuation-school group and the interviewed group of children contained a larger proportion who went to work soon after becoming 14 than did the certificate group. This difference, as shown in Table 17, was comparatively slight in the continuation-school group, where it showed itself entirely in a somewhat smaller proportion of children who took out their certificates when they were 15½ but under 16 years of age. But it was marked in the schedule group,²⁷ where nearly three-fourths, 74.2 per cent, of all the children were under 14½ when they took their first regular positions, and only 6.1 per cent were over 15. In none of the groups was there any significant difference between the proportions of boys and of girls.

The tendency noted above for a more than proportionate number of children to take out their certificates within the first six months after becoming 14 appears, according to Table 18, to have affected native more than foreign-born children. Of the native children, a larger number took out certificates before they were 14½ than after they were 15½ years of age. Among the foreign-born children who were interviewed, a larger proportion than of the native children went to work during the second age period, that is, between 14½ and 15, and a correspondingly smaller proportion during the first six months after becoming 14.

²⁷ The age at going to work of the children who were interviewed is the actual age at the time of taking the first regular position, and not, as for the other groups of children, the age at taking out the first certificate. This fact, in addition to the others already mentioned, would tend to place more children of this group in the earlier age groups.

TABLE 18.—Age at taking out first certificate and nativity; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.

Age at taking out first certificate and nativity.	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston). ¹	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	3 5,692	.....	3 4,401	.....	3 3,399	.....	4 823	.....
Native.....	4,646	100.0	3,609	100.0	2,761	100.0	4 657	100.0
14 under 14½.....	1,403	30.2	1,140	31.6	940	34.0	476	72.5
14½ under 15.....	888	19.1	695	19.3	571	20.7	124	18.9
15 under 15½.....	966	20.8	731	20.3	595	21.6	35	5.3
15½ under 16.....	1,389	29.9	1,043	28.9	655	23.7	6	.9
Foreign born.....	1,044	100.0	791	100.0	637	100.0	4 166	100.0
14 under 14½.....	299	28.6	241	30.5	211	33.1	114	68.7
14½ under 15.....	201	19.3	159	20.1	139	21.8	38	22.9
15 under 15½.....	225	21.6	161	20.4	137	21.5	8	4.8
15½ under 16.....	319	30.6	230	29.1	150	23.5	1	.6

¹ These two columns relate to actual date of going to work, whereas the others relate to date of taking out certificate.

² Including two children whose nativity was not reported. Including also three children who went to work before they were 14 years of age, according to continuation-school records, but who did not secure employment certificates until after they were 14.

³ Including one child whose nativity was not reported.

⁴ Including 16 native and 5 foreign-born children who went to work before they were 14.

The fact that a smaller proportion of the foreign born than of the native children began work as soon as or soon after they could legally secure certificates is probably due to greater difficulty among the foreign-born children in meeting the educational requirements for an employment certificate. Many of the foreign-born children, as will be seen,²⁸ had barely completed the fourth grade when they went to work, and some of them probably did not complete it until some time after they became 14. Table 19, based on the continuation-school records, shows that the group in which the smallest proportion, 26.1 per cent, took out certificates between 14 and 14½ years of age was that of foreign-born children who had been in the United States less than five years.

The supposition that the foreign-born children, if unrestrained by the educational requirements of the law, would have gone to work even younger than the native children is also supported by Table 20, which shows that, among the working children interviewed, a much larger proportion of native children of foreign-born fathers went to work before they were 14½ years of age than of native children of native fathers, 78.2 per cent as compared with 68.7 per cent. The comparatively large proportion of native children found going to work at this age is evidently due entirely to the group whose fathers were foreign born. Therefore, when foreign-born children were compared with native children of native fathers alone it was found that the foreign born had the greater tendency to go to work early.

²⁸ See Table 46, p. 120.

TABLE 19.—Age at taking out first certificate, by nativity and length of residence in the United States; children in Boston continuation school.

Nativity and length of residence in United States.	All children.	Children taking out first certificate at specified age.							
		14 under 14½.		14½ under 15.		15 under 15½.		15½ under 16.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
Total.....	1 3,399	1,151	33.9	710	20.9	732	21.5	1 806	23.7
Native.....	2,761	940	34.0	571	20.7	595	21.6	655	23.7
Foreign born.....	637	211	33.1	139	21.8	137	21.5	150	23.5
Years in United States:									
Under 5.....	153	40	26.1	40	26.1	42	27.5	31	20.3
5 but under 10.....	224	79	35.3	51	22.8	40	17.9	54	24.1
10 and over.....	203	61	30.0	39	19.2	43	21.2	60	29.6
Not reported.....	57	31	54.4	9	15.8	12	21.1	5	8.8

¹ Including one child for whom nativity was not reported.

TABLE 20.—Age at entering industry, by sex and nativity of child, and nativity of father; children interviewed.

Age at entering industry, and sex.	Children.								Nativ- ity of fathers not re- ported: child- ren native.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0	29
Under 14½.....	611	74.2	138	68.7	334	78.2	119	71.7	20
Under 14½.....	429	52.1	93	46.3	232	54.3	89	53.6	15
Under 14.....	21	2.6	3	1.5	12	2.8	5	3.0	1
14, under 14 1 month.....	216	26.2	44	21.9	117	27.4	45	27.1	10
14 1 month, under 14 2 months.....	104	12.6	24	11.9	60	14.1	19	11.4	1
14 2 months, under 14 3 months.....	88	10.7	22	10.9	43	10.1	20	12.0	3
14½, under 14½.....	182	22.1	45	22.4	102	23.9	30	18.1	5
14½, under 15.....	162	19.7	51	25.4	68	15.9	38	22.9	5
15, under 15½.....	43	5.2	11	5.5	20	4.7	8	4.8	4
15½, under 16.....	7	0.9	1	0.5	5	1.2	1	0.6	.....
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Under 14½.....	357	74.8	92	72.4	199	79.0	53	69.7	13
Under 14½.....	249	52.2	64	50.4	137	54.4	38	50.0	10
Under 14.....	18	3.8	3	2.4	10	4.0	4	5.3	1
14, under 14 1 month.....	125	26.2	33	26.0	68	27.0	16	21.1	8
14 1 month, under 14 2 months.....	56	11.7	13	10.2	33	13.1	9	11.8	1
14 2 months, under 14 3 months.....	50	10.5	15	11.8	26	10.3	9	11.8	.....
14½, under 14½.....	108	22.6	28	22.0	62	24.6	15	19.7	3
14½, under 15.....	88	18.4	28	22.0	37	14.7	18	23.7	5
15, under 15½.....	29	6.1	7	5.5	13	5.2	5	6.6	4
15½, under 16.....	3	0.6	.....	.....	3	1.2	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Under 14½.....	254	73.4	46	62.2	135	77.1	66	73.3	7
Under 14½.....	180	52.0	29	39.2	95	54.3	51	56.7	5
Under 14.....	3	0.9	.....	.....	2	1.1	1	1.1	.....
14, under 14 1 month.....	91	26.3	11	14.9	49	28.0	29	32.2	2
14 1 month, under 14 2 months.....	48	13.9	11	14.9	27	15.4	10	11.1	.....
14 2 months, under 14 3 months.....	38	11.0	7	9.5	17	9.7	11	12.2	3
14½, under 14½.....	74	21.4	17	23.0	40	22.9	15	16.7	2
14½, under 15.....	74	21.4	23	31.1	31	17.7	20	22.2	.....
15, under 15½.....	14	4.0	4	5.4	7	4.0	3	3.3	.....
15½, under 16.....	4	1.2	1	1.4	2	1.1	1	1.1	.....

Moreover, 27.1 per cent of the foreign-born children, 27.4 per cent of the native children of foreign-born fathers, and only 21.9 per cent of the native children of native fathers went to work within a month after their fourteenth birthdays. In other words, over one-fourth of the children in each of the foreign groups and little more than one-fifth of those in the purely native group included in the group of interviewed children practically celebrated their fourteenth birthdays by beginning their industrial careers.³⁹

Comparing the boys with the girls, it is observed that of the native children of native fathers a markedly larger proportion of boys than of girls went to work during the first six months after becoming 14—72.4 per cent as compared with 62.2 per cent. Much less difference is found between the native sons and daughters of foreign-born fathers. And among the foreign-born children an even larger proportion of girls, 73.3 per cent, than of boys, 69.7 per cent, went to work at this early age. It should be remembered, however, that the group of interviewed children contains a larger proportion of foreign-born girls than the entire group of working children.

³⁹ These figures, of course, are not typical of all children who took out certificates, for, as has been pointed out, the children interviewed began work at younger ages than did all those who took out certificates (see pp. 5, 84.).

THE FAMILIES.

To what extent these children came from broken families, that is, from families in which either the father or the mother was dead or not living with the family, is of interest, especially in connection with the child's reasons for leaving school. Other points which throw light upon his reasons for leaving school are his father's occupation, whether or not his father was unemployed, and whether or not his mother was employed. These facts are available only for the children included in the continuation-school and schedule groups, all of whom had actually left school to go to work at the time the information was secured.

FAMILY STATUS.

Of the children included in the continuation-school group, exactly two thirds—66.6 per cent—lived in normal families at the time they went to work; that is, in families with both a father (or stepfather) and mother (or stepmother) in the home. Of those included in the schedule group an even larger proportion, 70.7 per cent, lived in such families. In both groups, as shown in Table 21, the proportion of girls coming from these normal families was somewhat greater than the proportion of boys.⁴⁰

TABLE 21.—*Family status and sex of child; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.*

Family status and sex of child.	Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Parents living together.....	2,263	66.6	582	70.7
Father dead or not living with family.....	600	17.7	151	18.3
Mother dead or not living with family.....	150	4.4	26	3.2
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	96	2.8	19	2.3
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	290	8.5	45	5.5
Boys.....	2,026	100.0	477	100.0
Parents living together.....	1,335	65.9	331	69.4
Father dead or not living with family.....	364	18.0	94	19.7
Mother dead or not living with family.....	88	4.3	15	3.2
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	52	2.6	8	1.7
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	187	9.2	29	6.1
Girls.....	1,373	100.0	346	100.0
Parents living together.....	928	67.6	251	72.5
Father dead or not living with family.....	236	17.2	57	16.5
Mother dead or not living with family.....	62	4.5	11	3.2
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	44	3.2	11	3.2
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	103	7.5	16	4.6

⁴⁰ But in both groups the proportion of cases in which the status of either one or both parents is not reported is comparatively high; 8.5 per cent in the continuation-school group and 5.5 per cent in the schedule group for both sexes.

Many children doubtless went to work because of economic need caused by the death of the father or by the fact that, for some reason, he was not living with his family. Of all the children for whom continuation-school records were taken, about one-fifth—20.5 per cent—belonged to broken families of this kind; 2.8 per cent did not live with either parent; and 17.7 per cent lived with their mothers, but had lost their fathers by death or desertion. Practically no difference was found between the girls and boys as to this point.

The fact that the mother was dead or not living with the family seemed to have had much less influence in sending children to work. The mothers of only 7.2 per cent, as compared with the fathers of 20.5 per cent, of the children in the continuation-school group were dead or not living with their families. This percentage was somewhat higher for the girls, 7.7 per cent, than for the boys, 6.9 per cent. Approximately 1 child in 20, 4.4 per cent, lived with his father but had no mother, or none at home.

Of the children who were interviewed a smaller proportion than of the continuation-school children came from families in which the mother was dead or not living with the family, but a slightly larger proportion from families in which the father was dead or not living with the family. The differences between the two groups, however, are too slight to be significant.

TABLE 22.—Family status, by sex and nativity of child; children in Boston continuation school.

Family status and sex of child.	All children.		Native children.		Foreign-born children.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Both sexes.....	¹ 3,399	100.0	2,761	100.0	637	100.0
Parents living together.....	¹ 2,263	66.6	1,810	65.6	452	71.0
Father dead or not living with family.....	600	17.7	513	18.6	87	13.7
Mother dead or not living with family.....	150	4.4	127	4.6	23	3.6
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	96	2.8	78	2.8	18	2.8
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	290	8.5	233	8.4	57	8.9
Boys.....	¹ 2,026	100.0	1,701	100.0	324	100.0
Parents living together.....	¹ 1,335	65.9	1,101	64.7	233	71.9
Father dead or not living with family.....	364	18.0	321	18.9	43	13.3
Mother dead or not living with family.....	88	4.3	79	4.6	9	2.8
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	52	2.6	46	2.7	6	1.9
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	187	9.2	154	9.1	33	10.2
Girls.....	1,373	100.0	1,060	100.0	313	100.0
Parents living together.....	928	67.6	709	66.9	219	70.0
Father dead or not living with family.....	236	17.2	192	18.1	44	14.1
Mother dead or not living with family.....	62	4.5	48	4.5	14	4.5
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	44	3.2	32	3.0	12	3.8
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	103	7.5	79	7.5	24	7.7

¹ Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

When the native are compared with the foreign-born children, as in Table 22 for the continuation-school group, it is found that the proportion of working children who belonged to broken families was higher among the native than among the foreign born. The percentage of cases in which both parents were dead or not living with their families was precisely the same for both, but a somewhat smaller proportion of the foreign-born children lived in families where the mother only was missing, and a decidedly smaller proportion, 13.7 per cent as compared with 18.6 per cent for the native, in families where the father only was missing. Evidently the death of the father or the fact that he was not living with his family was relatively more frequently a factor in the circumstances that led to the child's employment among the native than among the foreign-born children.

TABLE 23.—*Family status, by sex and nativity of child and nativity of father; children interviewed.*

Family status and sex of child.	Children.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0	29
Parents living together.....	582	70.7	130	64.7	312	73.1	122	73.5	18
Father dead or not living with family.....	151	18.3	48	23.9	73	17.1	23	13.9	7
Mother dead or not living with family.....	26	3.2	6	3.0	16	3.7	4	2.4	.....
Both parents dead or not living with family	19	2.3	2	1.0	9	2.1	5	3.0	3
Status of one or both parents not reported..	45	5.5	15	7.5	17	4.0	12	7.2	1
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Parents living together.....	331	69.4	78	61.4	185	73.4	53	69.7	15
Father dead or not living with family.....	94	19.7	32	25.2	44	17.5	12	15.8	6
Mother dead or not living with family.....	15	3.2	4	3.1	10	4.0	1	1.3	.....
Both parents dead or not living with family	8	1.7	1	.8	4	1.6	2	2.6	1
Status of one or both parents not reported..	29	6.1	12	9.4	9	3.6	8	10.5	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Parents living together.....	251	72.5	52	70.3	127	72.6	69	76.7	3
Father dead or not living with family.....	57	16.5	16	21.6	29	16.6	11	12.2	1
Mother dead or not living with family.....	11	3.2	2	2.7	6	3.4	3	3.3	.....
Both parents dead or not living with family	11	3.2	1	1.4	5	2.9	3	3.3	3
Status of one or both parents not reported..	16	4.6	3	4.1	8	4.6	4	4.4	1

In this respect the native children of foreign-born fathers stand, as might be expected, about halfway between the foreign-born children and the native children of native fathers. Table 23 shows that, among the children who were interviewed, 16.9 per cent of the foreign-born children, 19.2 per cent of the native children whose fathers were foreign born, and 24.9 per cent, or almost exactly one-fourth, of the native children of native parentage came from families without fathers. In every group except that of native children of

foreign-born fathers a smaller proportion of the girls than of the boys came from such families.⁴¹

The father or mother may have died or deserted the family between the time the child became 14 and the date of his going to work, and thus the loss of a parent may often be the direct cause of the employment of a child even though such employment did not begin as soon as the child became of legal age to work. Nevertheless, Table 24 shows that 35.2 per cent of the continuation-school children whose fathers only were dead or not living with their families, as compared with 33 per cent of those whose parents were living together, left school to go to work before they were 14½ years of age. On the other hand, only 30.7 per cent of the children whose mothers were dead or not living with their families and 30.2 per cent of those both of whose parents were dead or not living with their families went to work at this age.

TABLE 24.—*Age at taking out first certificate, by family status; children in Boston continuation school.*

Family status.	All children.	Children taking out first certificate at specified age.							
		14 under 14½.		14½ under 15.		15 under 15½.		15½ under 16.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Total.....	3,399	1,151	33.9	710	20.9	732	21.5	806	23.7
Parents living together.....	2,263	747	33.0	485	21.4	504	22.3	527	23.3
Father dead or not living with family.....	600	211	35.2	134	22.3	128	21.3	127	21.2
Mother dead or not living with family.....	150	46	30.7	33	22.0	27	18.0	44	29.3
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	96	29	30.2	20	30.2	21	21.9	17	17.7
Status of one or both parents not reported...	290	118	40.7	20	10.0	52	17.9	91	31.4

In all these tables, however, the terms father and mother include stepfather and stepmother, so that the actual number of children who had lost one or the other parent by death is considerably greater than here shown. The death or desertion of the mother, as has been seen, appears to have affected comparatively few children. But if we eliminate the stepfathers, as in Table 25, it is found that the fathers of one-fifth, 20.7 per cent, of the children interviewed were dead. The proportion of children of native parentage whose fathers were dead is even higher, 24.4 per cent, or nearly one-fourth. This table shows, again, that the death of the father must have been less important as a cause of the employment of the child among the children of foreign parentage who, as already stated, had the larger proportion at work than among those of native parentage, and also less important among the south and east European races than among the north and west European races.

⁴¹ The slight differences between these groups in the proportion of cases in which the mother was dead or not living with the family are based on too small numbers to be significant.

Among the children of all the different nationality groups, except the Italian, the death of the father seems to show itself definitely as a cause of the employment of the child. An estimate, based on the death rates prevailing in the death registration area of the United States in 1910, shows that not more than 12.2 per cent of all children of 14 would normally have lost their fathers by death.⁴² Yet of all the children interviewed in the Boston continuation school 20.7 per cent had lost their fathers; and among those of native parentage this proportion rose to 24.4 per cent and among the Irish to 25.7 per cent. Even the children of the south and east European nationalities showed a slightly higher proportion, 13.8 per cent, of fatherless children than the estimate for the entire population. Only the children of Italian parentage, indeed, fell slightly below this estimate in the proportion of working children whose fathers were dead. Among all nationality groups except the Italian, therefore, children whose fathers were dead seem to have been more likely to go to work than children whose fathers were living. For the Italian group the figures suggest merely that children whose fathers were living were as likely to go to work as those whose fathers were dead.

TABLE 25.—*Death of father, by nationality; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father.	All children.	Children whose fathers were dead.					
		Total.		No step-father.	Stepfather.		
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ^a		Total.	Em-ployed.	Not living with family.
Total.....	823	170	20.7	149	21	19	2
Father native.....	201	49	24.4	44	5	4	1
Father foreign born.....	593	109	18.4	97	12	12	.....
North and west Europe.....	258	62	24.0	54	8	8	.....
English.....	36	8	.....	7	1	1	.....
Irish.....	167	43	25.7	40	3	3	.....
Scotch.....	15	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
German.....	20	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Scandinavian.....	18	6	.....	2	4	4	.....
Other.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
South and east Europe.....	297	41	13.8	37	4	4	.....
Russian Jewish.....	70	10	14.3	10	.....	.....	.....
Other Jewish.....	9	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Italian.....	197	22	11.2	19	3	3	.....
Other.....	21	7	.....	6	1	1	.....
Asia, Syria.....	6	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
North America.....	^b 32	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
French Canadian.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
English and Scotch Canadian.....	25	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Nationality of father not reported.....	29	12	.....	8	4	3	1

^a Not shown where base is less than 50.^b Including 1 child the nationality of whose father was not specified.

⁴² Estimated from the mortality during 14 years of males aged 30 as given in U. S. Life Tables, 1910. The estimate is purposely slightly overstated in assuming a rather high average age of fathers at the births of their children and in assuming that the mortality of males applied to married males.

Desertion by the father, though not a frequent cause of child labor as compared with the death of the father, doubtless played its part in sending children from school to work, for the fathers of 21 of the 823 interviewed children, or 2.6 per cent, were not living with their families.

OCCUPATION OF FATHER.

Table 26 gives, according to the occupations of the fathers at the time the children went to work, the distribution of all the children interviewed whose fathers were living with their families. About

TABLE 26.—Occupation of father, and nativity of father and child, by sex of child; children interviewed.

Occupation of father or stepfather and sex of child.	Children.							
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.			
					Children native.		Children foreign born.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.
Both sexes.....	823	.....	201	.....	427	.....	166	.....
Father living with family.....	635	100.0	145	100.0	338	100.0	133	100.0
Laborer (all industries).....	118	18.6	11	7.6	79	23.4	26	19.5
Skilled or semiskilled mechanic.....	118	18.6	36	24.8	54	16.0	20	15.0
Factory operative.....	91	14.3	15	10.3	46	13.6	29	21.8
Merchant (including peddler).....	51	8.0	8	5.5	26	7.7	15	11.3
Other proprietor.....	31	4.9	4	2.8	18	5.3	9	6.8
Clerical worker.....	10	1.6	8	5.5	1	.3	1	.8
Teamster, driver, expressman.....	52	8.2	14	9.7	33	9.8	3	2.3
Other.....	83	13.1	31	21.4	40	11.8	12	9.0
Not employed.....	81	12.8	18	12.4	41	12.1	18	13.5
Father not living with family.....	21	.....	6	.....	8	.....	5	.....
Father dead.....	149	.....	44	.....	74	.....	23	.....
Not reported.....	18	.....	6	.....	7	.....	5	.....
Boys.....	477	.....	127	.....	252	.....	76	.....
Father living with family.....	364	100.0	89	100.0	201	100.0	59	100.0
Labor (all industries).....	59	16.2	3	3.4	42	20.9	13	22.0
Skilled or semiskilled mechanic.....	82	22.5	26	29.2	37	18.4	12	20.3
Factory operative.....	45	12.4	7	7.9	26	12.9	11	18.6
Merchant (including peddler).....	33	9.1	6	6.7	20	10.0	6	10.2
Other proprietor.....	18	4.9	3	3.4	8	4.0	7	11.9
Clerical worker.....	6	1.6	5	5.6	.....	.....	1	1.7
Teamster, driver, expressman.....	34	9.3	6	6.7	25	12.4	1	1.7
Other.....	48	13.2	23	25.8	22	10.9	3	5.1
Not employed.....	39	10.7	10	11.2	21	10.4	5	8.5
Father not living with family.....	14	.....	5	.....	5	.....	3	.....
Father dead.....	88	.....	28	.....	43	.....	11	.....
Not reported.....	11	.....	5	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Girls.....	346	.....	74	.....	175	.....	90	.....
Father living with family.....	271	100.0	56	100.0	137	100.0	74	100.0
Laborer (all industries).....	59	21.8	8	14.3	37	27.0	18	17.6
Skilled or semiskilled mechanic.....	36	13.3	10	17.9	17	12.4	8	10.8
Factory operative.....	46	17.0	8	14.3	20	14.6	18	24.3
Merchant (including peddler).....	18	6.6	2	3.6	6	4.4	9	12.2
Other proprietor.....	13	4.8	1	1.8	10	7.3	2	2.7
Clerical worker.....	4	1.5	3	5.4	1	.7	.....	.....
Teamster, driver, expressman.....	18	6.6	8	14.3	8	5.8	2	2.7
Other.....	35	12.9	8	14.3	18	13.1	9	12.2
Not employed.....	42	15.5	8	14.3	20	14.6	13	17.6
Father not living with family.....	7	.....	1	.....	3	.....	2	.....
Father dead.....	61	.....	16	.....	31	.....	12	.....
Not reported.....	7	.....	1	.....	4	.....	2	.....

one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, of the children had unemployed fathers. Not far from one-fifth, 18.6 per cent, had fathers who were laborers, and the same proportion had fathers who were skilled or semiskilled mechanics. The fathers of 14.3 per cent were factory operatives, of 8.2 per cent teamsters, drivers, and expressmen, and of 8 per cent merchants and peddlers. Very few, only 1.6 per cent of the children, had fathers who were clerical workers.

Considerable difference was found between girls and boys in respect to the occupations of the fathers. In the first place, the unemployment of the father appears to have had more effect upon the employment of girls than of boys; although in general girls were less likely to go to work than boys, a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys who were interviewed, 15.5 per cent as compared with 10.7 per cent, had unemployed fathers. A considerably larger proportion of the fathers of the girls, too, 21.8 per cent as compared with 16.2 per cent, were laborers, and a much smaller proportion, 13.3 per cent as compared with 22.5 per cent, were skilled or semiskilled mechanics. A smaller number of girls went to work, however, and it is interesting to note that the number of girls whose fathers were laborers, 59, is precisely the same as that of boys. Similarly the fathers of 46 girls and of 45 boys were factory operatives, making the proportion for girls 17 per cent and for boys only 12.4 per cent. On the other hand the much larger numbers and proportions of boys whose fathers were skilled or semiskilled mechanics, merchants or peddlers, and teamsters, drivers, or expressmen seem to indicate clearly a decidedly greater tendency among the sons than among the daughters of men in these occupations to go to work at an early age.

Considerable difference was also found between the different nativity groups, the native children of native parentage having a larger proportion of fathers who were skilled or semiskilled operatives, those of foreign parentage a larger proportion who were laborers, and the foreign-born children larger proportions of fathers who were factory operatives and who were merchants or peddlers. Of the native children of native parentage approximately one-fourth, 24.8 per cent, had fathers who were skilled or semiskilled mechanics, and only 7.6 per cent had fathers who were laborers. On the other hand, nearly one-fourth, 23.4 per cent, of the native children of foreign parentage were children of laborers and only 16 per cent were children of skilled or semiskilled mechanics. The fathers of nearly as large a proportion of the foreign-born children, 15 per cent, as of the native children of foreign parentage were skilled or semiskilled mechanics, and the fathers of a smaller proportion, only 19.5 per cent, as compared with 23.4 per cent, were laborers. But over one-fifth, 21.8 per cent, of the foreign-born children had fathers who were factory operatives, and the fathers of more than one-tenth, 11.3 per cent,

were merchants or peddlers. Of the native children of native fathers only one-tenth, 10.3 per cent, and of the native children of foreign-born fathers only a little more than one-eighth, 13.6 per cent, were factory operatives. Comparatively few native children, moreover, only 5.5 per cent of those whose fathers were native and 7.7 per cent of those whose fathers were foreign born, had fathers who were merchants or peddlers.

UNEMPLOYED FATHERS.

It is impossible to make even an estimate of the proportion of unemployed men in Boston during the period covered by this study. But the unemployment of the father of the family, like his desertion, seems to have been less important as a cause of the child's employment than his death. It has already been seen that about one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, of the interviewed children whose fathers were living with their families had unemployed fathers at the time they went to work. Table 27 shows, however, that this proportion was considerably less, only 8.8 per cent, among the children included in the continuation-school group.

As already stated, among the interviewed children a considerably larger proportion of girls than of boys, 15.5 per cent as compared with 10.7 per cent, had unemployed fathers. But this difference is decidedly less, 9.5 per cent as compared with 8.3 per cent, among the children for whom continuation-school records were used.

TABLE 27.—*Employment of father and sex of child; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.*

Status of father and sex of child.	Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	3,399	.....	823	.....
Father living with family.....	2,577	100.0	635	100.0
Employed.....	2,350	91.2	554	87.2
Not employed.....	227	8.8	81	12.8
Father dead or not living with family.....	696	.....	170	.....
Father's status not reported.....	126	.....	18	.....
Boys.....	2,026	.....	477	.....
Father living with family.....	1,537	100.0	364	100.0
Employed.....	1,409	91.7	325	89.3
Not employed.....	128	8.3	39	10.7
Father dead or not living with family.....	416	.....	102	.....
Father's status not reported.....	73	.....	11	.....
Girls.....	1,373	.....	346	.....
Father living with family.....	1,040	100.0	271	100.0
Employed.....	941	90.5	229	84.5
Not employed.....	99	9.5	42	15.5
Father dead or not living with family.....	280	.....	68	.....
Father's status not reported.....	53	.....	7	.....

The proportion of children who had unemployed fathers, according to Table 28, was about the same in each nativity group, though somewhat larger among the foreign-born children. This difference was due entirely to the fact that a considerably larger proportion of foreign-born girls than of foreign-born boys, 17.6 per cent as compared with 8.5 per cent, had unemployed fathers. In fact a smaller proportion of the foreign-born boys than of any other group had fathers who were unemployed. Among the native children of native fathers the difference between the girls and boys in this respect was somewhat less than in any other nativity group. Evidently no definite conclusion can be drawn as to the effect of the unemployment of their fathers in causing the children of the different nativity groups to go to work.

TABLE 28.—*Employment of father, and nativity of father and child, by sex of child; children interviewed.*

Status of father and sex of child.	Children.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Both sexes.....	823	201	427	166	.....		29
Father living with family.....	635	100. 0	145	100. 0	338	100. 0	133	100. 0	19
Employed.....	554	87. 2	127	87. 6	297	87. 9	115	86. 5	15
Not employed.....	81	12. 8	18	12. 4	41	12. 1	18	13. 5	4
Father dead or not living with family.....	170	.....	50	.....	82	.....	28	.....	10
Father's status not reported.....	18	.....	6	.....	7	.....	5	.....	.....
Boys.....	477	.....	127	.....	252	.....	76	.....	22
Father living with family.....	364	100. 0	89	100. 0	201	100. 0	59	100. 0	15
Employed.....	325	89. 3	79	88. 8	180	89. 6	54	91. 5	12
Not employed.....	39	10. 7	10	11. 2	21	10. 4	5	8. 5	3
Father dead or not living with family.....	102	.....	33	.....	48	.....	14	.....	7
Father's status not reported.....	11	.....	5	.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	.....	74	.....	175	.....	90	.....	7
Father living with family.....	271	100. 0	56	100. 0	137	100. 0	74	100. 0	4
Employed.....	229	84. 5	48	85. 7	117	85. 4	61	82. 4	3
Not employed.....	42	15. 5	8	14. 3	20	14. 6	13	17. 6	1
Father dead or not living with family.....	68	.....	17	.....	34	.....	14	.....	3
Father's status not reported.....	7	.....	1	.....	4	.....	2	.....	.....

EMPLOYED MOTHERS.

Table 29 shows that of the children whose mothers were living with their families 15.8 per cent of the continuation-school group and 17.5 per cent of the interviewed group had mothers who were gainfully employed. In both groups a larger proportion of girls than of boys, among the interviewed children 19.6 per cent as compared with 15.9 per cent, had employed mothers.

Considerable difference existed, according to Table 30, in the tendency of the different nativity groups as regards the employment of mothers of working children. It appears that, in families of the children interviewed where the father was native born, the mother was more likely to have gone to work before the child was sent into industry than in those where the father was foreign born; and she was also more likely to have gone to work first in the families where the father was foreign born but the children native than in those where both fathers and children were foreign born. Of the children of native fathers about 2 in every 10, 20.3 per cent, had employed mothers, and the proportion for the native children of foreign-born fathers was nearly as high, 18.4 per cent. But of the foreign-born children less than 1 in 10, 9.7 per cent, had employed mothers. This difference between the nativity groups is probably in part due to a greater tendency on the part of mothers whose children were born in this country to go to work themselves rather than send their children to work, but it may also have been due in part to the fact that in the families of recent immigrants the mothers perhaps more often had small children to care for at home.

TABLE 29.—*Employment of mother and sex of child; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.*

Status of mother and sex of child.	Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	3,399	.....	823	.....
Mother living with family.....	2,941	100.0	733	100.0
Employed.....	464	15.8	128	17.5
Not employed.....	2,477	84.2	605	82.5
Mother dead or not living with family.....	246	.....	45	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	212	.....	45	.....
Boys.....	2,026	.....	477	.....
Mother living with family.....	1,740	100.0	427	100.0
Employed.....	260	14.9	68	15.9
Not employed.....	1,480	85.1	359	84.1
Mother dead or not living with family.....	140	.....	23	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	146	.....	27	.....
Girls.....	1,373	.....	346	.....
Mother living with family.....	1,201	100.0	306	100.0
Employed.....	204	17.0	60	19.6
Not employed.....	997	83.0	246	80.4
Mother dead or not living with family.....	106	.....	22	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	66	.....	18	.....

The proportion of girls whose mothers were employed was greater than that of boys in each nativity group, except that of foreign-born children, where only 6.4 per cent of the girls but 13.4 per cent of the boys had employed mothers. But among the native children of foreign-born fathers 23.4 per cent of the girls as compared with only

14.9 per cent of the boys, and among the native children of native fathers over one-fourth, 25.8 per cent, of the girls as compared with only 17.1 per cent of the boys had mothers who were employed. Evidently in families where the children were native, even when the fathers were foreign born, the mothers more frequently preceded the daughters than the sons in gainful employment.

TABLE 30.—*Employment of mother, by nativity of father and child, and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Status of mother and sex of child.	Children.								Na- tivity of fath- ers not re- port- ed: child- ren na- tive.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	
Both sexes.....	823	.....	201	.....	427	.....	166	.....	29
Mother living with family.....	733	100. 0	177	100. 0	386	100. 0	145	100. 0	25
Employed.....	128	17. 5	36	20. 3	71	18. 4	14	9. 7	7
Not employed.....	605	82. 5	141	79. 7	315	81. 6	131	90. 3	18
Mother dead or not living with family.....	45	.....	8	.....	25	.....	9	.....	3
Mother's status not reported.....	45	.....	16	.....	16	.....	12	.....	1
Boys.....	477	.....	127	.....	252	.....	76	.....	22
Mother living with family.....	427	100. 0	111	100. 0	228	100. 0	67	100. 0	21
Employed.....	68	15. 9	19	17. 1	34	14. 9	9	12. 4	6
Not employed.....	359	84. 1	92	82. 9	194	85. 1	58	86. 6	15
Mother dead or not living with family.....	23	.....	5	.....	14	.....	3	.....	1
Mother's status not reported.....	27	.....	11	.....	10	.....	6	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	.....	74	.....	175	.....	90	.....	7
Mother living with family.....	306	100. 0	66	100. 0	158	100. 0	78	100. 0	4
Employed.....	60	19. 6	17	25. 8	37	23. 4	5	6. 4	1
Not employed.....	246	80. 4	49	74. 2	121	76. 6	73	93. 6	3
Mother dead or not living with family.....	22	.....	3	.....	11	.....	6	.....	2
Mother's status not reported.....	18	.....	5	.....	6	.....	6	.....	1

The preceding comparisons relate only to children whose mothers were known to be living with their families. Table 31, on the other hand, shows that of all the interviewed children, including also those whose mothers were dead or not living with their families or whose mothers' status was not known, only 15.6 per cent had employed mothers. Yet the proportion of working mothers rose to 25.9 per cent among the children whose fathers were unemployed and to 40 per cent among the children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families. Moreover, the latter group had an unusually large proportion, 11.2 per cent, of mothers who were also dead or not living with their families, so that less than half, 44.7 per cent, of these fatherless children had mothers at home and not employed. But of the children whose fathers were employed, 83.6 per cent, or

nearly twice as large a proportion, had mothers at home and not employed. Evidently the death, desertion, or unemployment of the father frequently led directly to the employment of the mother.

TABLE 31.—*Employment of mother, by status of father and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Status of father and sex of child.	All children.	Children whose mothers were—							
		Employed.		Not employed.		Dead or not living with family.		Mother's status not reported.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes	823	128	15.6	605	73.5	45	5.5	45	5.5
Father employed	554	39	7.0	463	83.6	25	4.5	27	4.9
Father not employed	81	21	25.9	59	72.8	1	1.2	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family...	170	68	40.0	76	44.7	19	11.2	7	4.1
Father's status not reported	18	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	11	.....
Boys	477	68	14.3	359	75.3	23	4.8	27	5.7
Father employed	325	25	7.7	288	82.5	14	4.3	18	5.5
Father not employed	39	7	.....	31	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family...	102	36	35.3	55	53.9	8	7.8	3	2.9
Father's status not reported	11	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Girls	346	60	17.3	246	71.1	22	6.4	18	5.2
Father employed	229	14	6.1	195	85.2	11	4.8	9	3.9
Father not employed	42	11	.....	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family...	68	32	47.1	21	30.9	11	16.2	4	5.9
Father's status not reported	7	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	5	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

ECONOMIC NEED OF CHILD'S WORK.

The figures which have been given relating to the families of the children tend to throw some indirect light upon the economic need for their gainful labor. Upon this point more direct evidence is furnished, however, by the statements of the children themselves, which, though not to be wholly relied upon, probably reflect roughly the part played by poverty in the transfer of the young children of Boston from school to industry.

From one-third to two-fifths of the children, 32.7 per cent of those in the continuation-school group and 40.5 per cent of those in the interviewed group, stated that they had left school for economic reasons—that is, because their earnings were needed at home. Table 32 shows also that a larger proportion of girls than of boys left school for this reason. Of the girls interviewed, indeed, nearly half, 48.6 per cent, left school for economic reasons. Evidently the girls, more generally than the boys, were kept in school unless their earnings were actually needed.

Economic need as a reason for child labor appeared to decrease as the family's length of residence in this country increased. Table 33

shows, for example, that of the Italian children who were interviewed, nearly two-thirds, 63.7 per cent, of those who were themselves foreign born and only about one-half, 50.9 per cent, of those who were native born of foreign fathers, left school for economic reasons. On the other hand only about one-third, 33.2 per cent, of the native children of fathers from north and west Europe, the source of the earlier immigration, and but little more than one-third, 34.3 per cent, of the native children of native fathers, alleged economic necessity as a reason for leaving school. To a certain extent, however, this result may have been influenced by more frequent unwillingness on the part of native children of native fathers to confess to economic need even when such need actually existed.

TABLE 32.—Reason for leaving school, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.

Reason for leaving school, and sex.	Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Economic reasons.....	1,112	32.7	333	40.5
Other reasons.....	1,846	54.3	408	49.6
Reasons not reported.....	441	13.0	82	10.0
Boys.....	2,026	100.0	477	100.0
Economic reasons.....	566	27.9	165	34.6
Other reasons.....	1,177	58.1	262	54.9
Reasons not reported.....	283	14.0	50	10.5
Girls.....	1,373	100.0	346	100.0
Economic reasons.....	546	39.8	168	48.6
Other reasons.....	669	48.7	146	42.2
Reasons not reported.....	158	11.5	32	9.2

In each group, except the native children of fathers from north and west Europe, a larger proportion of girls than of boys gave economic necessity as the reason for leaving school. The difference between the sexes in this regard is particularly striking among the native children of native fathers; in this group 44.6 per cent of the girls and only 28.3 per cent of the boys left school for this reason.

Economic reasons for leaving school were given by a larger proportion of the children whose fathers were unemployed than of those whose fathers were dead or not living with their families, 77.8 per cent as compared with 53.5 per cent. Table 34 shows also that children of foreign parentage gave this reason as often as those of native parentage when their fathers were unemployed, but more often, in 56.4 per cent of the cases as compared with 52 per cent, when their fathers were dead or not living with their families.

TABLE 33.—Reason for leaving school, by nationality of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

Nationality of father and nativity and sex of child.	All children.	Children who left school because of—					
		Economic reasons.		Other reasons.		Reasons not reported.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	333	40.5	408	49.6	82	10.0
Both fathers and children native.....	201	69	34.3	111	55.2	21	10.4
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	427	167	39.1	215	50.4	45	10.5
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	235	78	33.2	127	54.0	30	12.8
Irish.....	161	54	33.5	83	51.6	24	14.9
Other.....	74	24	32.4	44	59.5	6	8.1
South and east Europe.....	162	78	48.1	72	44.4	12	7.4
Italian.....	106	54	50.9	45	42.5	7	6.6
Other.....	56	24	42.9	27	48.2	5	8.9
Other.....	30	11	.....	16	.....	3	.....
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	166	89	53.6	65	39.2	12	7.2
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	23	6	.....	16	.....	1	.....
Irish.....	6	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	17	6	.....	10	.....	1	.....
South and east Europe.....	135	80	59.3	44	32.6	11	8.1
Italian.....	91	58	63.7	29	31.9	4	4.4
Other.....	44	22	.....	15	.....	7	.....
Other.....	8	3	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.....	29	8	.....	17	.....	4	.....
Boys.....	477	165	34.6	262	54.9	50	10.5
Both fathers and children native.....	127	36	28.3	77	60.6	14	11.0
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	252	91	36.1	134	53.2	27	10.7
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	147	49	33.3	82	55.8	16	10.9
Irish.....	96	32	33.3	51	53.1	13	13.5
Other.....	51	17	33.3	31	60.8	3	5.9
South and east Europe.....	85	36	42.4	41	48.2	8	9.4
Italian.....	51	21	41.2	24	47.1	6	11.8
Other.....	34	15	.....	17	.....	2	.....
Other.....	20	6	.....	11	.....	3	.....
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	76	34	44.7	37	48.7	5	6.6
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	18	3	.....	14	.....	1	.....
Irish.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	13	3	.....	9	.....	1	.....
South and east Europe.....	57	31	54.4	22	38.6	4	7.0
Italian.....	34	19	.....	13	.....	2	.....
Other.....	23	12	.....	9	.....	2	.....
Other.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.....	22	4	.....	14	.....	4	.....
Girls.....	346	168	48.6	146	42.2	32	9.2
Both fathers and children native.....	74	33	44.6	34	45.9	7	9.5
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	175	76	43.4	81	46.3	18	10.3
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	88	29	33.0	45	51.1	14	15.9
Irish.....	65	22	33.8	32	49.2	11	16.9
Other.....	23	7	.....	13	.....	3	.....
South and east Europe.....	77	42	54.5	31	40.3	4	5.2
Italian.....	55	33	60.0	21	38.2	1	1.8
Other.....	22	9	.....	10	.....	3	.....
Other.....	10	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	90	55	61.1	28	31.1	7	7.8
Fathers' nationalities:							
North and west Europe.....	5	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Irish.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	4	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
South and east Europe.....	78	49	62.8	22	28.2	7	9.0
Italian.....	57	39	68.4	16	28.1	2	3.5
Other.....	21	10	.....	6	.....	5	.....
Other.....	7	3	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.....	7	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

The contrast between girls and boys on this point is shown in Tables 35 and 36, which give the proportions of each sex among the children whose fathers and among those whose mothers were employed, unemployed, or dead or not living with their families. Of all the children whose fathers were unemployed only 51.9 per cent were girls, yet of those with unemployed fathers who gave economic reasons for leaving school 54 per cent were girls. Similarly, of all the children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families only 40 per cent were girls, yet of the children of this group who gave economic reasons for leaving school 42.9 per cent were girls.^a Table 36 shows that, although of all the children whose mothers were employed only 46.9 per cent were girls, of those with employed mothers who gave economic reasons for leaving school 52.1 per cent were girls. That girls were more likely than boys to leave school only because of economic necessity is again shown in the fact that, although only 42 per cent of all the children were girls, of those who stated that they left school for economic reasons 50.5 per cent were girls.

TABLE 34.—*Reason for leaving school, by status and nativity of father; children interviewed.*

Status and nativity of father.	All children.	Children who left school because of—					
		Economic reasons.		Other reasons.		Reasons not reported.	
		Number.	Per cent. ^a	Number.	Per cent. ^a	Number.	Per cent. ^a
Total.....	823	333	40.5	408	49.6	82	10.0
Father employed.....	554	176	31.8	323	58.3	55	9.9
Father not employed.....	81	63	77.8	16	19.8	2	2.5
Father dead or not living with family.....	170	91	53.5	63	37.1	16	9.4
Father's status not reported.....	18	3	.....	6	.....	9	.....
Father native.....	201	69	34.3	111	55.2	21	10.4
Father employed.....	127	30	23.6	81	63.8	16	12.6
Father not employed.....	18	13	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	50	28	52.0	22	44.0	2	4.0
Father's status not reported.....	6	.....	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Father foreign born.....	593	256	43.2	280	47.2	57	9.6
Father employed.....	412	145	35.2	229	55.6	38	9.2
Father not employed.....	59	46	78.0	11	18.6	2	3.4
Father dead or not living with family.....	110	62	56.4	37	33.6	11	10.0
Father's status not reported.....	12	3	.....	3	.....	6	.....
Nativity of father not reported.....	29	8	.....	17	.....	4	.....
Father employed.....	15	1	.....	13	.....	1	.....
Father not employed.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	10	3	.....	4	.....	3	.....

^a Not shown where base is less than 50.

^a Table 35 also shows, in another way, the fact already mentioned that the unemployment of the father seems more often to have been a cause of the employment of the girl than of the boy. For, although only 42 per cent of all the children interviewed were girls, 51.9 per cent of those whose fathers were unemployed were girls.

TABLE 35.—Sex, by reason for leaving school, and status of father; children interviewed.

Reason for leaving school and status of father.	Children.	Boys.		Girls.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
All reasons.....	823	477	58.0	346	42.0
Father employed.....	554	325	58.7	229	41.3
Father not employed.....	81	39	48.1	42	51.9
Father dead or not living with family.....	170	102	60.0	68	40.0
Father's status not reported.....	18	11	.....	7	.....
Economic reasons.....	333	165	49.5	168	50.5
Father employed.....	176	82	46.6	94	53.4
Father not employed.....	63	29	46.0	34	54.0
Father dead or not living with family.....	91	52	57.1	39	42.9
Father's status not reported.....	3	2	.....	1	.....
Other reasons.....	408	262	64.2	146	35.8
Father employed.....	323	209	64.7	114	35.3
Father not employed.....	16	8	.....	8	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	63	42	66.7	21	33.3
Father's status not reported.....	6	3	.....	3	.....
Reasons not reported.....	82	50	61.0	32	39.0
Father employed.....	55	34	61.8	21	38.2
Father not employed.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	16	8	.....	8	.....
Father's status not reported.....	9	6	.....	3	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 36.—Sex, by reason for leaving school, and status of mother; children interviewed.

Reason for leaving school and status of mother.	Children.	Boys.		Girls.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
All reasons.....	823	477	58.0	346	42.0
Mother employed.....	128	68	53.1	60	46.9
Mother not employed.....	605	359	59.3	246	40.7
Mother dead or not living with family.....	45	23	.....	22	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	45	27	.....	18	.....
Economic reasons.....	333	165	49.5	168	50.5
Mother employed.....	73	35	47.9	38	52.1
Mother not employed.....	234	117	50.0	117	50.0
Mother dead or not living with family.....	16	6	.....	10	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	10	7	.....	3	.....
Other reasons.....	408	262	64.2	146	35.8
Mother employed.....	43	27	.....	16	.....
Mother not employed.....	322	209	64.9	113	35.1
Mother dead or not living with family.....	25	15	.....	10	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	18	11	.....	7	.....
Reasons not reported.....	82	50	61.0	32	39.0
Mother employed.....	12	6	.....	6	.....
Mother not employed.....	49	33	.....	16	.....
Mother dead or not living with family.....	4	2	.....	2	.....
Mother's status not reported.....	17	9	.....	8	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

TERMINATION OF SCHOOL LIFE.

The next questions which arise relate to the child's relationship to the school, to the age at which he left, the amount of schooltime lost between leaving and going to work, whether or not he began work during a vacation period, his specific reason for leaving, the grade he had completed, and whether he was in a higher grade than normal, a normal grade, or a grade lower than normal for his age. In considering these subjects it must be remembered that all the more detailed data in this study relate to the group of children interviewed, about three-fourths of whom, as compared with less than a third of all children taking out certificates, were less than 14½ years of age when they went to work. About 19 out of 20 of these children, indeed, went to work before they were 15. Even among the children included in the continuation-school group, furthermore, a somewhat larger proportion took out certificates when under 15 years of age than among all those who took out certificates.⁴⁴

AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL.

Naturally, because of the differences in age at going to work, a larger proportion of the interviewed children than of those included in the continuation-school group left school when less than 15 years of age. Table 37 shows, indeed, that 95.2 per cent of the interviewed children left school before they were 15, and 18.7 per cent of them before they were 14. A larger proportion of girls than of boys, 21.4 per cent as compared with 16.8 per cent, left school before the age of 14. Even of the children in the continuation-school group 274, or 8.1 per cent, left school when under 14—44, or 1.3 per cent, when under 13½ years of age. In this group, too, girls showed a greater tendency than boys to leave school early.

Children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families showed a tendency to leave school, as well as to go to work,⁴⁵ younger than those from normal families. Although in some cases the death of the father or his separation from the family may have occurred when the child was over 15 and caused his employment at this later age. Table 38 shows that, in the group of children for whom continuation-school records were used, 63.1 per cent of those whose fathers alone were dead or not living with their families, as compared with 56.5 per cent of those whose parents were living together, left

⁴⁴ See Table 17, p. 84.

⁴⁵ See pp. 89, 91.

school before they were 15. Moreover, about 1 in 10, 10.8 per cent, of the fatherless children, as compared with only 7.6 per cent of the children from normal families, left school when under 14—20 per cent before they were 13½ years of age. A similar tendency to go to work comparatively early is shown among the children both of whose parents were dead or not living with their families.

TABLE 37.—Age at leaving school, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.

Age at leaving school and sex.	Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Under 14.....	274	8.1	154	18.7
14, under 15.....	1,657	48.7	690	76.5
15, under 16.....	1,125	33.1	38	4.6
Not reported.....	142	4.2	1	.1
Not leaving.....	201	5.9		
Boys.....	2,026	100.0	477	100.0
Under 14.....	133	6.6	80	16.8
14, under 15.....	938	46.3	373	78.2
15, under 16.....	711	35.1	23	4.8
Not reported.....	105	5.2	1	.2
Not leaving.....	139	6.9		
Girls.....	1,373	100.0	346	100.0
Under 14.....	141	10.3	74	21.4
14, under 15.....	719	52.4	257	74.3
15, under 16.....	414	30.2	15	4.3
Not reported.....	37	2.7		
Not leaving.....	62	4.5		

TABLE 38.—Age at leaving school, by family status; children in Boston continuation school.

Family status.	Total.	Children leaving school at specified age.										Children not leaving school.	
		Under 13½.		13½ under 14.		14 under 15.		15 under 16.		Not reported.			
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Total.....	3,399	44	1.3	230	6.8	1,657	48.7	1,125	33.1	142	4.2	201	5.9
Parents living to-gether.....	2,263	26	1.1	147	6.5	1,107	48.9	773	34.2	69	3.0	141	6.2
Father dead or not living with family.	600	12	2.0	53	8.8	314	52.3	169	28.2	20	3.3	22	5.3
Mother dead or not living with family.	150	1	0.7	12	8.0	69	46.0	54	36.0	5	3.3	9	6.0
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	96	2	2.1	6	6.3	57	59.4	24	25.0	3	3.1	4	4.2
Status of one or both parents not reported.....	290	3	1.0	12	4.1	110	37.9	106	36.2	45	15.5	15	5.2

SCHOOLTIME LOST.

If a child became 14 during a vacation, however, he may have left school before that age without any violation of the compulsory-attendance law. Of much greater significance, therefore, than whether or not he left school before he was 14 is the length of the period during the school term between the date of his leaving school and the date of his going to work. This interval between leaving school and going to work usually meant⁴⁶ time lost which, according to law, should have been spent in school.

TABLE 39.—Amount of school time lost, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

School time lost and sex of child.	Children.								Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution	
All children.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0	29
Children who lost during interval between leaving school and going to work specified amount of schooltime (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	600	72.9	157	78.1	296	69.3	124	74.7	23
None or less than 1 week.....	341	41.4	88	43.8	168	39.3	75	45.2	10
One week or more.....	258	31.3	69	34.3	128	30.0	48	28.9	13
1 week under 1 month.....	135	16.4	32	15.9	70	16.4	25	15.1	6
1 month under 3 months.....	77	9.4	18	9.0	42	9.8	14	8.4	3
3 months under 6 months.....	28	3.4	11	5.5	11	2.6	4	2.4	2
6 months or over.....	18	2.2	8	4.0	5	1.2	5	3.0	.....
Children with interval entirely during vacation.....	223	27.1	44	21.9	131	30.7	42	25.3	6
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Children who lost during interval between leaving school and going to work specified amount of schooltime (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	355	74.4	100	78.7	180	71.4	58	76.3	17
None or less than 1 week.....	222	46.5	62	48.8	112	44.4	39	51.3	9
One week or more.....	132	27.7	38	29.9	68	27.0	18	23.7	8
1 week under 1 month.....	78	16.4	23	18.1	38	15.1	12	15.8	5
1 month under 3 months.....	38	8.0	8	6.3	24	9.5	4	5.3	2
3 months under 6 months.....	10	2.1	5	3.9	3	1.2	1	1.3	1
6 months or over.....	6	1.3	2	1.6	3	1.2	1	1.3	.....
Children with interval entirely during vacation.....	122	25.6	27	21.3	72	28.6	18	23.7	5
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Children who lost during interval between leaving school and going to work specified amount of schooltime (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	245	70.8	57	77.0	116	66.3	66	73.3	6
None or less than 1 week.....	119	34.4	26	35.1	56	32.0	36	40.0	1
One week or more.....	126	36.4	31	41.9	60	34.3	30	33.3	5
1 week under 1 month.....	57	16.5	9	12.2	32	18.3	13	14.4	3
1 month under 3 months.....	39	11.3	10	13.5	18	10.3	10	11.1	1
3 months under 6 months.....	18	5.2	6	8.1	8	4.6	3	3.3	1
6 months or over.....	12	3.5	6	8.1	2	1.1	4	4.4	.....
Children with interval entirely during vacation.....	101	29.2	17	23.0	59	33.7	24	26.7	1

^a Including 1 boy for whom amount of schooltime lost was not reported.
⁴⁶ In some cases the children may have obtained special home permits. See pp. 2 and 364.

Nearly one-third of the interviewed children, 31.3 per cent, lost one week or more of schooltime during their transfer from school to work. This proportion, as shown in Table 39, was even higher, 34.3 per cent, among the native children of native fathers, and was lowest, 28.9 per cent, among the foreign-born children. Less than a month was lost by 16.4 per cent of the children, but nearly one tenth, 9.4 per cent, lost from one to three months, 3.4 per cent from three to six months, and 2.2 per cent six months or more.

More girls than boys lost schooltime, for of the girls over one-third, 36.4 per cent, and of the boys only 27.7 per cent had an interval of one week or more between leaving school and going to work. The girls, moreover, lost larger amounts of time for, though the proportion of girls who lost one week but under one month is about the same as that of boys, 11.3 per cent of the girls as compared with 8 per cent of the boys lost from one to three months, 5.2 per cent as compared with 2.1 per cent of the boys lost from three to six months, and 3.5 per cent as compared with 1.3 per cent of the boys lost six months or more. This loss of time was even greater among the native girls whose fathers were also native than among those whose fathers were foreign born or among the foreign-born girls. Over two-fifths, 41.9 per cent, of the native girls whose fathers were native lost a week or more, and considerably more than one-fourth, 29.7 per cent, lost a month or more of schooltime during the transition from school to work.

SEASON AND MONTH OF GOING TO WORK.

At the time of this study promotions in the Boston schools took place only in June, and, therefore, children who went to work at any time during the school year either did so without having finished the grade which they had last begun, or else had failed to attend school as required by law. Yet, according to Table 40, nearly three-fourths, 72.8 per cent, of the children interviewed went to work during the school year. As the school year constitutes about three-fourths of the calendar year this means that nearly, though not quite, as many children took their first positions during a school term as would have been the case if the dates of taking positions had been evenly distributed throughout the year.

Nevertheless, these children did go to work somewhat more frequently during the summer vacation than at other times, for a little over one-fourth of them, 27.2 per cent, took their first regular positions during this period. But even this slightly greater tendency to go to work during the summer than at any other time showed itself

entirely among the girls, of whom 29.8 per cent went to work at that season as compared with almost exactly one-fourth, 25.4 per cent, of the boys. In all the nativity groups, except the Irish, the girls were more likely than were the boys to take their first positions during a summer vacation.

TABLE 40.—*Time of securing first regular position, by nationality of father, and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father, nativity and sex of child.	All children.	Children who went to work—			
		During summer vacation.		At some other time.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Percent. ²
Both sexes.....	823	224	27.2	599	72.8
Both fathers and children native.....	201	44	21.9	157	78.1
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	^a 427	131	30.7	^a 296	69.3
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	222	74	33.3	148	66.7
Irish.....	161	51	31.7	110	68.3
Other.....	61	23	37.7	38	62.3
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	204	57	27.9	147	72.1
Italian.....	106	30	28.3	76	71.7
Other.....	98	27	27.6	71	72.4
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	166	42	25.3	124	74.7
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	21	5	.....	16	.....
Irish.....	6	3	.....	3	.....
Other.....	15	2	.....	13	.....
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	145	37	25.5	108	74.5
Italian.....	91	20	22.0	71	78.0
Other.....	54	17	31.5	37	68.5
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native ...	29	7	.....	22	.....
Boys.....	477	121	25.4	356	74.6
Both fathers and children native.....	127	26	20.5	101	79.5
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	^a 252	72	28.6	^a 180	71.4
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	137	45	32.8	92	67.2
Irish.....	96	31	32.3	65	67.7
Other.....	41	14	.....	27	.....
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	114	27	23.7	87	76.3
Italian.....	51	11	21.6	40	78.4
Other.....	63	16	25.4	47	74.6
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	76	18	23.7	58	76.3
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	15	4	.....	11	.....
Irish.....	5	2	.....	3	.....
Other.....	10	2	.....	8	.....
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	61	14	23.0	47	77.0
Italian.....	34	7	.....	27	.....
Other.....	27	7	.....	20	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native....	22	5	.....	17	.....
Girls.....	346	103	29.8	243	70.2
Both fathers and children native.....	74	18	24.3	56	75.7
Fathers foreign born and children native.....	175	59	33.7	116	66.3
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	85	29	34.1	56	65.9
Irish.....	65	20	30.8	45	69.2
Other.....	20	9	.....	11	.....
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	90	30	33.3	60	66.7
Italian.....	55	19	34.5	36	65.5
Other.....	35	11	.....	24	.....
Both fathers and children foreign born.....	90	24	26.7	66	73.3
Fathers of English-speaking nationalities.....	6	1	.....	5	.....
Irish.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....
Fathers of non-English speaking nationalities....	84	23	27.4	61	72.6
Italian.....	57	13	22.8	44	77.2
Other.....	27	10	.....	17	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native....	7	2	.....	5	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² Including one boy the nationality of whose father was not specified.

Taking both sexes together, however, the native children of foreign-born fathers, and particularly the Irish, were more likely to go to work during the vacation period than were the foreign-born children and decidedly more so than the native children of native fathers. Of the native children of foreign-born fathers 30.7 per cent, of the foreign-born children 25.3 per cent, and of the native children of native fathers only 21.9 per cent went to work during a summer vacation. Of the native children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities, indeed, one-third, 33 per cent, instead of only the one-fourth which would be expected if the dates of going to work were evenly distributed throughout the year, went to work during the vacation period.

TABLE 41.—Time of securing first regular position, by status of father and sex of child; children interviewed.

Status of father and sex of child.	All children.	Children who went to work.			
		During summer vacation.		At some other time.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	224	27.2	599	72.8
Father employed.....	554	159	28.7	395	71.3
Father not employed.....	81	17	21.0	64	79.0
Father dead or not living with family.....	170	44	25.9	126	74.1
Father's status not reported.....	18	4	.....	14	.....
Boys.....	477	121	25.4	356	74.6
Father employed.....	325	87	26.8	238	73.2
Father not employed.....	39	5	.....	34	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	102	25	24.5	77	75.5
Father's status not reported.....	11	4	.....	7	.....
Girls.....	346	103	29.8	243	70.2
Father employed.....	229	72	31.4	157	68.6
Father not employed.....	42	12	.....	30	.....
Father dead or not living with family.....	68	19	27.9	49	72.1
Father's status not reported.....	7	.....	.....	7	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

The fact that even less than one-fourth of the native children of native fathers seem to have taken their first positions during the long summer vacation is primarily due to the small proportion, 20.5 per cent, of the boys of this group who went to work during that period. Nevertheless the girls, instead of counteracting the tendency of the boys, showed a trifle less than the expected percentage, 24.3 per cent, going to work during the summer vacation. No other group shows so large a proportion who went to work at some time during the school term or during short vacations. It might be surmised that this was due to a greater tendency among native children of native parentage to take a vacation during the summer and wait until autumn, when

they would otherwise be obliged to return to the school room, before securing positions. American-born parents are often said to be more indulgent toward their children than foreign-born parents, and it has already been shown that, according to the child's statement of his reasons for leaving school, economic pressure was more common in the families where the father was foreign born. But, as will be seen later, it appears to be due, primarily, not to this cause but to a greater tendency on the part of native children of native parentage, particularly boys, to go to work in the spring before school has closed.⁴⁷

Children whose fathers were unemployed were, naturally, more likely to go to work during the school year than those whose fathers were employed. Table 41 shows that only 21 per cent of the children of unemployed fathers, as compared with 28.7 per cent of the children of employed fathers, took their first positions during a summer vacation. On the other hand, of the children whose fathers were dead or not living with their families practically as large a proportion, 25.9 per cent, went to work during a summer vacation period as would be expected if the fact that school was in session had no influence whatever. It may be that the economic stress caused by unemployment is more immediately pressing than that caused by the death or desertion of the father which in many cases, doubtless, had occurred some time before the child became of age to work.

That many children who did not go to work during the summer took positions soon after school had begun in September, apparently to avoid going back to school, appears clearly in Table 42, which gives the number and proportion of children going to work in each month of the summer vacation and in each month of the school term. As June and September belong in part to the vacation and in part to the school period, these two months appear in each list. Yet during the school term part of September a larger number of children went to work than during any other complete month except June. About one-eighth, 12.9 per cent, of the interviewed children went to work in September after school had opened, whereas only 13.1 per cent went to work during the entire month of June, both before and after the closing of school. If the numbers of children who went to work in September both before and after school opened are added, it is found that not far from one-fifth, 17.4 per cent, of all the children went to work in that month alone.^a

⁴⁷ See Table 42, pp. 112-113.

^a For the children who were interviewed, first regular position means the first position held after leaving school, regardless of certification; the large number of children going to work in September can not, therefore, be a reflection of any peculiarity in the employment-certificate records but must represent the actual fact.

After September and June, May had the largest number of children going to work, 10.4 per cent, and April came next with 9.8 per cent, precisely the same proportion as went to work after school had closed in June. Many children, apparently, left school shortly before the end of the session in order to secure the better positions before the closing of the schools released other applicants. During November and the three winter months—December, January, and February—fewer children went to work than during any other month except August, which was even less popular for entering industry than either December or February. Evidently the children who did not go to work during the early part of the vacation were likely to wait until after school had begun in September.

The girls showed an even greater tendency than the boys to go to work rather than return to school in the fall. Of the girls 15.6 per cent and of the boys only 10.9 per cent went to work in September after school had opened. The girls, however, showed much less tendency than the boys to leave school for work during April and May, the two months during which almost exactly one-fourth, 24.9 per cent, of the boys took their first positions. In part this may be due to the fact that in the spring more opportunities, especially for outdoor work, are opened to boys than to girls. In part it may be due to more pronounced cases of "spring fever" among boys than among girls.

The tendency to leave school for work in April and May was decidedly more pronounced among the children of native than among those of foreign-born fathers and also more pronounced among the boys than among the girls whose fathers were native. Among these girls, moreover, the movement into industry seems to have begun in March, when 10.8 per cent of them went to work, to have fallen to 6.8 per cent in April, and to have risen again to 12.2 per cent in May. But 30 per cent of the boys whose fathers were native went to work in April and May alone, and not far from half, 45 per cent, of them went to work during the four months from February to May, inclusive. Of the boys whose fathers were foreign born, on the other hand, only 34.5 per cent, or very few more than would be expected if the dates of going to work were evenly distributed throughout the year, went to work during these four months. The Russian Jewish children, indeed, seem to have entirely resisted this tendency to leave school for work in large numbers in the spring; they showed, moreover, less tendency than any other nationality group to go to work in the middle of a school year. At the same time the proportion of children who went to work in September after school had opened was practically the same in each nationality group.

TABLE 42.—*Month of going to work¹ in first regular position, by nativity and nationality of father and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Month of going to work in first regular position and sex.	Children of foreign-born fathers.														Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.		
	All children.		Children of native fathers.		Total.				Irish.		Italian.		Russian Jewish.			Other.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.		Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes	223	100.0	201	100.0	583	100.0	167	100.0	197	100.0	70	100.0	158	100.0	29		
During summer vacation	224	27.2	44	21.9	173	29.2	54	32.3	50	25.4	26	37.1	43	27.2	7		
June	81	9.8	17	8.5	64	10.8	15	9.0	20	10.2	14	20.0	15	9.5			
July	61	7.4	8	4.0	50	8.4	18	10.8	10	5.1	5	7.1	17	10.8	3		
August	45	5.5	6	3.0	37	6.2	14	8.4	14	7.1	5	7.1	4	2.5	2		
September	37	4.5	13	6.5	22	3.7	7	4.2	6	3.0	2	2.9	7	4.4	2		
At some other time	599	72.8	157	78.1	420	70.8	113	67.7	147	74.6	44	62.9	115	72.8	22		
January	42	5.1	10	5.0	32	5.4	8	4.8	14	7.1	2	2.9	8	5.1			
February	48	5.8	14	7.0	30	5.1	10	6.0	7	3.6	5	7.1	8	5.1	4		
March	60	7.3	17	8.5	41	6.9	10	6.0	15	7.6	5	7.1	11	7.0	2		
April	81	9.8	24	11.9	51	8.6	15	9.0	17	8.6	3	4.3	15	9.5	6		
May	86	10.4	28	13.9	55	9.3	16	9.6	23	11.7	2	2.9	14	8.9	3		
June	27	3.3	2	1.0	25	4.2	9	5.4	6	3.0	3	4.3	7	4.4			
September	106	12.9	27	13.4	77	13.0	22	13.2	25	12.7	9	12.9	21	13.3	2		
October	61	7.4	11	5.5	46	7.8	8	4.8	21	10.7	5	7.1	12	7.6	4		
November	40	4.9	10	5.0	30	5.1	7	4.2	9	4.6	5	7.1	9	5.7			
December	48	5.8	14	7.0	33	5.6	8	4.8	10	5.1	5	7.1	10	6.3	1		
Boys	477	100.0	127	100.0	328	100.0	101	100.0	85	100.0	40	100.0	101	100.0	22		
During summer vacation	121	25.4	26	20.5	90	27.4	33	32.7	18	21.2	14	.....	25	24.8	5	
June	45	9.4	13	10.2	32	9.8	8	7.9	10	11.8	6	.....	8	7.9		
July	36	7.5	5	3.9	28	8.5	12	11.9	3	3.5	4	.....	9	8.9	3	
August	25	5.2	4	3.1	20	6.1	10	9.9	4	4.7	3	.....	3	3.0	1	
September	15	3.1	4	3.1	10	3.0	3	3.0	1	1.2	1	.....	5	5.0	1	
October							68	67.3	67	78.8	26	.....	76	75.2	17	
November											1	.....	2	2.0	2	
December .....												.....

October.....	31	6.5	4	3.1	24	7.3	5	5.0	5	9.4	4	.....	7	6.9	3
November.....	26	5.2	7	5.5	18	5.5	4	4.0	5	5.9	2	.....	7	6.9	.....
December.....	27	5.7	8	6.3	19	5.8	5	5.0	4	4.7	5	.....	5	5.0	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	265	100.0	66	100.0	112	100.0	30	100.0	57	100.0	7
During summer vacation.....	103	29.8	18	24.3	83	31.3	21	31.8	32	28.6	12	.....	18	31.6	2
June.....	26	10.4	4	5.4	32	12.1	7	10.6	10	8.9	8	.....	7	12.3	.....
July.....	25	7.2	3	4.1	22	8.3	6	9.1	7	6.2	1	.....	8	14.0	.....
August.....	20	5.8	2	2.7	17	6.4	4	6.1	10	8.9	2	.....	1	1.8	.....
September.....	22	6.4	9	12.2	12	4.5	4	6.1	5	4.5	1	.....	2	3.5	.....
At some other time.....	243	70.2	56	75.7	182	68.7	45	68.2	80	71.4	18	.....	39	68.4	5
January.....	21	6.1	3	4.1	18	6.8	3	4.5	8	7.1	1	.....	6	10.5	.....
February.....	17	4.9	4	5.4	12	4.5	4	6.1	3	2.7	2	.....	3	5.3	.....
March.....	27	7.8	8	10.8	18	6.8	6	9.1	6	5.4	2	.....	4	7.0	.....
April.....	18	5.2	5	6.8	13	4.9	2	3.0	8	7.1	2	.....	1	1.8	.....
May.....	30	8.7	9	12.2	21	7.9	5	7.6	10	8.9	2	.....	4	7.0	.....
June.....	10	2.9	1	1.4	9	3.4	4	6.1	2	1.8	1	.....	2	3.5	.....
September.....	54	15.6	10	13.5	43	16.2	12	18.2	20	17.9	4	.....	7	12.3	.....
October.....	30	8.7	7	9.5	22	8.3	3	4.5	13	11.6	1	.....	5	8.8	.....
November.....	15	4.3	3	4.1	12	4.5	3	4.5	4	3.6	3	.....	2	2.5	.....
December.....	21	6.1	6	8.1	14	5.3	3	4.5	6	5.4	.....	.....	5	8.8	.....

¹ Owing to the division into two parts, "During summer vacation" and "At some other time," the months of June and September appear twice in this table. In determining what days of these months were during vacation and what days during school term the exact dates of opening and of closing school in each of the years covered by the study were used.

² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

³ Including one boy, the nationality of whose father was not specified.

It is, therefore, the excessive influx of native children into industry in the spring, rather than any greater tendency to save themselves from school by going to work in the autumn, which accounts for the large proportion of native children of native fathers who dropped their school careers without stopping even to finish the grades they were in. It may be that these children are more likely to leave school in the spring if they fear they will not be promoted than are the children of foreign-born fathers. But whatever the reason, the children who were interviewed had left school in large numbers from one to three months before the end of the school year when promotions were to take place.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL.

The economic reasons for leaving school have already been discussed. Many other reasons, however, were given by the children who were interviewed, and these have been classified and the number and proportion of children giving each type of answer are shown in Table 43. Although the replies may not be as accurate on this as on most points, and although one-tenth of the children failed to give any reason, the replies obtained seem sufficiently significant to make a classification worth while.

About one-fifth, 20.2 per cent, of all the children were discontented with school, either because they disliked their school or their teacher or because of their slow progress or nonpromotion. A few children, 4 per cent of the total, stated that they had finished the eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school. Others, 12.3 per cent of the total, gave as a reason for leaving school merely that they wished to work. Many of the children, of course, who preferred to work rather than attend school were doubtless influenced by discontent with school, but, on the other hand, discontent with school may have been caused by the desire to go to work.

Discontent with school was given as a reason for leaving more often by native children of both native and foreign-born fathers than by foreign-born children. As fewer foreign-born children had finished the eighth grade this fact was less frequently given by them as a reason for leaving school than by either group of native-born children. Moreover, although 17.4 per cent of the native children of native fathers stated merely that they wished to work, this reply was given by only 11.2 per cent of the native children of foreign-born fathers and by only 7.8 per cent of the foreign-born children. On the other hand, the fact that the parents wished the child to work was given as a reason by only 3.5 per cent of the native children of native fathers but by 6.3 per cent of those of foreign-born fathers and by 5.4 per cent of the foreign-born children.

TABLE 43.—Reason for leaving school, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

Reason for leaving school, and sex.	Children.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported, children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0	29
Economic reasons.....	333	40.5	69	34.3	167	39.1	89	53.6	8
All other reasons.....	408	49.6	111	55.2	215	50.4	65	39.2	17
Discontent with school.....	166	20.2	45	22.4	94	22.0	24	14.5	3
Disliked school or teacher.....	100	12.1	27	13.4	54	12.6	18	10.8	1
Slow progress or nonpromotion..	66	8.0	18	9.0	40	9.4	6	3.6	2
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	33	4.0	8	4.0	19	4.4	4	2.4	2
Other reasons.....	209	25.4	58	28.9	102	23.9	37	22.3	12
Child wished to work.....	101	12.3	35	17.4	48	11.2	13	7.8	5
Parent wished child to work.....	45	5.5	7	3.5	27	6.3	9	5.4	2
Illness of child.....	12	1.5	4	2.0	2	0.5	6	3.6	.....
Illness in family.....	10	1.2	4	2.0	4	0.9	1	0.6	1
Other reasons.....	41	5.0	8	4.0	21	4.9	8	4.8	4
Not reported.....	82	10.0	21	10.4	45	10.5	12	7.2	4
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Economic reasons.....	165	34.6	36	28.3	91	36.1	34	44.7	4
All other reasons.....	262	54.9	77	60.6	134	53.2	37	48.7	14
Discontent with school.....	109	22.9	33	26.0	62	24.6	12	15.8	2
Disliked school or teacher.....	64	13.4	22	17.3	33	13.1	9	11.8	.....
Slow progress or nonpromotion..	45	9.4	11	8.7	29	11.5	3	3.9	2
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	16	3.4	5	3.9	8	3.2	1	1.3	2
Other reasons.....	137	28.7	39	30.7	64	25.4	24	31.6	10
Child wished to work.....	73	15.3	27	21.3	33	13.1	8	10.5	5
Parent wished child to work.....	29	6.1	5	3.9	15	6.0	7	9.2	2
Illness of child.....	8	1.7	3	2.4	1	0.4	4	5.3	.....
Illness in family.....	2	0.4	.....	.....	2	0.8	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	25	5.2	4	3.2	13	5.2	5	6.6	3
Not reported.....	50	10.5	14	11.0	27	10.7	5	6.6	4
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Economic reasons.....	168	48.6	33	44.6	76	43.4	55	61.1	4
All other reasons.....	146	42.2	34	45.9	81	46.3	28	31.1	3
Discontent with school.....	57	16.5	12	16.2	32	18.3	12	13.3	1
Disliked school or teacher.....	36	10.4	5	6.8	21	12.0	9	10.0	1
Slow progress or nonpromotion..	21	6.1	7	9.5	11	6.3	3	3.3	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	17	4.9	3	4.1	11	6.3	3	3.3	.....
Other reasons.....	72	20.8	19	25.7	38	21.7	13	14.4	2
Child wished to work.....	28	8.1	8	10.8	15	8.6	5	5.6	.....
Parent wished child to work.....	16	4.6	2	2.7	12	6.9	2	2.2	.....
Illness of child.....	4	1.2	1	1.4	1	0.6	2	2.2	.....
Illness in family.....	8	2.3	4	5.4	2	1.1	1	1.1	1
Other reasons.....	16	4.6	4	5.4	8	4.6	3	3.3	1
Not reported.....	32	9.2	7	9.5	18	10.3	7	7.8	.....

The girls, as already stated, gave economic reasons for leaving school in a much larger proportion of cases than did the boys. All the other reasons, therefore, were less frequently given by girls. Only 16.5 per cent of the girls, for example, as compared with 22.9 per cent of the boys, gave discontent with school as a reason for leaving; and only 8.1 per cent of the girls, as compared with 15.3 per cent of the boys, stated merely that they wished to work.

TABLE 44.—Amount of schooltime lost, by reason for leaving school and sex; children interviewed.

Reasons for leaving school, and sex.	All children.	Children who lost specified amount of school time during interval between leaving school and going to work.														Children with intervals entirely during vacation.
		None or less than 1 week (interval wholly or partly during school term).		One week or more.										6 months or over.		
				Total		1 week under 1 month.		1 month under 3 months.		3 months under 6 months.		6 months or over.				
				Num. ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num. ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num. ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num. ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num. ber.	Per cent. ¹			
Both sexes.....	823	341	41.4	258	31.3	135	16.4	77	9.4	28	3.4	18	2.2	223	27.1	
Economic reasons.....	333	143	42.9	91	27.3	56	16.8	30	9.0	11	3.3	4	1.2	99	29.7	
All.....	408	164	40.2	149	36.5	70	17.2	40	9.8	25	6.1	14	3.4	94	23.0	
.....	168	76	45.8	48	28.9	23	13.9	17	10.2	7	4.2	1	.6	42	25.3	
.....	100	46	46.0	29	29.0	13	13.0	9	9.0	6	6.0	1	1.0	25	25.0	
.....	66	30	45.5	19	28.8	10	15.2	8	12.1	1	1.5			17	25.8	
Did not wish to go.....	33	4	12.1	14	42.4	1	2.4	2	6.1	9	27.3	2	6.1	15	45.5	
.....	209	84	40.2	37	17.7	46	22.0	21	10.0	9	4.3	11	5.3	37	17.7	
.....	101	45	44.6	33	32.7	24	23.8	12	11.9	1	1.0	2	2.0	18	17.8	
Parent wished child to work.....	45	20	44.4	13	29.0	13	29.0	4	8.9	1	2.2	4	8.9	7	15.6	
Illness of child.....	12	3	25.0	9	75.0	1	8.3	3	25.0	1	8.3	2	16.7	5	41.7	
Illness in family.....	10	3	30.0	7	70.0	2	20.0	1	10.0	2	20.0	2	20.0	5	50.0	
Other reasons.....	41	13	31.7	15	36.6	6	14.6	1	2.4	5	12.2	3	7.7	12	29.3	
Not reported.....	82	24	29.3	18	22.0	9	11.0	7	8.5	2	2.4			30	36.6	
Boys.....	477	222	46.5	132	27.7	78	16.4	38	8.0	10	2.1	6	1.3	122	25.6	
.....	165	79	47.9	43	26.1	31	18.8	12	7.3	3	1.8			43	26.1	
.....	202	122	60.4	77	38.1	42	20.8	21	10.4	8	4.0	6	3.0	62	30.7	
.....	109	60	55.0	26	23.9	11	10.1	12	11.0	2	1.8			24	22.0	
.....	64	35	54.7	14	21.9	6	9.4	6	9.4	2	3.1			15	23.4	
.....	45	25	55.6	11	24.4	5	11.1	6	13.3					9	20.0	
Wish to go.....	16	1	6.3	3	18.8					3	18.8	1	6.3	12	75.0	
.....	137	61	44.5	49	35.8	31	22.6	9	6.6	4	2.9	5	3.6	26	19.0	
Child wished to work.....	73	35	47.9	23	31.5	15	20.5	6	8.2	1	1.4	3	4.1	15	20.5	
Parent wished child to work.....	29	14	48.3	11	37.9	9	31.0	1	3.4	1	3.4	2	6.9	4	13.8	
Illness of child.....	8	3	37.5	5	62.5	1	12.5	1	12.5							
Illness in family.....	3	2	66.7	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3							
Other reasons.....	223	10	4.5	10	4.5	6	2.7	1	0.4	2	0.9	1	0.4	7	3.1	

Not reported.....	50	21	42.0	12	24.0	5	10.0	5	10.0	5	10.0	2	4.0	.....	.....	17	34.0
Girls.....	846	119	34.4	126	36.4	57	16.5	39	11.3	18	5.2	12	3.5	.....	.....	101	29.2
Economic reasons.....	168	64	38.1	48	28.6	25	14.9	18	10.7	1	.6	4	2.4	.....	.....	56	33.3
All other reasons.....	146	42	28.8	72	49.3	28	19.2	19	13.0	17	11.6	8	5.5	.....	.....	32	21.9
Discontent with school.....	57	16	28.1	23	40.4	12	21.1	5	8.8	5	8.8	1	1.8	.....	.....	18	31.6
Disliked school or teacher.....	36	11	.....	15	.....	7	.....	3	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Slow progress or nonpromotion.....	21	5	.....	8	.....	5	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	17	3	.....	11	.....	1	.....	2	.....	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Other reasons.....	72	23	31.9	38	52.8	15	20.8	12	16.7	5	6.9	6	8.3	.....	.....	11	15.3
Child wished to work.....	28	10	.....	15	.....	9	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Parent wished child to work.....	16	6	.....	7	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Illness of child.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	8	1	.....	7	.....	2	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	16	6	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Not reported.....	32	13	.....	6	.....	4	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50. ² Including one boy for whom amount of schooltime lost was not reported.

A smaller proportion of the children who gave economic reasons than of those who gave other reasons for leaving school—27.3 per cent as compared with 36.5 per cent—lost as much as a week of school time between leaving school and going to work. Only 1.5 per cent of those who gave economic reasons, moreover, as compared with 9.5 per cent of those who gave other reasons, lost as much as three months or more. Table 44 shows that this difference, though existing among the boys to a slight extent, was mainly among the girls; for nearly half, 49.3 per cent, of the girls who gave other than economic reasons for leaving school lost a week or more of schooltime, and 30.1 per cent of them lost a month or more. It might be thought that this difference would be accounted for by the loss of schooltime occurring among children who were leaving because of discontent with school. Yet only a slightly larger proportion of these children than of those who were leaving because of economic necessity, 28.9 per cent as compared with 27.3 per cent, actually lost one week or more. The difference, indeed, is to be accounted for by the large proportion of children who gave reasons not directly connected with school. For example, of the children who stated that they wished to work, over one-third, 37.6 per cent, lost a week or more of schooltime, and this proportion was even higher among the children whose parents wished them to work and among those who left school because of their own illness or of illness in the family.

GRADE.COMPLETED.

Because of the differences already discussed in age at going to work⁴⁸ and also because of differences which will be discussed later between vacation and regular workers,⁴⁹ the three groups of children show considerable differences in the grades attained in school. About three-fourths, 75.8 per cent, of all the children who took out certificates in the four cities, according to Table 45, had completed only elementary grades in regular schools, and 19.5 per cent had completed one or more years in a high school; the others had come from vocational, disciplinary, or other special schools. Of the children for whom continuation-school records were used, on the other hand, over four-fifths, 82.1 per cent, came from elementary grades and only 13.7 per cent from high schools. As the children who were interviewed were, on an average, even younger than those for whom continuation-school records were used, a still larger proportion of them, 90.9 per cent, came from elementary grades and a smaller proportion, only 7.9 per cent, from high schools. In each group a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys came from elementary grades.

⁴⁸ See p. 83. The certificate series of tables includes in addition to children who became regular workers children who worked only during vacation or out of school hours before their sixteenth birthdays. These latter children, according to Table 77, p. 164, were from higher grades, on an average, than were the children leaving school for work, who constituted the continuation school and schedule groups.

⁴⁹ See p. 153.

All the children included in the study were, of course, over 14 years of age, and about half of those included in the continuation-school and certificate groups of children were over 15 when they took out their first certificates. Yet little more than half, 52.4 per cent, of the children who took out certificates in the four cities combined had completed the eighth or a higher grade in a regular school. The corresponding percentage for the continuation-school group was 49.6, and that for the interviewed children was 45.9.

TABLE 45.—*Grade completed, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in four cities.*

Grade completed or kind of school last attended, and sex.	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston). ¹	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All children.....	5,692	100.0	4,401	100.0	3,399	100.0	823	100.0
Elementary grades.....	4,312	75.8	3,322	75.5	2,790	82.1	748	90.9
Fourth grade.....	233	4.1	166	3.8	148	4.4	36	4.4
Fifth grade.....	440	7.7	330	7.5	291	8.6	91	11.1
Sixth grade.....	851	15.0	648	14.7	566	16.7	160	19.4
Seventh grade.....	838	14.7	621	14.1	504	14.8	147	17.9
Eighth grade.....	1,873	32.9	1,481	33.7	1,219	35.9	313	38.0
Prevocational.....	50	.9	50	1.1	41	1.2	.....	.....
Special.....	27	.5	26	.6	21	.6	.....	.....
High school grades.....	1,111	19.5	899	20.4	467	13.7	65	7.9
First year.....	736	12.9	595	13.5	364	10.7	61	7.4
Second year.....	306	5.4	246	5.6	97	2.9	4	.5
Third and fourth year.....	69	1.2	58	1.3	6	.2	.....	.....
Vocational schools.....	179	3.1	133	3.0	104	3.1	.....	.....
Disciplinary schools.....	20	.4	12	.3	11	.3	.....	.....
Other schools.....	41	.7	25	.6	21	.6	.....	.....
Not reported.....	29	.5	10	.2	6	.2	10	1.2
Boys.....	3,419	100.0	2,633	100.0	2,026	100.0	477	100.0
Elementary grades.....	2,567	75.1	1,955	74.2	1,637	80.8	425	89.1
Fourth grade.....	119	3.5	86	3.3	78	3.8	15	3.1
Fifth grade.....	259	7.6	193	7.3	171	8.4	53	11.1
Sixth grade.....	514	15.0	380	14.4	331	16.3	91	19.1
Seventh grade.....	521	15.2	386	14.7	309	15.3	84	17.6
Eighth grade.....	1,008	32.1	855	32.5	700	34.6	182	38.2
Prevocational.....	45	1.3	45	1.7	40	2.0	.....	.....
Special.....	11	.3	10	.4	8	.4	.....	.....
High school grades.....	732	21.4	603	22.9	331	16.3	45	9.4
Vocational schools.....	52	1.5	36	1.4	26	1.3	.....	.....
Disciplinary schools.....	19	.6	12	.5	11	.5	.....	.....
Other schools.....	27	.8	18	.7	16	.8	.....	.....
Not reported.....	22	.6	9	.3	5	.2	7	1.5
Girls.....	2,273	100.0	1,768	100.0	1,373	100.0	346	100.0
Elementary grades.....	1,745	76.8	1,367	77.3	1,153	84.0	323	93.4
Fourth grade.....	114	5.0	80	4.5	70	5.1	21	6.1
Fifth grade.....	181	8.0	137	7.7	120	8.7	38	11.0
Sixth grade.....	337	14.8	268	15.2	235	17.1	69	19.9
Seventh grade.....	317	13.9	235	13.3	195	14.2	63	18.2
Eighth grade.....	775	34.1	626	35.4	519	37.8	131	37.9
Prevocational.....	5	.2	5	.3	1	.1	.....	.....
Special.....	16	.7	16	.9	13	.9	.....	.....
High school grades.....	379	16.7	296	16.7	136	9.9	20	5.8
Vocational schools.....	127	5.6	97	5.5	78	5.7	.....	.....
Disciplinary schools.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other schools.....	14	.6	7	.4	5	.4	.....	.....
Not reported.....	7	.3	1	.....	1	.1	3	.9

¹ Prevocational, special, vocational, disciplinary, and other schools are not separately entered for the children interviewed.

² Including one girl under the fourth grade.

Of all the children taking out certificates in the four cities combined, including vacation as well as regular workers, according to Table 45, nearly 1 in 20, 4.1 per cent, had barely attained the educational requirement for an employment certificate, completion of the fourth grade. Of the foreign-born children, however, one in eight, or 12.5 per cent, and of the children born in Italy about 1 in 5, or 21.4 per cent, had not completed any grades higher than the fourth. Moreover, less than 1 in 3, 33.1 per cent, of the foreign-born children and only 15.7 per cent of the Italian children had completed the eighth or a higher grade. On the other hand over two-fifths, 44.2 per cent, of the Russian children had completed the eighth or a higher grade, a proportion comparing not unfavorably with that of the native children which was over one-half, 56.7 per cent. The proportion of Russian children who had completed the eighth or a higher grade, was higher, indeed, than that of the children born in England, Scotland, Wales, or British North America—all English-speaking countries—which was only about two-fifths, 40.1 per cent. Moreover, 11.5 per cent of the Russian children, as compared with only 1.5 per cent of the Italian children, had completed one or more high school grades. Of the native children, however, about 1 in 5, 21.8 per cent, had completed a year's work in high school.

TABLE 46.—*Grade completed, by nativity and nationality of child; children issued certificates in four cities.*

Grade completed or school last attended.	Native children.		Foreign-born children.									
			Total.		Country of birth.							
					Russia.		Italy.		England, Scotland, Wales or British North America.		Other countries.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
All children.....	4,646	100.0	1,044	100.0	349	100.0	323	100.0	207	100.0	165	100.0
Elementary grades.....	3,415	73.5	895	85.7	296	84.8	299	92.6	165	79.7	135	81.8
Fourth grade.....	102	2.2	131	12.5	41	11.7	69	21.4	2	1.0	19	11.5
Fifth grade.....	286	6.2	154	14.8	39	11.2	72	22.3	23	11.1	20	12.1
Sixth grade.....	645	13.9	204	19.5	64	18.3	62	19.2	48	23.2	30	18.2
Seventh grade.....	703	15.1	135	12.9	35	10.0	35	10.8	38	18.4	27	16.4
Eighth grade.....	1,623	34.9	250	23.9	114	32.7	46	14.2	53	25.6	37	22.4
Prevocational.....	45	1.0	5	.5	.....	.....	3	.9	1	.5	1	.6
Special.....	11	.2	16	1.5	3	.9	12	3.7	.....	.....	1	.6
High school grades.....	1,015	21.8	96	9.2	40	11.5	5	1.5	30	14.5	21	12.7
First year.....	670	14.4	66	6.3	28	8.0	3	.9	21	10.1	14	8.5
Second year.....	278	6.0	28	2.7	12	3.4	1	.3	8	3.9	7	4.2
Third and fourth years.....	67	1.4	2	.2	.....	.....	1	.3	1	.5	.....	.....
Vocational schools.....	149	3.2	30	2.9	6	1.7	16	5.0	5	2.4	3	1.8
Disciplinary schools.....	20	.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other schools and not reported.....	47	1.0	23	2.2	7	2.0	3	.9	7	3.4	6	3.6

TABLE 47.—*Grade completed, by length of residence in United States; foreign-born children in Boston continuation school.*

Grade completed or kind of school last attended.	Foreign-born children in continuation school.									
	Total.		Living in United States specified number of years.							
			Under 5 years.		5 years but under 10.		10 years and over.		Not reported.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.
All children.....	637	100.0	153	100.0	224	100.0	203	100.0	57	100.0
Elementary grades.....	570	89.5	150	98.0	200	89.3	167	82.3	53	93.0
Fourth grade.....	83	13.0	52	34.0	19	8.5	7	3.4	5	8.8
Fifth grade.....	96	15.1	42	27.5	35	15.6	12	5.9	7	12.3
Sixth grade.....	131	20.6	27	17.6	49	21.9	39	19.2	16	28.1
Seventh grade.....	72	11.3	12	7.8	27	12.1	28	13.7	5	8.8
Eighth grade.....	172	27.0	9	5.9	65	29.0	79	38.9	19	33.3
Prevocational.....	5	.8	2	1.3	2	.9	1	.5	.....	.....
Special.....	11	1.7	6	3.9	3	1.3	1	.5	1	1.8
High school grades.....	41	6.4	.....	.....	8	3.6	29	14.3	4	7.0
First year.....	31	4.9	.....	.....	8	3.6	20	9.9	3	5.3
Second year.....	10	1.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	4.4	1	1.8
Vocational schools.....	19	3.0	.....	.....	13	5.8	6	3.0	.....	.....
Other schools.....	5	.8	1	.7	3	1.3	1	.5	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	.3	2	1.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Table 47 shows that, as would be expected, a much larger proportion of the foreign-born children who had been in the United States less than 5 years than of those who had been here longer had barely managed to meet the educational requirements of the certificate law. According to this table, which relates only to the continuation-school group of regular workers, over one-third, 34 per cent, of the foreign-born children who had been in the United States less than 5 years had completed only the fourth grade, and none of them had finished a year's high-school work. Of the foreign-born children who had been in the United States 5 years but under 10 only 8.5 per cent, and of those who had been here 10 years or more only 3.4 per cent had failed to advance beyond the fourth grade. The latter percentage compares favorably with that for native children, which was 2.2. Furthermore, almost as large a proportion of the foreign-born children who had been in this country 10 years or more, 53.2 per cent, as of the native children, 56.7 per cent, had completed the eighth or a higher grade, and 14.3 per cent of them had finished at least one year's work in high school.

When the nativity of the father as well as that of the child is considered, as in Table 48 for the interviewed children, it is found that, although little more than one-fourth, 27.7 per cent, of the foreign-born children and less than one-half, 48.5 per cent, of the native children of foreign-born fathers had completed the eighth grade or one or more years of high-school work, over one-half, 54.8

per cent, of the native children of native fathers had finished the eighth or a higher grade. Of the native girls whose fathers were also native, three-fifths, 58.1 per cent, had completed the eighth or a higher grade. It is somewhat surprising to find, however, that a slightly larger proportion of native children of foreign-born fathers than of native children of native fathers, 10.1 per cent as compared with 9 per cent, had completed the first or second year of the high school course.

TABLE 48.—*Grade completed, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Grade completed and sex of child.	Children.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0		29
Under seventh grade.....	288	35.0	52	25.9	147	34.4	79	47.6	10
Under fourth grade.....	1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.6	.....
Fourth grade.....	36	4.4	4	2.0	11	2.6	20	12.0	1
Fifth grade.....	91	11.1	18	9.0	41	9.6	28	16.9	4
Sixth grade.....	160	19.4	30	14.9	95	22.2	30	18.1	5
Seventh and eighth grades...	460	55.9	130	64.7	237	55.5	76	45.8	17
Seventh grade.....	147	17.9	38	18.9	73	17.1	32	19.3	4
Eighth grade.....	313	38.0	92	45.8	164	38.4	44	26.5	13
High school grades.....	65	7.9	18	9.0	43	10.1	2	1.2	2
First year.....	61	7.4	16	8.0	41	9.6	2	1.2	2
Second year.....	4	.5	2	1.0	2	.5	.....	.....	.....
Grade not reported ¹	10	1.2	1	.5	.....	.....	9	5.4	.....
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Under seventh grade.....	159	33.3	33	26.0	86	34.1	31	40.8	9
Fourth grade.....	15	3.1	2	1.6	8	3.2	4	5.3	1
Fifth grade.....	53	11.1	13	10.2	26	10.3	10	13.2	4
Sixth grade.....	91	19.1	18	14.2	52	20.6	17	22.4	4
Seventh and eighth grades...	266	55.8	81	63.8	136	54.0	38	50.0	11
Seventh grade.....	84	17.6	26	20.5	39	15.5	16	21.1	3
Eighth grade.....	182	38.2	55	43.3	97	38.5	22	28.9	8
High school grades.....	45	9.4	12	9.4	30	11.9	1	1.3	2
First year.....	42	8.8	11	8.7	28	11.1	1	1.3	2
Second year.....	3	.6	1	.8	2	.8	.....	.....	.....
Grade not reported.....	7	1.5	1	.8	.....	.....	6	7.9	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Under seventh grade.....	129	37.3	19	25.7	61	34.9	48	53.3	1
Under fourth grade.....	1	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.1	.....
Fourth grade.....	21	6.1	2	2.7	3	1.7	16	17.8	.....
Fifth grade.....	38	11.0	5	6.8	15	8.6	18	20.0	.....
Sixth grade.....	69	19.9	12	16.2	43	24.6	13	14.4	1
Seventh and eighth grades...	194	56.1	49	66.2	101	57.7	38	42.2	6
Seventh grade.....	63	18.2	12	16.2	34	19.4	16	17.8	1
Eighth grade.....	131	37.9	37	50.0	67	38.3	22	24.4	5
High school grades.....	20	5.8	6	8.1	13	7.4	1	1.1	.....
First year.....	19	5.5	5	6.8	13	7.4	1	1.1	.....
Second year.....	1	.3	1	1.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Grade not reported.....	3	.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3.3	.....

¹ Includes one boy and one girl from industrial schools and one girl from a prevocational school.

About one-third, 34.4 per cent, of all the native children of foreign-born fathers and nearly half, 47.6 per cent, of the foreign-born children had not completed grades higher than the sixth. Yet of

the native children of native fathers only about one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, had failed to advance beyond the sixth grade.

Of the 823 children interviewed 36, or 4.4 per cent, had barely attained the educational requirement for an employment certificate—completion of the fourth grade. And one foreign-born girl, when interviewed, did not claim to have completed even this grade, although her continuation school record stated that she had done so. Of the 36 children who had completed only the fourth grade 20 were foreign born, 11 were native but had foreign-born fathers, and only 4 were native children of native fathers;⁵⁰ 15 of them were boys and 21 girls.

Although it is often observed that a larger proportion of girls than of boys enter high school, in each of the three groups of working children the proportion of boys who had finished one or more years of high school work was higher than the proportion of girls.⁵¹ Of the children interviewed, however, a larger proportion of the boys than of the girls of each nativity group came from high school grades, while 37.3 per cent of the girls and only 33.3 per cent of the boys had failed to complete any grade higher than the sixth. This comparatively large proportion of girls from the sixth and lower grades occurred, however, mainly among the foreign-born girls, of whom 53.3 per cent, as compared with only 40.8 per cent of the foreign-born boys, had completed only the sixth or a lower grade. This was probably due to the excessive number of Italian girls among the interviewed children.⁵² On the other hand, the proportion of girls who had completed the eighth or a higher grade was higher than that of boys among the native children of native fathers.

The small difference between the proportions of girls and of boys who left school upon completion of the eighth grade compared with the much larger difference between the proportions who had completed a high-school grade, when interpreted in connection with the greater amounts of school time lost by girls than by boys between the date of leaving school and the date of going to work,⁵³ would seem to indicate that many of these girls considered their schooling finished when they had completed the eighth grade. Table 49 shows that girls from the higher grades more frequently had intervals of one week or more between their school and their working lives than did any other group of children. Over two-fifths, 43.8 per cent, of the girls from the seventh or eighth grades had such intervals as compared with only 28.2 per cent of the boys from the same grades and with only 27.9 per cent of the girls from the lower grades. Of the girls who had completed the seventh or eighth grades, moreover, about 1 in 8, 12.4 per cent, as compared with only 4.9 per cent of the boys, lost three months or more of schooltime. Many of these girls may have held special home permits.

⁵⁰ The nativity of the father of the remaining child was not reported.

⁵¹ See Table 45, p. 119.

⁵² See p. 77.

⁵³ See Table 44, pp. 116-117.

TABLE 49.—Amount of schooltime lost, by grade completed and sex; children interviewed.

Grade completed and sex.	Children who lost specified amount of schooltime during interval between leaving school and going to work.												Children with intervals entirely during vacation.						
	One week or more.																		
	None or less than one week (interval wholly or partly during school term.)			Total.			1 week under 1 month.			1 month under 3 months.				3 months under 6 months.			6 months or over.		
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹			Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	
All children.	823	41.4	341	268	31.3	135	16.4	77	9.4	25	3.4	13	2.2	223	27.1				
Both sexes.....	823	41.4	341	268	31.3	135	16.4	77	9.4	25	3.4	13	2.2	223	27.1				
Under seventh grade.....	286	58.6	163	75	26.0	42	14.6	25	8.7	4	1.4	4	1.4	49	17.0				
Seventh and eighth grades.....	490	32.4	149	160	34.8	78	17.0	45	9.8	23	5.0	14	3.0	151	32.8				
High school I and II.....	65	35.4	23	21	32.3	13	20.0	7	10.8	1	1.5			21	32.8				
Not reported and other schools.....	10		6	2		2								2					
Boys.....	477	46.5	223	132	27.7	78	16.4	38	8.0	10	2.1	6	1.3	123	25.6				
Under seventh grade.....	150	61.0	97	39	24.5	27	17.0	10	6.3			2	1.3	23	15.8				
Seventh and eighth grades.....	200	33.7	108	75	36.2	40	15.0	23	8.8			4	1.5	88	33.1				
High school I and II.....	45		15	16		9		6		1				11					
Not reported and other schools.....	7		4	2		2								1					
Girls.....	346	34.4	119	126	36.4	57	16.5	39	11.3	18	5.2	12	3.5	101	29.2				
Under seventh grade.....	129	51.2	63	36	27.9	15	11.6	16	11.6	4	3.1	2	1.6	27	20.9				
Seventh and eighth grades.....	194	28.7	46	63	32.5	38	19.6	23	11.9	14	7.2	10	5.2	63	32.5				
High school I and II.....	20		5	5		4		1						10					
Not reported and other schools.....	3		2											1					

¹ Includes one boy "under the seventh grade" who went to work during school term; amount of schooltime lost not reported.² Not shown where base is less than 50.

Both boys and girls, however, who had completed the seventh or eighth grades were more likely to lose schooltime between leaving school and going to work than were children from the lower grades. Over one-third, 34.8 per cent, of the seventh and eighth grade graduates, as compared with little over one-fourth, 26 per cent, of the graduates of lower grades, lost one week or more. A slightly smaller proportion, 32.3 per cent, of the children who had completed one or more years of high-school work lost one week or more; but, on the other hand, about one-eighth of these children, 12.3 per cent, were out of school for one month or more before going to work.

TABLE 50.—Grade completed, by reason for leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.

Reasons for leaving school and sex.	All children.	Children who had completed specified grade.							
		6th or lower.		7th or 8th.		High school I or II.		Not reported.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	288	35.0	460	55.9	65	7.9	10	1.2
Economic reasons.....	333	141	42.3	173	52.0	13	3.9	6	1.8
All other reasons, total.....	408	129	31.6	239	58.6	36	8.8	4	1.0
Discontent with school, total.....	166	58	34.9	91	54.8	17	10.2	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher.....	100	38	33.0	58	58.0	9	9.0	.....	.....
Slow progress or nonpromotion.....	66	25	37.9	33	50.0	8	12.1	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	33	.....	.....	31	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Other reasons.....	209	71	34.0	117	56.0	18	8.6	3	1.4
Child wished to work.....	101	35	34.7	54	53.5	10	9.9	2	2.0
Parent wished child to work.....	45	17	.....	24	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	12	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	10	4	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	41	9	.....	27	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Not reported.....	82	18	22.0	48	58.5	16	19.5	.....	.....
Boys.....	477	159	33.3	266	55.8	45	9.4	7	1.5
Economic reasons.....	165	67	40.6	84	50.9	11	6.7	3	1.8
All other reasons, total.....	262	81	30.9	152	58.0	25	9.5	4	1.5
Discontent with school, total.....	109	32	29.4	65	59.6	12	11.0	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher.....	64	19	29.7	40	62.5	5	7.8	.....	.....
Slow progress or nonpromotion.....	45	13	.....	25	.....	7	.....	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	16	.....	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Other reasons.....	137	49	35.8	72	52.6	13	9.5	3	2.2
Child wished to work.....	73	25	34.2	39	53.4	7	9.6	2	2.7
Parent wished child to work.....	29	12	.....	14	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	8	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	25	6	.....	15	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Not reported.....	50	11	22.0	30	60.0	9	18.0	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	129	37.3	194	56.1	20	5.8	3	.9
Economic reasons.....	168	74	44.0	89	53.0	2	1.2	3	1.8
All other reasons, total.....	146	48	32.9	87	59.6	11	7.5	.....	.....
Discontent with school, total.....	57	26	45.6	26	45.6	5	8.8	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher.....	36	14	.....	18	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Slow progress or nonpromotion.....	21	12	.....	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	17	.....	.....	16	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	72	22	30.6	45	62.5	5	6.9	.....	.....
Child wished to work.....	28	10	.....	15	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Parent wished child to work.....	16	5	.....	10	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	4	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	8	2	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	16	3	.....	12	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	32	7	.....	18	.....	7	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

This loss of schooltime between leaving school and going to work among children from the higher grades was undoubtedly due primarily to difficulty in enforcing attendance of eighth-grade graduates at high schools. The compulsory school-attendance law made no distinction between advanced and retarded children. All between 14 and 16 who were not at work, or who had not secured special home permits, were supposed to be in school—in high school if they had completed the eighth grade. But the break between the elementary and the high school decidedly increases the difficulties in enforcing the law, and a more strict enforcement for children from the lower grades is reflected in the fact that considerably more than half, 56.6 per cent, of those who had not completed any grade higher than the sixth, as compared with less than a third, 32.4 per cent, of those who had completed the seventh or eighth grades, had no interval, or one of less than a week, between leaving school and going to work.

Of the children who gave economic reasons for leaving school, as appears in Table 50, an even larger proportion than of those who stated that they left because of slow progress or nonpromotion, 42.3 per cent, as compared with 37.9 per cent, had completed only the sixth or a lower grade. This was a considerably larger proportion than of those who gave other than economic reasons, which was only 31.6 per cent. Of the girls who left school because of economic necessity an even larger proportion than of the boys came from these lower grades.

On the other hand, about 1 in 8 of the children who left school because of slow progress or nonpromotion had completed at least one year's high-school work. Of the children who left because of discontent with their school, including dislike of the school or the teacher and slow progress or nonpromotion, 11 per cent of the boys and 8.8 per cent of the girls came from high school. This was the most common reason for leaving school given by high-school pupils.

RETARDATION.

According to the commonly accepted standard, children of 14 should have completed the eighth grade. The fact, therefore, that of the children included in this study, all of whom were over 14, and a large proportion in the certificate and continuation-school groups over 15, when they took out their first employment certificates, only about half had completed the grammar-school course shows that a large number of them must have been retarded.

This standard of retardation is doubtless, however, too high to apply to the average school child or to the working children included

in this study. Accordingly a considerably less stringent test was applied.⁵⁴ A child who left school when he was 14 years of age, for example, was not considered retarded for the purposes of this study unless he had failed to complete a grade higher than the sixth. If he had completed either the seventh or the eighth grade his school standing was called normal. But if he had completed only the fifth or the sixth grade he was considered to be retarded one or two years, and if he had completed only the fourth grade he was classified as retarded three years or more. On the other hand, completion of a high-school grade was considered higher standing than normal for his age. In the same way a child who left school when he was 15 was said to have completed a normal grade if he had finished the eighth grade or the first year of high-school work, and one who left school when he was 13 if he had completed the sixth or the seventh grade.

Table 51 shows that, according to this standard, over three-tenths, 31.5 per cent, of the children who took out certificates in Boston for work during school hours⁵⁵ were retarded. The corresponding percentages for the children whose continuation-school records were used and for those who were interviewed were 31.4 and 32.4, respectively.

In spite of the fact that the proportions of children for whom only the school and not the grade was given were much higher in the certificate and continuation-school groups than in the schedule group the latter showed the smallest percentage, 4.1 per cent, as compared with 6 per cent for both the other groups, of children who were three or more grades below normal for their ages. When children from higher grades than normal are considered, however, it is found that this difference in the proportion of cases in which grade was not reported appears to cause discrepancies between the figures, for in the certificate and continuation-school groups about 1 in 10, 9.4 per cent and 9.6 per cent, respectively, while in the schedule group about 1 in 6, 16.5 per cent, were reported as advanced in their school work. In this case the proportion among the children interviewed, 16.5 per cent, is doubtless a better measure than are the proportions for either of the other groups of the number of children from higher grades than normal for their ages. In each group a smaller propor-

⁵⁴ For a diagram showing graphically the method of classification see appendix, p. 362.

⁵⁵ See section on Work Before Leaving School, pp. 148 to 170. The children who worked only during vacation, as will be seen later (Table 79, p. 169), were much less frequently retarded than were the regular workers. The figures for all the children who took out certificates in the four cities would not, therefore, be comparable with those for the children in either the continuation school or the schedule groups, both of which included only children who became regular workers before their sixteenth birthdays. The division into vacation and regular workers could not be made for the children who took out certificates in Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea, because the records did not show when positions were terminated.

tion of girls than of boys were advanced in their school work and a larger proportion were retarded.

About half the children in each group were neither retarded nor advanced but had just completed grades normal for their ages. The percentages of these normal children were 48.1 in the certificate group, 47.7 in the continuation-school group, and 49.7 in the schedule group.

TABLE 51.—Retardation, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school and with children issued certificates in Boston for work during school hours.

Retardation.	Children issued certificates in Boston for work during school hours.					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	3,544	100.0	2,114	100.0	1,430	100.0
Having completed—						
A higher grade than normal.....	334	9.4	208	9.8	126	8.8
A normal grade.....	1,706	48.1	967	45.7	739	51.7
A lower grade than normal.....	1,117	31.5	663	31.4	454	31.7
One or two grades lower than normal.....	906	25.5	548	25.9	357	25.0
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	212	6.0	115	5.4	97	6.8
Not reported ¹	387	10.9	276	13.1	111	7.8

Retardation.	Children in Boston continuation school.						Children interviewed (Boston).					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.		Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	3,399	100.0	2,026	100.0	1,373	100.0	823	100.0	477	100.0	346	100.0
Having completed—												
A higher grade than normal.....	325	9.6	202	10.0	123	9.0	136	16.5	82	17.2	54	15.6
A normal grade.....	1,622	47.7	917	45.3	706	51.3	409	49.7	238	49.9	171	49.4
A lower grade than normal.....	1,066	31.4	632	31.2	434	31.6	267	32.4	149	31.2	118	34.1
One or two grades lower than normal.....	861	25.3	522	25.8	339	24.7	233	28.3	135	28.3	98	28.3
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	205	6.0	110	5.4	95	6.9	34	4.1	14	2.9	20	5.8
Not reported ¹	386	11.4	275	13.6	111	8.1	11	1.3	8	1.7	3	.9

¹ "Not reported," means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

A larger proportion of the foreign-born than of the native children were retarded. Of the native children for whom continuation-school records were used, according to Table 52, a little over one-

fourth, 27.5 per cent, had failed to attain a normal grade. But of the foreign-born children nearly one-half, 48.2 per cent, were retarded, and 17.9 per cent of them were three or more grades below normal. The proportion of Italian children, 27.7 per cent, who were three or more grades below normal was somewhat larger than the proportion of native children who were retarded even a single grade. Nearly two-thirds, 63.1 per cent, of the Italian children, indeed, were at least one grade below normal. Yet only about two-fifths, 39.7 per cent, of the Russian children, and not much more than one-third, 35.7 per cent, of all the children from north and west Europe were retarded. A smaller proportion of the Italian girls were retarded than of the Italian boys, 55.6 per cent as compared with 70.4 per cent.

That in many cases the retardation among foreign-born children may have been due, in part, merely to breaks in the school life occasioned by changes in residence is suggested by the fact that even of the native children who were not born in Boston or the adjoining cities of Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea, a larger proportion, 30.4 per cent, were retarded than of the native children born in one of those cities, 27 per cent. That differences in language or in opportunities for education, combined with such changes of residence, were at least in large part responsible for the greater amount of retardation among foreign-born children is indicated by the facts shown in Table 53. Here it is seen that over three-fourths, 78.4 per cent, of the children who had been in the United States less than 5 years, not quite half, 49.6 per cent, of those who had been here 5 but under 10 years, and not much more than one-fourth, 28.6 per cent, of those who had been here 10 years or more, were retarded. In other words among the foreign-born children who had been in the United States long enough to have begun their school lives here, the proportion retarded was but little higher than among the native children. The influence of language differences appears also, as will be shown later,⁶⁷ in a larger proportion of retarded children among those whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities.

Nevertheless, among the native children included in the continuation-school group are a large number whose fathers were foreign born, and it appears, according to Table 54, that among the interviewed children a considerably larger proportion of the native children of foreign-born fathers than of the native children of native fathers, 31.9 per cent as compared with 22.9 per cent, were retarded. But of the foreign-born children in this group 45.2 per cent were retarded, and 10.2 per cent, as compared with only 2.8 per cent of the native children of foreign-born fathers and 2 per cent of the children of native fathers, were three or more grades below normal.

⁶⁷ See Table 55, p. 123.

TABLE 52.—*Retardation, by place of birth and sex; children in Boston continuation school.*

Place of birth and sex.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages —											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported. ¹	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²		
Both sexes ..	3,399	325	9.6	1,622	47.7	1,066	31.4	861	25.3	205	6.0	396	11.4
United States.....	2,761	295	10.7	1,389	50.3	758	27.5	667	24.2	91	3.3	319	11.6
Boston, Cam- bridge, Som- erville, Chel- sea.....	2,419	269	11.1	1,221	50.5	654	27.0	572	23.6	82	3.4	275	11.4
Elsewhere in United States	342	26	7.6	168	49.1	104	30.4	95	27.8	9	2.6	44	12.9
North and west													
Europe.....	98	8	8.2	43	43.9	35	35.7	32	32.7	3	3.1	12	12.2
Ireland.....	16	2	.....	6	.....	6	.....	5	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Other.....	82	6	7.3	37	45.1	29	35.4	27	32.9	2	2.4	10	12.2
South and east													
Europe.....	464	16	3.4	156	33.6	242	52.2	140	30.2	102	22.0	50	10.8
Italy.....	249	6	2.4	65	26.1	157	63.1	88	35.3	69	27.7	21	8.4
Russia.....	204	10	4.9	85	41.7	81	39.7	50	24.5	31	15.2	28	12.7
Other.....	11	.....	.....	6	.....	4	.....	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Other countries....	75	6	8.0	34	45.3	30	40.0	21	28.0	9	12.0	5	6.7
Boys.....	2,026	202	10.0	917	45.3	632	31.2	522	25.8	110	5.4	275	13.6
United States.....	1,701	185	10.9	811	47.7	469	27.6	414	24.3	55	3.2	236	13.9
Boston, Cam- bridge, Som- erville, Chel- sea.....	1,476	169	11.4	704	47.7	398	27.0	348	23.6	50	3.4	205	13.9
Elsewhere in United States	225	16	7.1	107	47.6	71	31.6	66	29.3	5	2.2	31	13.8
North and west													
Europe.....	62	5	8.1	23	37.1	24	38.7	23	37.1	1	1.6	10	16.1
Ireland.....	10	.....	.....	5	.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Other.....	52	5	9.6	18	34.6	21	40.4	20	38.5	1	1.9	8	15.4
South and east													
Europe.....	227	7	3.1	65	28.6	129	56.8	78	34.4	51	22.5	26	11.5
Italy.....	125	3	2.4	23	18.4	88	70.4	52	41.6	36	28.8	11	8.8
Russia.....	98	4	4.1	41	41.8	39	39.8	25	25.5	14	14.3	14	14.3
Other.....	4	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Other countries....	35	5	.....	18	.....	9	.....	6	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Girls.....	1,373	123	9.0	705	51.3	434	31.6	339	24.7	95	6.9	111	8.1
United States.....	1,060	110	10.4	578	54.5	289	27.3	253	23.9	36	3.4	83	7.8
Boston, Cam- bridge, Som- erville, Chel- sea.....	943	100	10.6	517	54.8	256	27.1	224	23.8	32	3.4	70	7.4
Elsewhere in United States	117	10	8.5	61	52.1	33	28.2	29	24.8	4	3.4	13	11.1
North and west													
Europe.....	36	3	.....	20	.....	11	.....	9	.....	2	.....	2	.....
Ireland.....	6	2	.....	1	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	30	1	.....	19	.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....	2	.....
South and east													
Europe.....	237	9	3.8	91	38.4	113	47.7	62	26.2	51	21.5	24	10.1
Italy.....	124	3	2.4	42	33.9	69	55.6	36	29.0	33	26.6	10	8.1
Russia.....	106	6	5.7	44	41.5	42	39.6	25	23.6	17	16.0	14	13.2
Other.....	7	.....	.....	5	.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other countries....	40	1	.....	16	.....	21	.....	15	.....	6	.....	2	.....

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

³ Includes one boy whose place of birth was not reported.

TABLE 53 —Retardation, by nativity, length of residence in United States, and sex; children in Boston continuation school.

Nativity, length of residence in United States, and sex.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported. ¹	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Number.	Per cent. ²	Number.	Per cent. ²		Number.	Per cent. ²	Number.	Per cent. ²	Number.	Per cent. ²	Number.	Per cent.^{2}
Both sexes..	3,309	325	9.6	1,622	47.7	1,066	31.4	861	25.3	205	6.0	386	11.4
Native.....	2,761	295	10.7	1,389	50.3	758	27.5	667	24.2	91	3.3	319	11.6
Foreign born.....	637	30	4.7	233	36.6	307	48.2	193	30.3	114	17.9	67	10.5
Years in United States:													
Under 5....	153	.....	.....	13	8.5	120	78.4	54	35.3	66	43.1	20	13.1
5 under 10..	224	6	2.7	87	38.8	111	49.6	80	35.7	31	13.8	20	8.9
10 years or over.....	203	21	10.3	111	54.7	58	28.6	46	22.7	12	5.9	13	6.4
Not reported...	57	3	5.3	22	38.6	18	31.6	13	22.8	5	8.8	14	24.6
Boys.....	2,026	202	10.0	917	45.3	632	31.2	522	25.8	110	5.4	275	13.6
Native.....	1,701	185	10.9	811	47.7	469	27.6	414	24.3	55	3.2	236	13.9
Foreign born.....	324	17	5.2	106	32.7	162	50.0	107	33.0	55	17.0	39	12.0
Years in United States:													
Under 5....	76	.....	.....	7	9.2	59	77.6	29	38.2	30	39.5	10	13.2
5 under 10..	123	3	2.4	43	35.0	65	52.8	49	39.8	16	13.0	12	9.8
10 years or over.....	103	11	10.7	51	49.5	32	31.1	25	24.3	7	6.8	9	8.7
Not reported...	22	3	.....	5	.....	6	.....	4	.....	2	.....	8	.....
Girls.....	1,373	123	9.0	705	51.3	434	31.6	339	24.7	95	6.9	111	8.1
Native.....	1,080	110	10.4	578	54.5	289	27.3	253	23.9	36	3.4	83	7.8
Foreign born.....	313	13	4.2	127	40.6	145	46.3	86	27.5	59	18.8	28	8.9
Years in United States:													
Under 5....	77	.....	.....	6	7.8	61	79.2	25	32.5	36	46.8	10	13.0
5 under 10..	101	3	3.0	44	43.6	46	45.5	31	30.7	15	14.9	8	7.9
10 years or over.....	100	10	10.0	60	60.0	26	26.0	21	21.0	5	5.0	4	4.0
Not reported...	35	.....	.....	17	.....	12	.....	9	.....	3	.....	6	.....

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.
² Not shown where base is less than 50.
³ Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

A somewhat larger proportion of the native sons of native fathers than of the native daughters of native fathers, 23.6 per cent as compared with 21.6 per cent, were retarded. Among the native children of foreign-born fathers little difference appears between the sexes; but among the foreign-born children who were interviewed 52.2 per cent of the girls as compared with only 36.8 per cent of the boys were retarded. The high percentage of retardation among the foreign-born children is evidently due primarily to the large amount of retardation among the girls of that group, nearly one-sixth, 15.6 per cent, of whom were three or more grades below normal. On the other hand, a larger proportion of the native children of foreign-born than

of native fathers, 19.2 per cent as compared with 16.9 per cent, had completed higher grades than normal for their ages.

TABLE 54.—*Retardation, by nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nativity of father and nativity and sex of child.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	136	16.5	409	49.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Both fathers and children native....	201	34	16.9	120	59.7	46	22.9	42	20.9	4	2.0	1	.5
Fathers foreign born.	593	96	16.2	276	46.5	211	35.6	182	30.7	29	4.9	10	1.7
Children native..	427	82	19.2	209	48.9	136	31.9	124	29.0	12	2.8	.....	.....
Children foreign born.....	166	14	8.4	67	40.4	75	45.2	58	34.9	17	10.2	10	6.0
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native....	29	6	.....	13	.....	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	477	82	17.2	238	49.9	149	31.2	135	28.3	14	2.9	8	1.7
Both fathers and children native....	127	18	14.2	78	61.4	30	23.6	28	22.0	2	1.6	1	.3
Fathers foreign born.	328	59	18.0	153	46.6	109	33.2	98	29.9	11	3.4	7	2.1
Children native..	252	54	21.4	117	46.4	81	32.1	73	29.0	8	3.2	.....	.....
Children foreign born.....	76	5	6.6	36	47.4	28	36.8	25	32.9	3	3.9	7	9.3
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native....	22	5	.....	7	.....	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	54	15.6	171	49.4	118	34.1	98	28.3	20	5.8	3	.9
Both fathers and children native....	74	16	21.6	42	56.8	16	21.6	14	18.9	2	2.7	.....	.....
Fathers foreign born.	265	37	14.0	123	46.4	102	38.5	84	31.7	18	6.8	3	1.1
Children native..	175	28	16.0	92	52.6	55	31.4	51	29.1	4	2.3	.....	.....
Children foreign born.....	90	9	10.0	31	34.4	47	52.2	33	36.7	14	15.6	3	3.3
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native....	7	1	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

The children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities, as shown in Table 55, were much more frequently retarded than were those of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities. Of the former 43 per cent and of the latter only 24.7 per cent had failed to attain a normal grade. As was seen to be the case among children who were themselves foreign born, the Italian group furnished the largest proportion of retarded children, while comparatively few such children were found in the Russian-Jewish group. Over one-half, 51.3 per cent, of the children of Italian fathers were retarded, and 10.2 per cent of them were three or more grades lower than normal. Only a little over one-third, 34.3 per cent, of the children of Russian-Jewish fathers were retarded and only 2.9 per cent of them were three or more grades below normal for their ages.

TABLE 55.—*Retardation, by nationality of father, and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father and sex of child.	All child- ren.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than. normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
		Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	136	16.5	409	49.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Children of native fathers.....	201	34	16.9	120	59.7	46	22.9	42	20.9	4	2.0	1	.5
Children of foreign- born fathers.....	² 593	96	16.2	276	46.5	² 211	35.6	182	30.7	² 29	4.9	10	1.7
Of English-speak- ing nationali- ties.....	243	51	21.0	130	53.5	60	24.7	58	23.9	2	.8	2	.8
Irish.....	167	37	22.2	85	50.9	45	26.9	43	25.7	2	1.2	.....	.....
Others.....	76	14	18.4	45	59.2	15	19.7	15	19.7	.....	.....	2	2.6
Of non-English- speaking na- tionalities.....	349	45	12.9	146	41.8	150	43.0	124	35.5	26	7.4	8	2.3
Italian.....	197	20	10.2	69	35.0	101	51.3	81	41.1	20	10.2	7	3.6
Russian-Jew- ish.....	70	12	17.1	33	47.1	24	34.3	22	31.4	2	2.9	1	1.4
Other.....	82	13	15.9	44	53.7	25	30.5	21	25.6	4	4.9	.....	.....
Children the nativ- ity of whose fathers was not reported..	29	6	.....	13	.....	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	477	82	17.2	238	49.9	149	31.2	135	28.3	14	2.9	8	1.7
Children of native fathers.....	127	18	14.2	78	61.4	30	23.6	28	22.0	2	1.6	1	.8
Children of foreign- born fathers.....	² 328	59	18.0	153	46.6	² 109	33.2	98	29.9	² 11	3.4	7	2.1
Of English-speak- ing nationali- ties.....	152	36	23.7	80	52.6	34	22.4	32	21.1	2	1.3	2	1.3
Irish.....	101	26	25.7	50	49.5	25	21.8	23	22.8	2	2.0	.....	.....
Other.....	51	10	19.6	30	58.8	9	17.6	9	17.6	.....	.....	2	3.9
Of non-English- speaking na- tionalities.....	175	23	13.1	73	41.7	74	42.3	66	37.7	8	4.6	5	2.9
Italian.....	85	5	5.9	30	35.3	46	54.1	42	49.1	4	4.7	4	4.7
Russian-Jew- ish.....	40	9	.....	20	.....	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Other.....	50	9	18.0	23	46.0	18	36.0	15	30.0	3	6.0	.....	.....
Children the nativ- ity of whose fathers was not reported..	22	5	.....	7	.....	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	346	54	15.6	171	49.4	118	34.1	98	28.3	20	5.8	3	.9
Children of native fathers.....	74	16	21.6	42	56.8	16	21.6	14	18.9	2	2.7	.....	.....
Children of foreign- born fathers.....	265	37	14.0	123	46.4	102	38.5	84	31.7	18	6.8	3	1.1
Of English-speak- ing nationali- ties.....	91	15	16.5	50	54.9	26	28.6	26	28.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Irish.....	66	11	16.7	35	53.0	20	30.3	20	30.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	25	4	.....	15	.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Of non-English- speaking na- tionalities.....	174	22	12.6	73	42.0	76	43.7	58	33.3	18	10.3	3	1.7
Italian.....	112	15	13.4	39	34.8	55	49.1	39	34.8	16	14.3	3	2.7
Russian-Jew- ish.....	30	3	.....	13	.....	14	.....	13	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	32	4	.....	21	.....	7	.....	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Children the nativ- ity of whose fathers was not reported..	7	1	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one boy the nationality of whose father was not specified.

Among the children interviewed, as among the foreign-born children included in the continuation-school group, a larger proportion of Italian boys than of Italian girls—54.1 per cent as compared with 49.1 per cent—were retarded. Of the children of Irish fathers, a smaller proportion of boys than of girls—24.8 per cent as compared with 30.3 per cent—had failed to attain a normal grade.

TABLE 56.—*Retardation, by age at taking out first certificate, and sex; children in Boston continuation school.*

Age at taking out first certificate, and sex.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported. ¹	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
All children . . .	3,399	325	9.6	1,622	47.7	1,066	31.4	861	25.3	205	6.0	386	11.4
14-14½ years.....	1,151	138	12.0	420	36.5	402	34.9	346	30.1	56	4.9	191	16.6
14½-15 years.....	710	64	9.0	370	52.1	184	25.9	152	21.4	32	4.5	92	13.0
15-15½ years.....	732	60	8.2	390	53.3	226	30.9	168	23.0	58	7.9	56	7.7
15½-16 years.....	806	63	7.8	442	54.8	254	31.5	195	24.2	59	7.3	47	5.8
Boys.....	2,026	202	10.0	917	45.3	632	31.2	522	25.8	110	5.4	275	13.6
14-14½ years.....	687	72	10.5	246	35.8	239	34.8	203	29.5	36	5.2	130	18.9
14½-15 years.....	395	48	12.2	185	46.8	93	23.5	83	21.0	10	2.5	69	17.5
15-15½ years.....	464	40	8.6	239	51.5	143	30.8	108	23.3	35	7.5	42	9.1
15½-16 years.....	480	42	8.8	247	51.5	157	32.7	128	26.7	29	6.0	34	7.1
Girls.....	1,373	123	9.0	705	51.3	434	31.6	339	24.7	95	6.9	111	8.1
14-14½ years.....	464	66	14.2	174	37.5	163	35.1	143	30.8	20	4.3	61	13.1
14½-15 years.....	315	16	5.1	185	58.7	91	28.9	69	21.9	22	7.0	23	7.3
15-15½ years.....	268	20	7.5	151	56.3	83	31.0	60	22.4	23	8.6	14	5.2
15½-16 years.....	326	21	6.4	195	59.8	97	29.8	67	20.6	30	9.2	13	4.0

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

The continuation-school children who went to work soon after becoming 14—that is, between 14 and 14½ years of age—were more frequently from higher grades than normal than were those who went to work at any other age. According to Table 56 nearly one-eighth, 12 per cent, of these children had completed higher grades than normal, as compared with only 9 per cent of the children who went to work when they were between 14½ and 15 years of age, and with even smaller proportions of those who went to work when over 15. The oldest age group, 15½ to 16 years, had the smallest proportion of advanced children, only 7.8 per cent. On the other hand, the group of children who went to work before they were 14½ years of age contained also a larger proportion of retarded children than any other group. More than one-third, 34.9 per cent, of them came from

lower grades than normal for their ages, whereas only about one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, of the children who went to work between 14½ and 15, and less than one-third, 30.9 per cent and 31.5 per cent, respectively, of those in the two older age groups came from such grades. The slightly larger proportion of retarded children among those who went to work when they were over 15 than among those who did so when between 14½ and 15 may indicate that some of the older children had been prevented from going to work earlier by their failure to attain the educational standard for employment certificates. The supposition that this is the true explanation is confirmed by the fact that both groups of children who went to work when over 15 showed unusually high proportions of children who were three or more grades below normal for their ages. At any rate the group of children who went to work within six months after becoming 14 appears to have contained an unusually large proportion both of advanced and of retarded children, while the group of children who did not go to work until within six months before their sixteenth birthdays contained an abnormally small proportion of children from higher grades than normal. The retardation figures for the boys and for the girls of the different age groups differ only slightly. An even larger proportion of the boys who went to work when between 14½ and 15 years of age than of those who went to work earlier, 12.2 per cent as compared with 10.5 per cent, came from higher grades than normal for their ages, while of the girls who went to work when between 14½ and 15 years of age only 5.1 per cent, as compared with 14.2 per cent of those who went to work before they were 14½, were advanced in their school work. Apparently the girls who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages left school even more quickly after attaining the legal age to work than did the boys.

Although the data concerning the death and the employment status of the father and mother were taken as of the date when the child went to work and may not have been of long enough standing to have had any effect on the child's school work, Table 57 shows for the continuation-school group that, among the children both of whose parents were employed and also among those both of whose parents were not employed—neither a normal family status—unusually large proportions were retarded. Of the children in the former group—that is, whose mothers as well as fathers were employed—45.3 per cent were retarded. In the latter group the proportion was somewhat less, 40 per cent. When the father was not employed and the mother employed, only 32.1 per cent of the children were retarded, but an unusually large proportion, 16.1 per cent, were three or more grades below normal. The death of the father or the fact that he was not living with his family seems to have had no

effect on the school standing of the child. But when the mother was dead or not living with the family exactly one-third were retarded—a somewhat larger proportion than that for all the children for whom continuation-school records were used.

TABLE 57.—Retardation, by family status; children in Boston continuation school.

Family status.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported ¹	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Total.....	3,399	325	9.6	1,622	47.7	1,066	31.4	861	25.3	205	6.0	386	11.4
Parents living to- gether.....	2,263	210	9.3	1,084	47.9	737	32.6	589	26.0	148	6.5	232	10.3
Both parents employed.....	139	8	5.8	53	38.1	63	45.3	53	38.1	10	7.2	15	10.8
Neither parent employed.....	150	8	5.3	69	46.0	60	40.0	41	27.3	19	12.7	13	8.7
Father employed and mother not employed.....	1,918	191	10.0	930	48.5	596	31.1	486	25.3	110	5.7	201	10.5
Father not em- ployed and mother em- ployed.....	56	3	5.4	32	57.1	18	32.1	9	16.1	9	16.1	3	5.4
Father dead or not living with family.	600	64	10.7	295	49.2	177	29.5	142	23.7	35	5.8	64	10.7
Mother dead or not living with family.	150	14	9.3	69	46.0	50	33.3	43	28.7	7	4.7	17	11.3
Both parents dead or not living with family.....	96	4	4.2	53	55.2	31	32.3	26	27.1	5	5.2	8	8.3
Status of one or both parents not re- ported.....	290	33	11.4	121	41.7	71	24.5	61	21.0	10	3.4	65	22.4

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

The occupation of the father, if employed, as well as the mere fact of his employment or unemployment, is a rough index to the economic status of the family. Table 58 shows that among the children interviewed the largest proportion, 49.4 per cent, who were retarded was found in the group where the fathers were unemployed. The next largest proportion, 43.1 per cent, was found among the children whose fathers were merchants or peddlers, and the third largest, 35.6 per cent, among the children whose fathers were laborers.

It has already been seen, however, that both the native and foreign-born children of foreign-born fathers were much more frequently retarded than were the children of native fathers⁵⁸ and also that foreign-born fathers of both native and foreign-born chil-

⁵⁸ See Table 55, p. 133.

dren were much more frequently engaged in certain occupations than were native fathers.⁶⁰ The differences shown in Table 58, therefore, might be due entirely to differences in nativity distribution of the fathers engaged in the different occupations. Table 59, however, compares with the actual number of retarded children in each occupational group the number of retarded children who would be expected in that group if the rate of retardation prevailing in each nationality group prevailed also in each occupational group of that nationality. For many of the occupational groups the numbers are too small and the differences not large enough to be significant; but the influence of occupation seems to be shown in the groups of skilled or semiskilled mechanics, and factory operatives, in which the actual numbers of retarded children were very low, and also in the groups of merchants and peddlers and of unemployed where the proportions of retarded children were high.

TABLE 58.—Retardation, by occupation of father; children interviewed.

Occupation of father.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ^a
Total.....	828	136	16.5	400	48.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Father employed and living with family.....	554	97	17.5	285	51.4	164	29.6	147	26.5	17	3.1	8	1.4
Laborer (all industries).....	118	16	13.6	57	48.3	48	40.6	36	30.6	6	5.1	3	2.5
Skilled or semi-skilled mechanic.....	118	17	14.4	72	61.0	28	23.7	26	22.0	2	1.7	1	.8
Factory operative.....	91	19	20.9	47	51.6	22	24.2	21	23.1	1	1.1	3	3.3
Merchant (including peddler).....	51	7	13.7	22	43.1	22	43.1	20	39.2	2	3.9	.....	.....
Other proprietor.....	31	4	.....	16	.....	11	.....	10	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Clerical worker..	10	3	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Teamster, driver, expressman...	52	12	23.1	26	50.0	14	26.9	14	26.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	83	19	22.9	39	47.0	25	30.1	20	24.1	5	6.0	.....	.....
Father not employed.	81	6	7.4	35	43.2	40	49.4	30	37.0	10	12.3	.....	.....
Father not living with family.....	21	2	.....	12	.....	7	.....	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Father dead.....	149	26	17.4	72	48.3	48	32.2	42	28.2	6	4.0	3	2.0
Not reported.....	18	5	.....	5	.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

^a Not shown where base is less than 50.

^b See Table 23, p. 93.

TABLE 59.—*Retardation, by occupation of father with influence of nationality eliminated: children interviewed.*

Occupation of father.	Children in lower grades than normal.	
	Com-puted. ¹	Actual.
Total.....	267	267
Father living with family.....	207.7	204
Laborer (all industries).....	40.2	42
Skilled or semiskilled mechanic.....	37.2	28
Factory operative.....	31.5	22
Merchant (including peddler).....	17.6	22
Other proprietor.....	10.7	11
Clerical worker.....	2.6	.....
Teamster, driver, expressman.....	15.8	14
Other.....	25.3	25
Not employed.....	26.7	40
Father not living with family.....	7.0	7
Father dead.....	46.9	48
Not reported.....	5.9	8

¹ Calculated on the assumption that the proportion of retarded children for the different nationalities which prevailed in the whole group of children prevailed also for those nationalities in each occupation group. The difference between the expected number as thus calculated and the actual number is the measure of the influence of the occupational factor, with the influence of nationality eliminated.

The tendency of retarded children to take their first positions during the school year was pronounced. Table 60 shows that of all the interviewed children who took their first positions during a summer vacation only 19.2 per cent, but of those who went to work at some other time 37.4 per cent, were retarded. Moreover, of the children who took their first positions during a summer vacation only 1.3 per cent were three or more grades below normal, while of those who went to work at some other time 5.2 per cent were three or more grades below normal. This may be ascribed partly to the fact that a child who leaves school during the school year loses the chance to complete the grade last entered, but it undoubtedly indicates also a greater tendency on the part of retarded than on the part of other children to drop out of school at the first opportunity regardless of the completion of any unit of school work.

This tendency was evident in each nationality group but particularly among the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English speaking nationalities, notably the Italian group. Of the children of all foreign-born fathers 21.4 per cent of those who went to work during a summer vacation were retarded as compared with 41.4 per cent of those who went to work at some other time. Of the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities 27.7 per cent of those who went to work during a summer vacation and 48.6 per cent of those who went to work at some other time were retarded. For the children of Italian fathers the proportion

retarded among those who went to work during a summer vacation was 32 per cent but among those who went to work at some other time it was 57.8 per cent.

TABLE 60.—Retardation, by nationality of father and time of securing first regular position; children interviewed.

Nationality of father; time of securing first regular position.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent.^{1}
Total.....	823	136	16.5	409	49.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Position secured during summer vacation.....	224	46	20.5	133	59.4	43	19.2	40	17.9	3	1.3	2	.9
Fathers native.....	44	9	.....	31	.....	4	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Fathers foreign born.....	173	34	19.7	100	57.8	37	21.4	35	20.2	2	1.5	2	1.2
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	79	19	24.1	48	60.8	11	13.9	11	13.9	.....	.....	1	1.3
Irish.....	54	16	29.6	30	55.6	8	14.8	8	14.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	25	3	.....	18	.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	94	15	16.0	52	55.3	26	27.7	24	25.5	2	2.1	1	1.1
Italian.....	50	5	10.0	28	56.0	16	32.0	15	30.0	1	2.0	1	2.0
Russian-Jewish	26	5	.....	13	.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	18	5	.....	11	.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	7	3	.....	2	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Position secured at some other time...	599	90	15.0	276	46.1	224	37.4	193	32.2	31	5.2	9	1.5
Fathers native.....	157	25	15.9	89	56.7	42	26.8	39	24.8	3	1.9	1	.
Fathers foreign born.....	2 420	62	14.8	176	41.9	2 174	41.4	147	35.0	2 27	6.4	8	1.9
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	164	32	19.5	82	50.0	49	29.9	47	28.7	2	1.2	1	.6
Irish.....	113	21	18.6	55	48.7	37	32.7	35	31.0	2	1.8	.....	.....
Other.....	51	11	21.6	27	52.9	12	23.5	12	23.5	.....	.....	1	2.0
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	255	30	11.8	94	36.9	124	48.6	100	39.2	24	9.4	7	2.7
Italian.....	147	15	10.2	41	27.9	85	57.8	66	44.9	19	12.9	6	4.1
Russian-Jewish	44	7	.....	20	.....	16	.....	14	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Other.....	64	8	12.5	33	51.6	23	35.9	20	31.3	3	4.7	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	22	3	.....	11	.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including one boy the nationality of whose father was not specified.

On the other hand, the children who had completed a normal grade or a higher grade than normal for their ages showed a somewhat less tendency to go to work during the school year. Of all children who secured their positions during the summer vacation, 59.4 per cent had completed a normal grade and 20.5 per cent had completed a higher grade than normal. Yet of those who secured their positions at some other time only 46.1 per cent had completed a normal grade and 15 per cent a higher grade than normal.

Nevertheless a large number of children who were not retarded went to work during the school year. Probably in many cases they did not actually drop their schooling in the middle of a grade to go to work. Table 61 shows that for the children who had completed a higher grade than normal 44.1 per cent, and of those who had completed only a normal grade 32.3 per cent, had lost one week or more of schooltime between leaving school and going to work. Many of these children, doubtless, finished a school year and then failed to return to begin the new grade in the fall. Of those who had completed a higher grade than normal over one-tenth, 11 per cent, and of those who had completed only a normal grade 6.9 per cent lost three months or more of schooltime before going to work. Comparatively few of the retarded children, on the other hand—only 24 per cent or less than one-fourth—had intervals of one week or more between leaving school and going to work. A very small proportion, only 1.1 per cent, lost three months or more of school work at that time.

The girls who had completed normal or higher than normal grades for their ages showed a decidedly greater tendency to stay out of school before going to work than did the boys. Over half, 51.9 per cent, of the girls and only about two-fifths, 39 per cent, of the boys who were unusually advanced in their school work, had intervals of one week or more between leaving school and going to work; and 40.9 per cent of the girls as compared with only 26.1 per cent of the boys who had completed only normal grades had such intervals. The girls, moreover, lost longer periods of schooltime than did the boys. About one-sixth, 16.7 per cent, of the girls who had completed higher grades than normal and over one-tenth, 11.1 per cent, of those who had completed only normal grades lost three months or more of schooltime, as compared with only 7.3 per cent and 3.8 per cent, respectively, for the same groups of boys. Among retarded children the differences between the sexes were comparatively slight.

These figures confirm the conclusions reached in discussing grade completed and in discussing the greater loss of schooltime between leaving school and going to work by children, particularly girls, from the higher grades. Regular school attendance appears undoubtedly to have been more strictly enforced for the children from the lower

grades—the retarded children—than for those from the upper grades—the normal and advanced children.

TABLE 61.—Retardation, by amount of schooltime lost, and sex; children interviewed.

Interval between leaving school and going to work, and sex.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹
Both sexes.....	136	100.0	400	100.0	267	100.0	233	100.0	84	100.0
Interval partly or wholly during school term.....	85	62.5	279	69.2	227	85.0	196	84.1	81	.....
No schooltime lost or less than 1 week.....	25	18.4	147	35.9	163	61.0	138	59.2	25	.....
1 week or more.....	60	44.1	132	32.3	64	24.0	58	24.9	6	.....
1 week under 1 month.....	26	19.1	70	17.1	37	13.9	34	14.6	3	.....
1 month under 3 months...	19	14.0	34	8.3	24	9.0	21	9.0	3	.....
3 months under 6 months..	7	5.1	20	4.9	1	.4	1	.4	.....	.....
6 months or over.....	8	5.9	8	2.0	2	.7	2	.9	.....	.....
Interval entirely during vacation...	51	37.5	130	31.8	40	15.0	37	15.9	3	.....
Boys.....	82	100.0	238	100.0	149	100.0	135	100.0	14	100.0
Interval partly or wholly during school term.....	51	62.2	166	69.7	131	87.9	118	87.4	13	.....
No schooltime lost or less than 1 week.....	19	23.2	104	43.7	95	63.8	85	63.0	10	.....
1 week or more.....	32	39.0	62	26.1	36	24.2	33	24.4	3	.....
1 week under 1 month.....	15	18.3	37	15.5	24	16.1	22	16.3	2	.....
1 month under 3 months...	11	13.4	16	6.7	11	7.4	10	7.4	1	.....
3 months under 6 months..	4	4.9	6	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6 months or over.....	2	2.4	3	1.3	1	.7	1	.7	.....	.....
Interval entirely during vacation...	31	37.8	72	30.3	18	12.1	17	12.6	1	.....
Girls.....	54	100.0	171	100.0	118	100.0	98	100.0	20	100.0
Interval partly or wholly during school term.....	34	63.0	113	66.1	96	81.4	78	79.6	18	.....
No schooltime lost or less than 1 week.....	6	11.1	43	25.1	68	57.6	53	54.1	15	.....
1 week or more.....	28	51.9	70	40.9	28	23.7	25	25.5	3	.....
1 week under 1 month.....	11	20.4	33	19.3	13	11.0	12	12.2	1	.....
1 month under 3 months...	8	14.8	18	10.5	13	11.0	11	11.2	2	.....
3 months under 6 months..	3	5.6	14	8.2	1	.8	1	1.0	.....	.....
6 months or over.....	6	11.1	5	2.9	1	.8	1	1.0	.....	.....
Interval entirely during vacation...	20	37.0	58	33.9	22	18.6	20	20.4	2	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

A larger proportion of the children who gave economic reasons for leaving school than of those who gave all other reasons were retarded—39.9 per cent as compared with 27.2 per cent. Table 62 shows also that, conversely, a smaller proportion of those who gave economic reasons than of those who gave all other reasons had completed only normal grades, 45 per cent as compared with 52.4 per cent, or higher grades than normal, 13.2 per cent as compared with 19.1 per cent. In this respect little difference appears between the boys and the girls.

TABLE 62.—Retardation, by reason for leaving school and sex; children interviewed.

Reason for leaving school, and sex.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹		
Both sexes....	823	136	16.5	409	49.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Economic reasons...	333	44	13.2	150	45.0	133	39.9	112	33.6	21	6.3	6	1.8
All other reasons....	408	78	19.1	214	52.4	111	27.2	99	24.3	12	2.9	5	1.2
Discontent with school.....	166	20	12.0	96	57.8	50	30.1	45	27.1	5	3.0	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher....	100	13	13.0	58	58.0	29	29.0	25	25.0	4	4.0	.....	.....
Slow progress or non-promotion.	66	7	10.6	38	57.6	21	31.8	20	30.3	1	1.5	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	33	12	.....	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Other reasons....	209	46	22.0	98	46.9	61	29.2	54	25.8	7	3.3	4	1.9
Child wished to work....	101	17	16.8	51	50.5	31	30.7	29	28.7	2	2.0	2	2.0
Parent wished child to work.....	45	15	.....	13	.....	17	.....	13	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	12	1	.....	9	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	10	3	.....	4	.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	41	10	.....	21	.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Not reported.....	82	14	17.1	45	54.9	23	28.0	22	26.8	1	1.2	.....	.....
Boys.....	477	82	17.2	238	49.9	149	31.2	135	28.3	14	2.9	8	1.7
Economic reasons...	165	23	13.9	74	44.8	65	39.4	57	34.5	8	4.8	3	1.8
All other reasons....	262	48	18.3	138	52.7	71	27.1	66	25.2	5	1.9	5	1.9
Discontent with school.....	109	15	13.8	66	60.6	28	25.7	24	22.0	4	3.7	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher....	64	9	14.1	38	59.4	17	26.6	14	21.9	3	4.7	.....	.....
Slow progress or non-promotion.	45	6	.....	28	.....	11	.....	10	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	16	5	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Other reasons....	137	28	20.4	62	45.3	43	31.4	42	30.7	1	.7	4	2.9
Child wished to work....	73	13	17.8	36	49.3	22	30.1	22	30.1	.....	.....	2	2.7
Parent wished child to work.....	29	9	.....	8	.....	12	.....	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	8	.....	.....	6	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	25	6	.....	12	.....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Not reported.....	50	11	22.0	26	52.0	13	26.0	12	24.0	1	2.0	.....	.....

Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 62.—*Retardation, by reason for leaving school and sex; children interviewed—Con.*

Reason for leaving school, and sex.	All children	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Girls.....	346	54	15.6	171	49.4	118	34.1	98	28.3	20	5.8	3	.9
Economic reasons...	168	21	12.5	76	45.2	68	40.5	55	32.7	13	7.7	3	1.8
All other reasons...	146	30	20.5	76	52.1	40	27.4	33	22.6	7	4.8	.....	.....
Discontent with school.....	57	5	8.8	30	52.6	22	38.6	21	36.8	1	1.8	.....	.....
Disliked school or teacher....	36	4	.....	20	.....	12	.....	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Slow progress or non-promotion.	21	1	.....	10	.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Finished eighth grade and did not wish to go to high school.....	17	7	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons....	72	18	25.0	36	50.0	18	25.0	12	16.7	6	8.3	.....	.....
Child wished to work....	28	4	.....	15	.....	9	.....	7	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Parent wished child to work.....	16	6	.....	5	.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Illness of child.....	4	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illness in family.....	8	3	.....	4	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	16	4	.....	9	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	32	3	.....	19	.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

One might expect that many of the children who were discontented with school would be found in the retarded list. But in fact only 29 per cent of the children who said that they had left school because they disliked their school or their teacher and only 31.8 per cent of those who stated that they left school because of slow progress or non-promotion were retarded. On the other hand, comparatively small proportions, 13 per cent and 10.6 per cent, respectively, of these two groups of children had completed higher grades than normal. The girls who were discontented with school were much more frequently retarded than were the boys.

These results, like those relating to the interval between leaving school and going to work, seem to confirm those arrived at in the discussion of the grades completed by these children before going to work.

CONTINUATION-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

All the children who were interviewed and most, if not all, of those for whom continuation-school records were used had the benefit of a longer or shorter period of attendance at the Boston continuation school after they went to work. This school was started in September, 1914, and attendance for four hours a week was made compulsory under the terms of the Massachusetts continuation-school law of 1913,⁶⁰ which provided that "when the school committee of any city or town shall have established continuation schools or courses of instruction for the education of minors between 14 and 16 years of age regularly employed in such city or town not less than six hours per day, such school committee may, with the consent of the State board of education, require the attendance in such continuation schools or on such courses of instruction of every such minor thereafter receiving an employment certificate and who is not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the school committee or equivalent to that provided in schools established under the provisions of this act."

Two methods of enforcing this act were provided by the law. First, the employer was required to discharge a child as soon as he was notified in writing by the superintendent of schools or his representative that the child was not attending continuation school as required by law. Any employer failing to discharge a child after such notification was liable to a fine of from \$10 to \$100 for each offense. Second, the superintendent of schools might revoke the employment certificate of any child who failed to attend continuation school. There was no fine for either the child or the parent.

At the time of this study a continuation-school clerk was stationed in the certificate office, and as soon as a child had secured his employment certificate he was sent to her to be registered in the school. This clerk filled out a card record with information secured in part from the child himself and in part from a personal record card sent by the child's teacher or the vocational counselor of his school. The former card contained spaces for information concerning four different positions and for ratings in four different continuation-school classes, and furnished a permanent record of the child's employment and continuation-school history. At the same time the clerk assigned the child to a continuation-school class and gave him a card stating the days and hours when he must attend. This card the child showed to his employer and then presented it at the school. When a child changed positions his new employer was sent a notice stating that the child must continue to attend continuation school.

⁶⁰ Acts of 1913, ch. 805, secs. 1-8.

Three times a year the teacher made out for each child a record containing his ratings, not in the special subjects studied, but in "interest, application, accuracy, initiative, punctuality, courtesy, neatness, and accomplishment." The child was rated not only on his work in school but also on his record in employment. The data for the employment ratings were secured by interviews with the employer, superintendent, or foreman who was in immediate control of the child's work. All continuation-school teachers were allowed 12½ hours a week to visit the homes and the places of employment of their pupils and to become familiar with what they were doing and with their vocational and other needs.

Most of the continuation-school classes were conducted at the school building, which was only about a block from the employment certificate office, in a convenient location for children who worked in the mercantile district, but some classes were conducted in establishments where children were employed. Whenever an establishment had a sufficient number of pupils and offered facilities, the policy was to conduct classes in the establishment instead of requiring the children to go to the school building. At the time of this study, classes were conducted in a large shoe factory, in a lace curtain factory, and in a number of department stores.

The term of the compulsory continuation-school in Boston was the same as that of the regular day school except that it had no spring vacation but instead closed during the week before Christmas. This arrangement was made for the convenience of mercantile establishments where many of the continuation-schools pupils were at work. The periods of attendance were for four consecutive hours on a single day, for two consecutive hours on two days, or for one hour on each of four days. About 70 per cent of the children who attended classes at the continuation-school building were in four-hour classes, but in classes conducted in establishments the children attended for two-hour periods. Few children were in single-hour classes.

The work of the Boston continuation school at the time of this study was frankly experimental and its first and foremost policy was flexibility. Classes were divided into three kinds: (1) General improvement classes for pupils who were not in skilled employments and had no specific vocational aim, (2) prevocational classes for pupils who had well-defined vocational aims but whose work did not offer preparation for the vocations they had selected, and (3) trade-extension classes for pupils who were in skilled employment. Each class was composed of not more than 25 and, whenever possible, not more than 15 pupils; and usually, but not always, girls and boys were taught separately. The trade-extension classes were naturally small, as opportunities for children under 16 to enter skilled trades were rare.

The proportion of time allotted to the various subjects and of instruction in the different classes was as follows:

General improvement classes:

Civics, hygiene, cultural studies, and recreation
 Discovery of interests and powers
 Training, based on acquirement, to remove deficiencies and improve acquirement

Prevocational classes:

Civics, hygiene, cultural studies, and recreation
 Information related to shopwork
 Shopwork

Trade-extension classes:

Civics, hygiene, cultural studies, and recreation
 Shopwork and information related to the shop

The subjects taught were: Woodworking, metal working, electrical work, plumbing, printing, shoe-factory work, bookbinding, seamanship, stenography and typewriting, telephone operating, work, power-machine operating, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and homemaking. Only children who had completed the general school course were admitted to the classes in stenography, typewriting, in telephone operating, and in electrical work. No attempt was made, however, to teach trades, even in the trade-extension classes, where the object was merely to furnish the children with a broader knowledge of the trades in which they were engaged than they could obtain in the shop alone. On the other hand, none of the work was mere manual training.

Even in the general improvement classes an attempt was made to have all instruction as concrete as possible, and in the prevocational and trade-extension classes the academic work was closely related to the vocation which the child was studying. Arithmetic, for example, were actual problems growing out of the vocations. In the prevocational classes the reading was directed largely toward cultivating the knowledge of and interest in his chosen occupation. In the trade-extension classes actual shop conditions were imitated and the work given was of the same practical character as he would encounter in the trade.

Orders were taken for certain kinds of work, as for printing. Much of the printing for the school committee, and some other work, was done in the continuation school. In some cases work was sent from commercial shops to be made up at the school. These were not always paid orders, as sometimes the cost of transporting back and forth and the cost of spoiled castings balanced the value of the work done, but they secured practical work for the continuation-school pupils. In other cases the school bought materials and sold the product—as, for example, cheap tables and wooden rollers for scrub pails—at wholesale prices.

A child was usually assigned first to a general improvement class, where he remained until he developed a preference for some one of the prevocational classes. He might stay in the general improvement class for only two or three days or, if he expressed no desire for a change and was progressing satisfactorily in his studies, he might remain there throughout the whole period of his compulsory continuation-school attendance. The child was given every opportunity when he first entered to learn what the school had to offer and what were the prospects in the various callings, and was allowed free choice among the classes. The opportunities afforded by the occupation or industry in which he was already employed, however, were usually emphasized by his teachers. Even when he had entered one class he might change to another if he wished or if he was not doing good work. Thus the child had an opportunity to test himself in different occupations.

Many employers at first resented the requirement of continuation-school attendance for the children in their establishments, and undoubtedly the immediate reaction of some of them was to do away altogether with the employment of children under 16. But they soon became adjusted to the new requirement, and many of them, it was said at the time of this study, had already learned to welcome the continuation school as a material aid in the training of their employees.

When this study was made children who had been at work but were temporarily unemployed were not expected to return to the schools which they had left before going to work, but were supposed to attend continuation school four hours every day, instead of only four hours a week.

WORK BEFORE LEAVING SCHOOL.

All the children for whom continuation-school records were used and also all who were interviewed had left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays. In the group of 4,401 children who took out certificates in Boston, however, were included 857, or 19.5 per cent of the total number, who, according to the records, worked only during school vacations or outside school hours. These children did not leave school until after they became 16, and before that age, therefore, they were not regular but merely vacation workers.

While all the 823 children interviewed, moreover, had left school for regular positions before becoming 16—most of them soon after becoming 14—324, or 39.4 per cent of the total number, had also worked during vacations or out of school hours before leaving school. This work was not all carried on under the authority of an employment certificate. As the information for these children was secured directly from them and not from records, gainful labor is included which was performed both before and after their fourteenth birthdays and without as well as with certificates. The vacation workers included in the certificate group of children, who did not leave school before becoming 16, may also have held positions before they were 14 or for which they secured no certificates, but for them no information as to such positions was secured.

These two groups of children who worked before leaving school differ, therefore, not only in the fact that the children in one did not, while those in the other did, become regular workers before their sixteenth birthdays, but also in the character of the information secured. In the first group the information relates only to certificated positions, all of which must have been held after the children became 14, and in the second to all positions, regardless of certification, of the child's age, and even of the legality of the work.

SEX, NATIVITY, AND FATHER'S NATIONALITY.

The certificate group of vacation workers was composed of 519 boys and 338 girls. In other words, 60.6 per cent of this group were boys and 39.4 per cent girls. As only 40.2 per cent of all the children who took out certificates in Boston were girls it is evident that nearly as large a proportion of girls as compared with boys took out certificates for vacation work as for regular work. Of the 324 interviewed children who had worked before leaving school, however, only 44, or 13.6 per cent, were girls. Apparently only a few of the

girls, as compared with the boys, who took regular positions soon after becoming of legal age to work had been gainfully employed before leaving school. More than one-half, 58.7 per cent, of the boys, but only about one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, of the girls, who were interviewed had worked before leaving school.¹ The cause of this difference is doubtless the fact that the opportunities open to girls for work out of school hours are few as compared with those open to boys. Most of the girls who worked without leaving school before becoming 16 held full-time positions during school vacations, whereas many of the boys were engaged in street trades or other irregular work outside school hours. This difference will be further discussed in considering the occupations of vacation and regular workers.

TABLE 63.—*Nativity and sex; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school.*

Nativity and sex of child.	Children issued certificates in Boston who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becoming 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vacation or out of school hours only.		Regularly.		Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes.....	857	100.0	3,544	100.0	324	100.0	499	100.0
Native.....	733	85.5	2,876	81.2	265	81.8	392	78.6
Foreign-born.....	124	14.5	667	18.8	59	18.2	107	21.4
Boys.....	519	100.0	2,114	100.0	280	100.0	197	100.0
Native.....	446	85.9	1,769	83.7	236	84.3	165	83.8
Foreign-born.....	73	14.1	344	16.3	44	15.7	32	16.2
Girls.....	338	100.0	1,430	100.0	44	100.0	302	100.0
Native.....	287	84.9	1,107	77.4	29	.....	227	75.2
Foreign-born.....	51	15.1	323	22.6	15	.....	75	24.8

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including one boy for whom nativity was not reported.

Native children furnished a somewhat larger proportion of vacation workers than of regular workers, and also a somewhat larger proportion of the children interviewed who worked than of those who did not work before leaving school. Table 63 shows also that only 14.5 per cent of the children who took out certificates for work only during vacation or out of school hours before their sixteenth birth-days were foreign born, as compared with 18.8 per cent of those who took out certificates for regular positions. This table shows further

• See Table 67, p. 153.

that of the children interviewed, all of whom were in regular positions before they were 16 and most of them before they were 15, the foreign born constituted only 18.2 per cent of those who worked as compared with 21.4 per cent of those who did not work before leaving school. Apparently the native children who went to work before their sixteenth birthdays were more likely than were the foreign-born children to combine school and work.

This conclusion, however, holds true only for the boys. The opposite tendency is seen among foreign-born girls, for they constituted 34.1 per cent of those who worked as compared with only 24.8 per cent of those who did not work before leaving school.

The Italians, as appears in Table 64, furnished a particularly small proportion, 2.7 per cent, of the vacation workers as compared with 7.4 per cent of the regular workers. Moreover, among the interviewed children the Italians furnished only 6.8 per cent of those who had worked, as compared with 13.6 per cent of those who had not worked before leaving school. Evidently the Italian children were more likely to leave school for work than merely to work after school hours or during vacation.

TABLE 64.—*Place of birth; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school.*

Place of birth.	Children issued certificates in Boston who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becoming 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vacation or out of school hours only.		Regularly.		Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	857	100.0	¹ 3,544	100.0	324	100.0	499	100.0
Native.....	733	85.5	2,876	81.2	265	81.8	302	78.6
Foreign-born.....	124	14.5	667	18.8	59	18.2	107	21.4
Place of birth:								
British North America.....	10	1.2	46	1.3	3	.9	2	.4
England, Scotland, Wales....	17	2.0	74	2.1	7	2.2	11	2.2
Ireland.....	6	.7	17	.5	5	1.5	1	.3
Italy.....	23	2.7	261	7.4	22	6.8	63	13.6
Russia.....	51	6.0	215	6.1	15	4.6	18	3.6
Other.....	17	2.0	54	1.5	7	2.2	7	1.4

¹ Including one child for whom nativity was not reported.

The nativity of the fathers is known only for the interviewed children. In this group, as appears in Table 65, a larger proportion of the native children of native fathers than of the native children of foreign-born fathers or of the foreign-born children, 41.3 per cent, 39.6 per cent and 35.5 per cent, respectively, worked before leaving school. The boys show the same order of nativity groups, though

much larger proportions in each group worked before leaving school—59.1 per cent of the native sons of native fathers, 58.7 per cent of the native sons of foreign-born fathers, and 57.9 per cent of the foreign-born boys. The girls, however, show exactly the opposite order of nativity groups, with much smaller proportions in each; only 10.8 per cent of the native daughters of native fathers had worked before leaving school, as compared with 12 per cent of the native daughters of foreign-born fathers, and with 16.7 per cent of the foreign-born girls. Evidently the native girls whose fathers were also native were less likely than were the girls of either of the other groups to combine school with work.

TABLE 65.—*Employment before leaving school, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nativity of father and nativity and sex of child.	All chil- dren.	Children who, before leaving school—			
		Worked.		Did not work.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	324	39.4	499	60.6
Both fathers and children native.....	201	83	41.3	118	58.7
Fathers foreign born.....	593	228	38.4	365	61.6
Children native.....	427	169	39.6	258	60.4
Children foreign born.....	166	59	35.5	107	64.5
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	13	.....	16	.....
Boys.....	477	280	58.7	197	41.3
Both fathers and children native.....	127	75	59.1	52	40.9
Fathers foreign born.....	328	192	58.5	136	41.5
Children native.....	252	148	58.7	104	41.3
Children foreign born.....	76	44	57.9	32	42.1
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	22	13	.....	9	.....
Girls.....	346	44	12.7	302	87.3
Both fathers and children native.....	74	8	10.8	66	89.2
Fathers foreign born.....	265	36	13.6	229	86.4
Children native.....	175	21	12.0	154	88.0
Children foreign born.....	90	15	16.7	75	83.3
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	7	.....	.....	7	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

From Table 66 it appears further that the children whose fathers came from south and east Europe showed less tendency to work before leaving school or to put off leaving school by working outside school hours than the children whose fathers came from north and west Europe. This was due apparently to the comparatively small proportion of Italian children, and especially Italian girls, who had worked while still in school. Only 27.9 per cent of all the Italian children, 54.1 per cent of the boys but barely 8 per cent of the girls, had worked before leaving school. This tendency among the Italians, numerically the largest group of children whose fathers were foreign born, counterbalanced an opposite tendency among the Russian-Jewish children, 48.6 per cent of whom worked before leaving school.

Of the children whose fathers were Irish, who constituted the second largest group of foreign parentage, only 37.7 per cent worked before leaving school—a smaller proportion than of the children whose fathers were native.

TABLE 66.—*Employment before leaving school, by nationality of father and sex of child: children interviewed.*

Nationality of father and sex of child.	All chil- dren.	Children who, before leaving school—			
		Worked.		Did not work.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	324	39.4	499	60.6
Fathers native.....	201	83	41.3	118	58.7
Fathers foreign born.....	593	228	38.4	365	61.6
North and west Europe.....	258	105	40.7	153	59.3
English and Scotch.....	51	21	41.2	30	58.8
Irish.....	167	63	37.7	104	62.3
Other.....	40	21	.....	19	.....
South and east Europe.....	297	106	35.7	191	64.3
Russian Jewish.....	70	34	48.6	36	51.4
Italian.....	197	55	27.9	142	72.1
Other.....	30	17	.....	13	.....
Other.....	38	17	.....	21	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	13	.....	16	.....
Boys.....	477	280	58.7	197	41.3
Fathers native.....	127	75	59.1	52	40.9
Fathers foreign born.....	328	192	58.5	136	41.5
North and west Europe.....	165	93	56.4	72	43.6
English and Scotch.....	35	19	.....	16	.....
Irish.....	101	54	53.5	47	46.5
Other.....	29	20	.....	9	.....
South and east Europe.....	142	85	59.9	57	40.1
Russian-Jewish.....	40	26	.....	14	.....
Italian.....	85	46	54.1	39	45.9
Other.....	17	13	.....	4	.....
Other.....	21	14	.....	7	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	22	13	.....	9	.....
Girls.....	346	44	12.7	302	87.3
Fathers native.....	74	8	10.8	66	89.2
Fathers foreign born.....	265	36	13.6	229	86.4
North and west Europe.....	93	12	12.9	81	87.1
English and Scotch.....	16	2	.....	14	.....
Irish.....	66	9	13.6	57	86.4
Other.....	11	1	.....	10	.....
South and east Europe.....	155	21	13.5	134	86.5
Russian-Jewish.....	30	8	.....	22	.....
Italian.....	112	9	8.0	103	92.0
Other.....	13	4	.....	9	.....
Other.....	17	3	.....	14	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	7	.....	.....	7	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

AGE AT SECURING FIRST SCHOOL POSITION.²

As already stated, 857, or 19.5 per cent, of the 4,401 children who took out employment certificates in Boston worked only during vacation or out of school hours. In other words, about one child out of every five who took out a first certificate did not actually leave school before his sixteenth birthday. But that many of these children probably went to work during a vacation before the end of which they would have become 16 and did not attend school after that age

² By "school position" is meant a position held by a child only during vacation or outside school hours and before he had left school for work.

seems to be indicated by the fact shown in Table 67 that over half of them, 50.5 per cent, were between 15½ and 16 years of age, as compared with less than one-fourth, 23.7 per cent, of the regular workers. Nevertheless, many of these children doubtless worked outside school hours and during vacations while continuing their schooling, for, as will be seen later,⁴ nearly half of them were in high school as compared with not much more than one-eighth of the regular workers.

TABLE 67.—Age at taking out first certificate and sex of vacation and regular workers; children issued certificates in Boston.

Age and sex.	All children.		Children who worked—			
			Regularly.		During vacation or out of school hours.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	4, 401	100. 0	3, 544	100. 0	857	100. 0
14 under 14½.....	¹ 1, 381	31. 4	1, 245	35. 1	136	15. 9
14½ under 15.....	854	19. 4	719	20. 3	135	15. 8
15 under 15½.....	892	20. 3	739	20. 9	153	17. 9
15½ under 16.....	1, 274	28. 9	841	23. 7	433	50. 5
Boys.....	2, 633	100. 0	2, 114	100. 0	519	100. 0
14 under 14½.....	838	31. 8	747	35. 3	91	17. 5
14½ under 15.....	473	18. 0	399	18. 9	74	14. 3
15 under 15½.....	562	21. 3	470	22. 2	92	17. 7
15½ under 16.....	760	28. 9	498	23. 6	262	50. 5
Girls.....	1, 768	100. 0	1, 430	100. 0	338	100. 0
14 under 14½.....	543	30. 7	498	34. 8	45	13. 3
14½ under 15.....	381	21. 5	320	22. 4	61	18. 0
15 under 15½.....	330	18. 7	269	18. 8	61	18. 0
15½ under 16.....	514	29. 1	343	24. 0	171	50. 6

¹ Including three children who went to work before they were 14 years of age according to continuation-school records, but who did not secure employment certificates until after they were 14.

The large proportion of vacation workers who were in high school should be considered, however, in connection with their ages. Only 15.9 per cent of these vacation workers took out their first certificates before they were 14½ years of age as compared with 35.1 per cent of the regular workers. Similar differences are found for both boys and girls, though the proportion of girls taking out certificates for vacation work when under 14½ was only 13.3 per cent as compared with 17.5 per cent of boys. A larger proportion of the girls than of the boys, on the other hand, took out certificates when between 14½ and 15 years of age. In this group, of course, none of the positions were held before the children were 14.

Many of the children interviewed, on the other hand, gave information as to gainful work before their fourteenth birthdays, in some cases even before their tenth birthdays. Of the 324 children who

⁴ See p. 165.

worked before leaving school, only 46, according to Table 68, secured their first school positions after they were 14 years of age. Many of the interviewed children took regular positions so soon after becoming 14 that there was no time for them to have vacation or out of school hours positions after that age. The age at securing first school position had to be tabulated as "not reported" in 135 cases, 41.7 per cent of the total number, usually because the children could not accurately remember the date. As they would be much more likely to remember comparatively recent dates than earlier ones it is probable that most of the children who failed to report on this point had begun work before they were 14 and many of them before they were 12. Even of those who reported, 40 children began before they were 12—12 boys before they were 10—while 36 began between 12 and 13, and 67 between 13 and 14 years of age.

TABLE 68.—*Age at securing first school position, by age at securing first regular position and sex; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Age at securing first school position and sex of child.	Children who worked before leaving school.					
	Total.		Age at securing first regular position.			
			Under 14½.		14½ and under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹
Both sexes.....	324	100.0	157	100.0	167	100.0
Under 12 years of age.....	40	12.3	25	15.9	15	9.0
Under 10.....	12	3.7	9	5.7	3	1.8
10 under 11.....	7	2.2	3	1.9	4	2.4
11 under 12.....	21	6.5	13	8.3	8	4.8
12 under 14 years of age.....	103	31.8	64	40.8	39	23.4
12 under 13.....	36	11.1	22	14.0	14	8.4
13 under 14.....	67	20.7	42	26.8	25	15.0
14 under 15 years of age.....	46	14.2	4	2.5	42	25.1
14 under 14½.....	41	12.7	4	2.5	37	22.2
14½ under 15.....	5	1.5	.....	.....	5	3.0
Not reported.....	135	41.7	64	40.8	71	42.5
Boys.....	280	100.0	144	100.0	136	100.0
Under 12 years of age.....	38	13.6	24	16.7	14	10.3
Under 10.....	12	4.3	9	6.3	3	2.2
10 under 11.....	7	2.5	3	2.1	4	2.9
11 under 12.....	19	6.8	12	8.3	7	5.1
12 under 14 years of age.....	90	32.1	56	38.9	34	25.0
12 under 13.....	33	11.8	20	13.9	13	9.6
13 under 14.....	57	20.4	36	25.0	21	15.4
14 under 15 years of age.....	25	8.9	2	1.4	23	16.9
14 under 14½.....	22	7.9	2	1.4	20	14.7
14½ under 15.....	3	1.1	.....	.....	3	2.2
Not reported.....	127	45.4	62	43.0	65	47.8
Girls.....	44	100.0	13	100.0	31	100.0
Under 12 years of age.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
11 under 12.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
12 under 14 years of age.....	13	.....	8	.....	5	.....
12 under 13.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
13 under 14.....	10	.....	6	.....	4	.....
14 under 15 years of age.....	21	.....	2	.....	19	.....
14 under 14½.....	19	.....	2	.....	17	.....
14½ under 15.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Not reported.....	8	.....	2	.....	6	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

A much larger proportion of girls than of boys who worked before leaving school secured their first school positions after they were 14, and only two girls began work under 12 and none under 11. Nearly half, 21, of the 44 girls took their first school positions after the age of 14.

The children who had worked before they were 14 showed a strong tendency to secure regular positions as soon as they reached that age. Of the 128 boys who reported having worked before their fourteenth birthdays, 80, or 62.5 per cent, took regular positions within the first three months after those birthdays. And of the 15 girls who reported having worked before they were 14, 9 secured regular positions before they were 14 years and 3 months old.

KIND OF FIRST SCHOOL POSITION.

According to Table 69 for the interviewed group 21.9 per cent of all the first positions held by the 324 children who had been employed before leaving school involved only work during vacation periods. The proportion of girls was much larger than that of boys, for 30 out of 44 girls and only 41 out of 280 boys had first positions of this kind, but about two-fifths, 40.7 per cent, of both sexes, and not far from half, 45.7 per cent, of the boys alone, worked during both vacation and school term in their first positions. And over one-third, 34.9 per cent, of both sexes and a somewhat larger proportion, 37.5 per cent, of the boys alone worked only during school term. One-ninth, 11.1 per cent, of the children worked only on Saturdays and about one-sixth, 16.7 per cent, both on Saturdays and before and after school hours. The girls, as already stated, usually had first positions involving only vacation work and consequently each of the percentages relating to work at any time during a school term is higher for boys alone than for both sexes.

The native boys whose fathers were native appear to have been less likely than those whose fathers were foreign-born to work during schoolterm only and more likely to work during vacation only. At any rate 34.7 per cent of the native sons of native fathers and 42.6 per cent of the native sons of foreign-born fathers held first school positions which were for work during schoolterm only. On the other hand, 16 per cent of the native sons of native fathers and 13.5 per cent of the native sons of foreign-born fathers held first positions that were for work during vacation only. Not far from one-fourth, 22.3 per cent, of the native boys whose fathers were foreign born, as compared with only 14.7 per cent of those whose fathers were also native, held first positions which involved work both on Saturdays and before and after school hours. More than half, 26 out of 44, of the foreign-born boys worked both during vacation and schoolterm in their first positions. The number of

foreign-born girls who worked before leaving school is too small to justify any similar comparison for them.

In 22 of the 324 first school positions the employer was a parent or relative. These positions were held by 22 children, 5 girls and 17 boys.

TABLE 69.—Kind of first school position, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.

Kind of first school position and sex.	Children who worked before leaving school.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported: children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	
Both sexes.....	324	100.0	83	100.0	169	100.0	59	100.0		13
Vacation only.....	71	21.9	19	22.9	32	18.9	17	28.8	3
Vacation and schoolterm.....	132	40.7	34	41.0	66	39.1	27	45.8	5
Out of school hours.....	129	39.8	33	39.8	64	37.9	27	45.8	5
During school hours ²	3	.9	1	1.2	2	1.2	.....	.....	.....
Schoolterm.....	113	34.9	27	32.5	68	40.2	13	22.0	5
Saturday only.....	36	11.1	10	12.0	22	13.0	.....	.....	4
Before and after school..	20	6.2	5	6.0	10	5.9	5	8.5	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	54	16.7	12	14.5	34	20.1	7	11.9	1
During school hours ²	3	.9	.....	.....	2	1.2	1	1.7	.....
Not reported.....	8	2.5	3	3.6	3	1.8	2	3.4	.....
Boys.....	280	100.0	75	100.0	148	100.0	44	100.0	* 13
Vacation only.....	41	14.6	12	16.0	20	13.5	6	.....	3
Vacation and schoolterm.....	128	45.7	34	45.3	63	42.6	26	.....	5
Out of school hours.....	126	45.0	33	44.0	62	41.9	26	.....	5
During school hours ²	2	.7	1	1.3	1	.7	.....	.....	.....
Schoolterm.....	105	37.5	26	34.7	63	42.6	11	.....	5
Saturday only.....	35	12.5	10	13.3	21	14.2	.....	.....	4
Before and after school..	18	6.4	5	6.7	9	6.1	4	.....	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	52	18.6	11	14.7	33	22.3	7	.....	1
During school hours ²	6	2.1	3	4.0	2	1.4	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	6	2.1	3	4.0	2	1.4	1	.....	.....
Girls.....	44	100.0	8	100.0	21	100.0	15	100.0	.....
Vacation only.....	20	.....	7	.....	12	.....	11	.....	.....
Vacation and schoolterm.....	4	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....
Out of school hours.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....
During school hours ²	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Schoolterm.....	8	.....	1	.....	5	.....	2	.....	.....
Saturday only.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Before and after school..	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
During school hours ²	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Of the six children who worked during school hours, three boys and two girls did so for only a few days at the beginning or end of a schoolterm.

AMOUNT OF WORK DONE IN SCHOOL POSITIONS.

Two-thirds, 66.7 per cent, of the children interviewed who had worked before leaving school, as appears in Table 70, held only one school position. This proportion was even higher for the girls than for the boys. Only 7 girls held more than one position. But over

one-fifth, 21.3 per cent, of all the children held two positions; nearly one-tenth, 9.3 per cent, three positions; and 9 boys, 2.8 per cent of the total number of children, four or more positions each. Six children held two positions simultaneously; and one of them had two such combinations.

TABLE 70.—*Number of school positions held, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Number of school positions held and sex.	Children who worked before leaving school.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativ-ity of fathers not re-ported; chil-dren native.
					Children na-tive.		Children for-eign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	
Both sexes.....	324	100. 0	83	100. 0	169	100. 0	59	100. 0		13
1 position.....	216	66. 7	58	69. 9	111	65. 7	38	64. 4	9
2 positions.....	69	21. 3	15	18. 1	36	21. 3	16	27. 1	2
3 positions.....	30	9. 3	9	10. 8	16	9. 5	3	5. 1	2
4 or more positions.....	9	2. 8	1	1. 2	6	3. 6	2	3. 4	.....
Boys.....	280	100. 0	75	100. 0	148	100. 0	44	100. 0	13
1 position.....	179	63. 9	51	68. 0	94	63. 5	25	.....	9
2 positions.....	64	22. 9	14	18. 7	34	23. 0	14	.....	2
3 positions.....	28	10. 0	9	12. 0	14	9. 5	3	.....	2
4 or more positions.....	9	3. 2	1	1. 3	6	4. 1	2	.....	.....
Girls.....	44	100. 0	8	100. 0	21	100. 0	15	100. 0	.....
1 position.....	37	.....	7	.....	17	.....	13	.....	.....
2 positions.....	5	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....
3 positions.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

For the girls the numbers are too small for any comparison by nativity. A larger proportion of the native boys whose fathers were also native than of those whose fathers were foreign born, 68 per cent, as compared with 63.5 per cent, held only one position.

Table 71 shows that more than one-third, 34.6 per cent, of the positions held by children before leaving school lasted less than three months, but nearly as large a proportion, 30.2 per cent, lasted for one year or more and almost one-sixth, 15.9 per cent, for two years or more. This table also shows that the positions held by girls were shorter than those held by boys, as would be expected from the fact that a larger proportion of them were during vacation only. About three-fifths, 60.4 per cent, of the positions held by girls lasted less than three months, and less than one-tenth, 9.5 per cent, more than a year.

TABLE 71.—*Time employed and sex; school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Time employed in each school position.	School positions held by—					
	All children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	483	100.0	430	100.0	53	100.0
Under 3 months.....	167	34.6	135	31.4	32	60.4
Under 1 week.....	12	2.5	7	1.6	5	9.4
1 week under 1 month.....	48	9.9	39	9.1	9	17.0
1 month under 2.....	37	7.7	31	7.2	6	11.3
2 months under 3.....	70	14.5	58	13.5	12	22.6
3 months under 6.....	92	19.0	82	19.1	10	18.9
6 months under 12.....	68	14.1	64	14.9	4	7.5
6 months under 9.....	52	10.8	50	11.6	2	3.8
9 months under 12.....	16	3.3	14	3.3	2	3.8
12 months under 24.....	69	14.3	67	15.6	2	3.8
12 months under 18.....	52	10.8	50	11.6	2	3.8
18 months under 24.....	17	3.5	17	4.0	.....	.....
24 months and over.....	77	15.9	74	17.2	3	5.7
Not reported.....	10	2.1	8	1.9	2	3.8

TABLE 72.—*Hours weekly and sex; school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Hours weekly.	School positions held by—					
	All children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	483	100.0	430	100.0	53	100.0
Under 12.....	121	25.1	116	27.0	5	9.4
Under 4.....	14	2.9	13	3.0	1	1.9
4 under 8.....	45	9.3	43	10.0	2	3.8
8 under 12.....	62	12.8	60	14.0	2	3.8
12 under 24.....	154	31.9	150	34.9	4	7.5
24 to 48 (inclusive).....	156	32.3	124	28.8	32	60.4
24 under 36.....	64	13.3	60	14.0	4	7.5
36 under 42.....	23	4.8	16	3.7	7	13.2
42 under 48.....	42	8.7	30	7.0	12	22.6
48 even.....	27	5.6	18	4.2	9	17.0
Over 48.....	25	5.2	20	4.7	5	9.4
Over 48, under 54.....	11	2.3	7	1.6	4	7.5
54 and over.....	14	2.9	13	3.0	1	1.9
Not reported.....	27	5.6	20	4.7	7	13.2

In approximately one-fourth, 25.1 per cent, of their school positions, according to Table 72, the children worked less than 12 hours a week, and in not far from one-third, 31.9 per cent, between 12 and 24 hours. In nearly another third, 32.3 per cent, of the school positions held by both sexes and in 60.4 per cent of those held by girls, the hours were between 24 and 48 a week. Comparatively few of the boys, only 19.6 per cent, but the great majority of the girls, 62.2 per

cent, worked over 36 hours—indeed, 9.4 per cent of the girls worked over 48 hours, as compared with only 4.7 per cent of the boys. It should be remembered in this connection, of course, that the positions held by girls were much more generally for work during school vacation, and that a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys were over 14 years of age when they first went to work.

TABLE 73.—Time employed, by hours weekly and sex; school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school.

Time employed and sex of child.	School positions of specified weekly hours.								Not reported.
	Under 12.		12 under 24.		24 to 48 (inclusive).		Over 48.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	
Both sexes.....	121	100.0	154	100.0	156	100.0	25	100.0	27
Under 3 months.....	35	28.9	34	22.1	80	51.3	14	.....	4
3 months, under 6.....	25	20.7	22	14.3	28	17.9	10	.....	7
6 months, under 12.....	19	15.7	30	19.5	16	10.3	1	.....	2
12 months, under 24.....	19	15.7	28	18.2	17	10.9	.....	.....	5
24 months and over.....	20	16.5	36	23.4	14	9.0	.....	.....	7
Not reported.....	3	2.5	4	2.6	1	.6	.....	.....	2
Boys.....	116	100.0	150	100.0	124	100.0	20	100.0	20
Under 3 months.....	32	27.6	34	22.7	55	44.4	11	.....	3
3 months, under 6.....	25	21.6	21	14.0	23	18.5	8	.....	5
6 months, under 12.....	17	14.7	29	19.3	15	12.1	1	.....	2
12 months, under 24.....	19	16.4	28	18.7	17	13.7	.....	.....	3
24 months and over.....	20	17.2	35	23.3	13	10.5	.....	.....	6
Not reported.....	3	2.6	3	2.0	1	.8	.....	.....	1
Girls.....	5	100.0	4	100.0	32	100.0	5	100.0	7
Under 3 months.....	3	.....	.....	.....	25	.....	3	.....	1
3 months, under 6.....	.....	.....	1	.....	5	.....	2	.....	2
6 months, under 12.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
12 months, under 24.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
24 months and over.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

When the weekly hours are considered in connection with the time employed, as in Table 73, it is found that over half, 51.3 per cent, of all the positions in which the hours were from 24 to 48 a week were held for less than three months. Practically one-fifth of them, however, 19.9 per cent, were held for over a year. Of those which ended in less than three months a larger proportion were held by girls than by boys. The shorter hour positions were more evenly distributed according to the time spent in each, but a surprisingly large proportion, 23.4 per cent, of those in which the hours were from 12 to 24 a week lasted for over two years.

EARNINGS IN SCHOOL POSITIONS.⁶⁵

The weekly wages depended naturally to a considerable extent upon the amount of time the children were employed weekly. Table 74 gives the wages of children whose work fell into the different hour groups. In over half, 51.2 per cent, of the positions in which the hours were under 12 the children either worked one day a week only or received no cash or only part cash; and in considerably over one-fourth, 29.8 per cent, of these positions they received less than \$2 a week. In over one-fourth, 27.9 per cent, of the positions in which the hours were from 12 to 24 they received less than \$2. None of the girls who held positions in this hour group made over \$2 a week. But of the positions held by boys in which the hours were 12 but less than 24, in more than one-fourth, 26.7 per cent, their wages were \$2 but less than \$3, and in nearly as large a proportion, 23.3 per cent, they were \$3 but less than \$4. It is somewhat surprising to find that in these positions with comparatively short hours, averaging from two to four a day, 13 boys, 8.7 per cent, made \$4 or more a week, three of them \$6 or over.

The children who worked from 24 to 48 hours a week naturally received considerably higher wages than those who worked shorter hours. In more than one-third of these positions, 35.3 per cent, the children made \$4 or more; in about one-fourth, 25.6 per cent, \$4 but less than \$5. In nearly as large a proportion, 30.1 per cent, however, the weekly wages were only from \$3 to \$4.

In connection with these earnings it is interesting to note to what extent the economic needs of the family may have influenced the child to secure employment before leaving school. Table 75 shows that of the interviewed boys who gave economic reasons for leaving school only a slightly larger proportion than of those who gave other reasons, 58.2 per cent as compared with 57.6 per cent, had worked before they left school. And of the interviewed girls an even smaller proportion of those who gave economic reasons than of those who gave other reasons, 8.3 per cent as compared with 11 per cent, had worked before leaving school. It should be remembered, however, that the reason given by the child for leaving school may not always have been the true one.

⁶⁵ In some cases the children worked on their own account in street trades and other similar occupations and their compensation did not, therefore, consist technically of wages, but to make possible a general view of the compensation received this comparatively unimportant distinction has been ignored and such earnings have been classified along with actual wages.

TABLE 74.—Weekly wage, by hours weekly and sex; school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school.

Weekly wage and sex of child.	School positions of specified weekly hours.									
	Total.		Under 12.		12 under 24.		24 to 48 (inclusive).		Over 48.	
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹
Both sexes.....	483	100.0	121	100.0	154	100.0	156	100.0	25	100.0
Under \$2.....	95	19.7	36	29.8	43	27.9	11	7.1		5
Under \$1.....	28	5.8	18	14.9	8	5.2	1	.6		1
\$1 under \$2.....	67	13.9	18	14.9	35	22.7	10	6.4		4
\$2 under \$3.....	90	18.6	15	12.4	40	26.0	27	17.3	3	5
\$3 under \$4.....	99	20.5	3	2.5	35	22.7	47	30.1	8	6
\$4 and over.....	83	17.2	2	1.7	13	8.4	55	35.3	12	1
\$4 under \$5.....	61	12.6	2	1.7	9	5.8	40	25.6	10	
\$5 under \$6.....	13	2.7			1	.6	10	6.4	1	1
\$6 and over.....	9	1.9			3	1.9	5	3.2	1	
Other.....	98	20.3	62	51.2	19	12.3	12	7.7	2	3
Worked 1 day a week only....	73	15.1	59	48.8	13	8.4				1
No cash wage or only part cash	25	5.2	3	2.5	6	3.9	12	7.7	2	2
Not reported.....	18	3.7	3	2.5	4	2.6	4	2.6		7
Boys.....	430	100.0	116	100.0	150	100.0	124	100.0	20	100.0
Under \$2.....	88	20.5	35	30.2	40	26.7	9	7.3		4
Under \$1.....	26	6.0	17	14.7	7	4.7	1	.8		1
\$1 under \$2.....	62	14.4	18	15.5	33	22.0	8	6.5		3
\$2 under \$3.....	85	19.8	14	12.1	40	26.7	24	19.4	3	4
\$3 under \$4.....	86	20.0	3	2.6	35	23.3	37	29.8	6	5
\$4 and over.....	67	15.6	2	1.7	13	8.7	42	33.9	9	1
\$4 under \$5.....	47	10.9	2	1.7	9	6.0	29	23.4	7	
\$5 under \$6.....	11	2.6			1	.7	8	6.5	1	1
\$6 and over.....	9	2.1			3	2.0	5	4.0	1	
Other.....	88	20.5	59	50.9	18	12.0	9	7.3	2	
Worked 1 day a week only....	70	16.3	57	49.1	13	8.7				
No cash wage or only part cash	18	4.2	2	1.7	5	3.3	9	7.3	2	
Not reported.....	16	3.7	3	2.6	4	2.7	3	2.4		6
Girls.....	53	100.0	5	100.0	4	100.0	32	100.0	5	100.0
Under \$2.....	7	13.2	1		3		2			1
Under \$1.....	2	3.8	1		1					
\$1 under \$2.....	5	9.4			2		2			1
\$2 under \$3.....	5	9.4	1				3			1
\$3 under \$4.....	13	24.5					10		2	1
\$4 and over.....	16	30.2					13		3	
\$4 under \$5.....	14	26.4					11		3	
\$5 under \$6.....	2	3.8					2			
\$6 and over.....										
Other.....	10	18.9	3		1		3			3
Worked 1 day a week only....	3	5.7	2							1
No cash wage or only part cash	7	13.2	1		1		3			2
Not reported.....	2	3.8					1			1

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 75.—*Employment before leaving school, by reason for leaving school and sex; children interviewed.*

Reason for leaving school and sex of child.	All chil- dren.	Children who, before leaving school—			
		Worked.		Did not work.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	324	39.4	499	60.6
Economic reasons.....	333	110	33.0	223	67.0
Other reasons.....	408	167	40.9	241	59.1
Reasons not reported.....	82	47	57.3	35	42.7
Boys.....	477	280	58.7	197	41.3
Economic reasons.....	165	96	58.2	69	41.8
Other reasons.....	262	151	57.6	111	42.4
Reasons not reported.....	50	33	66.0	17	34.0
Girls.....	346	44	12.7	302	87.3
Economic reasons.....	168	14	8.3	154	91.7
Other reasons.....	146	16	11.0	130	89.0
Reasons not reported.....	32	14	.....	18	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

SCHOOLTIME LOST.

The children who worked before leaving school, although a larger proportion of them than of those who did not work before leaving took their first regular positions during school term, were somewhat more likely to go straight from school to work without losing any important amount of schooltime in the transfer. Table 76 shows that 75.3 per cent of the children who worked, as compared with only 71.3 per cent of those who did not work, took their first regular positions during the school year. In spite of this only 26.9 per cent of the former group, as compared with 34.3 per cent of the latter, had intervals of one week or more of schooltime between leaving school and taking their first regular positions. Moreover, only 9.6 per cent of the children who had worked, as compared with 18.4 per cent of those who had not worked, lost one month or more of schooling at this time.

This difference shows itself chiefly among the girls who had not worked, a larger proportion of whom than of the boys had intervals—in many cases long intervals—between their school and their working lives. Of the boys alone very nearly the same proportion of those who had worked as of those who had not worked—27.1 per cent as compared with 28.4 per cent—lost one week or more of schooltime; but 9.7 per cent of those who had worked and 13.6 per

cent of those who had not worked lost one month or more of schooltime between leaving school and going to work.

TABLE 76.—Amount of schooltime lost, by employment before leaving school and sex; children interviewed.

Interval between leaving school and going to work and sex.	Children who, before leaving school—			
	Worked.		Did not work.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All children.....	324	100.0	499	100.0
Interval during school term.....	241	75.3	² 356	71.3
None or less than 1 week (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	157	48.5	184	36.9
1 week or more.....	87	26.9	171	34.3
1 week, under 1 month.....	56	17.3	79	15.8
1 month, under 3 months.....	21	6.5	56	11.2
3 months, under 6 months.....	9	2.8	19	3.8
6 months or over.....	1	.3	17	3.4
Interval entirely during vacation.....	80	24.7	143	28.7
Boys.....	280	100.0	197	100.0
Interval during school term.....	213	76.1	² 142	72.1
None or less than 1 week (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	137	49.9	85	43.1
1 week or more.....	76	27.1	56	28.4
1 week, under 1 month.....	49	17.5	29	14.7
1 month, under 3 months.....	19	6.8	19	9.6
3 months, under 6 months.....	7	2.5	3	1.5
6 months or over.....	1	.4	5	2.5
Interval entirely during vacation.....	67	23.9	55	27.9
Girls.....	44	100.0	302	100.0
Interval during school term.....	31	.....	214	70.9
None or less than 1 week (interval wholly or partly during school term).....	20	.....	99	32.8
1 week or more.....	11	.....	115	38.1
1 week, under 1 month.....	7	.....	50	16.6
1 month, under 3 months.....	2	.....	37	12.3
3 months, under 6 months.....	2	.....	16	5.3
6 months or over.....	.....	.....	12	4.0
Interval entirely during vacation.....	13	.....	88	29.1

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including one boy for whom amount of schooltime lost was not reported.

GRADE COMPLETED AND RETARDATION.

On the subject of the grade the child had completed when he left school for work, information is available not only for the interviewed children, but also for all the children who took out certificates for regular or for vacation work. In Table 77 the vacation and regular workers of the Boston certificate group and the children of the interviewed group who worked and who did not work before leaving school are compared as to this point.

TABLE 77.—*Grade completed and sex; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school.*

Grade completed or kind of school last attended and sex of child.	Children issued certificates in Boston, who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becoming 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vacation or out of school hours.		Regularly.		Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ³
Both sexes.....	857	100.0	3,544	100.0	324	100.0	499	100.0
Elementary grades.....	415	48.4	2,907	82.0	294	90.7	¹ 454	91.0
Fourth grade.....	13	1.5	153	4.3	12	3.7	24	4.8
Fifth grade.....	26	3.0	304	8.6	50	15.4	41	8.2
Sixth grade.....	56	6.5	592	16.7	56	17.3	104	20.8
Seventh grade.....	93	10.9	528	14.9	55	17.0	92	18.4
Eighth grade.....	214	25.0	1,267	35.8	121	37.3	192	38.5
Prevocational.....	9	1.1	41	1.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Special.....	4	.5	22	.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
High school grades.....	411	48.0	483	13.8	29	9.0	36	7.2
First year.....	216	25.2	379	10.7	27	8.3	34	6.8
Second year.....	143	16.7	103	2.9	2	.6	2	.4
Third and fourth years.....	52	6.1	6	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vocational schools.....	22	2.6	111	3.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Disciplinary schools.....	1	.1	11	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other schools.....	4	.5	21	.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	4	.5	6	.2	1	.3	9	1.8
Boys.....	519	100.0	2,114	100.0	280	100.0	197	100.0
Elementary grades.....	243	46.8	1,712	81.0	256	91.4	169	85.8
Fourth grade.....	4	.8	82	3.9	9	3.2	6	3.0
Fifth grade.....	15	2.9	178	8.4	43	15.4	10	5.1
Sixth grade.....	33	6.4	347	16.4	48	17.1	43	21.8
Seventh grade.....	60	11.6	326	15.4	48	17.1	36	18.3
Eighth grade.....	125	24.1	730	34.5	108	38.6	74	37.6
Prevocational.....	5	1.0	40	1.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Special.....	1	.2	9	.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
High school grades.....	260	50.1	343	16.2	23	8.2	22	11.2
First year.....	139	26.8	264	12.5	22	7.9	20	10.2
Second year.....	92	17.7	74	3.5	1	.4	2	1.0
Third and fourth years.....	29	5.6	5	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vocational schools.....	9	1.7	27	1.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Disciplinary schools.....	1	.2	11	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other schools.....	2	.4	16	.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	4	.8	5	.2	1	.4	6	3.0
Girls.....	338	100.0	1,430	100.0	44	100.0	302	100.0
Elementary grades.....	172	50.9	1,195	83.6	38	.....	¹ 295	94.4
Fourth grade.....	9	2.7	71	5.0	3	.....	18	6.0
Fifth grade.....	11	3.3	126	8.8	7	.....	31	10.3
Sixth grade.....	23	6.8	245	17.1	8	.....	61	20.2
Seventh grade.....	33	9.8	202	14.1	7	.....	56	18.5
Eighth grade.....	89	26.3	537	37.6	13	.....	113	39.1
Prevocational.....	4	1.2	1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Special.....	3	.9	13	.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
High school grades.....	151	44.7	145	10.1	6	.....	14	4.6
First year.....	77	22.8	115	8.0	5	.....	14	4.6
Second year.....	51	15.1	29	2.0	1	.....	.....	.....
Third and fourth years.....	23	6.8	1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vocational schools.....	13	3.8	84	5.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other schools.....	2	.6	5	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	.....	.....	1	.1	.....	.....	3	1.0

¹ Prevocational, special, vocational, disciplinary, and other schools are not separately entered for the children interviewed.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

³ Including 1 girl under the fourth grade.

Of the children who took out certificates before their sixteenth birthdays for work only during vacation or out of school hours, a much larger proportion had completed high-school grades than of those who took out certificates for regular work. Of the vacation workers nearly half, 48 per cent, but of the regular workers little over one-eighth, 13.8 per cent, came from the high schools. One-fourth, 25.2 per cent, of the vacation workers as compared with one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of the regular workers, came from the first year of high school; 16.7 per cent as compared with 2.9 per cent of the regular workers, came from the second year; and 6.1 per cent, as compared with 0.2 per cent of the regular workers, had completed the third or fourth years. Children who had completed the eighth or a higher grade constituted nearly three-fourths, 73 per cent, of the vacation workers and only about one-half, 49.6 per cent, of the regular workers.

A larger proportion of both the boys and girls who were vacation workers than of those who were regular workers came from high schools or had completed the grammar school course. In both groups, however, a smaller proportion of the girls than of the boys came from these higher grades. Of the girls who worked only during vacation or outside school hours 71 per cent, as compared with 74.2 per cent of the boys, had completed the eighth grade or one or more years of high-school work. But of the girls who took out certificates for regular positions only 47.7 per cent, and of the boys 50.7 per cent, were thus far advanced in their school work.

These differences in school standing do not necessarily indicate, however, that the vacation workers actually were farther advanced for their ages than were the regular workers. Not only did a smaller proportion of the vacation workers come from the nativity groups—the foreign-born in general and notably the Italian—in which the proportion of children from the lower grades was particularly high, but the vacation workers, as already shown,¹⁰ were on an average considerably older than the regular workers, half of them being over 15½ years of age when they took out their first certificates. This fact alone might appear to account for all the differences in grades completed between the two groups.

That these differences in age do not, by any means, however, account for the differences in grade completed is shown in Table 78, for there it appears that not far from one-third, 31.7 per cent, of all the children who before their sixteenth birthdays worked only during vacation or out of school hours, as compared with less than one-tenth, 9.4 per cent, of those who took regular positions, had completed higher grades than normal for their ages. It should be noted that for more than one in ten, 10.9 per cent, of regular workers but for little more

¹⁰ See Table 67, p. 153.

than one in a hundred, 1.1 per cent, of vacation workers the school only and not the grade attained was reported, so that the degree of retardation could not be accurately measured. But even if all the children for whom the exact grade was not reported had come from higher grades than normal for their ages, the children who worked only during vacation or out of school hours would still have had a decided advantage in the matter of advancement in school. Moreover, only one-sixth, 16.6 per cent, of these vacation workers, as compared with not far from one-third, 31.5 per cent, of the regular workers, were retarded. Although the differences between the sexes were slight, a somewhat larger proportion of the girls than of the boys who worked only during vacation or out of school hours were retarded.

TABLE 78.—*Retardation and sex; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school.*

Retardation and sex.	Children issued certificates in Boston, who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becoming 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vacation or out of school hours only.		Regularly.		Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children.....	857	100.0	3,544	100.0	324	100.0	499	100.0
Having completed:								
A higher grade than normal.....	272	31.7	334	9.4	43	13.3	93	18.6
A normal grade.....	434	50.6	1,706	48.1	163	50.3	246	49.3
A lower grade than normal.....	142	16.6	1,117	31.5	117	36.1	150	30.1
One or two grades lower than normal.....	112	13.1	905	25.5	105	32.4	128	25.7
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	30	3.5	212	6.0	12	3.7	22	4.4
Not reported ²	9	1.1	387	10.9	1	.3	10	2.0
Boys.....	519	100.0	2,114	100.0	280	100.0	197	100.0
Having completed:								
A higher grade than normal.....	167	32.2	208	9.8	41	14.6	41	20.8
A normal grade.....	262	50.5	967	45.7	141	50.4	97	49.2
A lower grade than normal.....	83	16.0	663	31.4	97	34.6	52	26.4
One or two grades lower than normal.....	69	13.3	548	25.9	88	31.4	47	23.9
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	14	2.7	115	5.4	9	3.2	5	2.5
Not reported ²	7	1.3	276	13.1	1	.4	7	3.6
Girls.....	338	100.0	1,430	100.0	44	100.0	302	100.0
Having completed:								
A higher grade than normal.....	105	31.1	126	8.8	2	.....	52	17.2
A normal grade.....	172	50.9	739	51.7	22	.....	149	49.3
A lower grade than normal.....	59	17.5	454	31.7	20	.....	98	32.5
One or two grades lower than normal.....	43	12.7	357	25.0	17	.....	81	26.8
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	16	4.7	97	6.8	3	.....	17	5.6
Not reported ²	2	.6	111	7.8	.....	.....	3	1.0

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, and other special schools and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

The differences between these two groups of children in grade completed shown in Table 77 must therefore be due to an actual tendency. The fact that the group of vacation workers includes a smaller proportion of foreign born, and especially of Italian children, who tend more frequently than native children to be retarded, can not alter the conclusion that the children who worked only during vacation and out of school hours tended much more frequently than did those who left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays to come from higher grades than normal for their ages. Conversely, it can not alter the conclusion that the regular workers tended much more frequently than the vacation workers to be retarded in their school work.

The children who were interviewed, whether or not they had worked before leaving school, had all left school for work before they became 16 and most of them soon after becoming 14 years of age. These children, therefore, were all regular workers, and consequently in their school advancement they did not differ greatly from the entire group of children who took regular positions before their sixteenth birthdays except that, as they were on an average younger, fewer of them came from high school.

The vacation work reported by these children, moreover, was in the great majority of cases begun, if not completed, before they became 14 years of age, and generally without taking out employment certificates. The vacation workers of the schedule series constituted, therefore, a group of children who not only had definitely entered the industrial world before their sixteenth birthdays—most of them soon after their fourteenth birthdays—but had been irregularly employed out of school hours before they definitely entered, and the great majority of them before they were of legal age definitely to enter the ranks of industrial workers.

From Table 77, relating to grade completed, it is hardly possible to show that work before leaving school had any definite effect on the school standing of the children who took regular positions before they were 16 years of age. Nearly one-fifth, 19.1 per cent, of those who had worked, as compared with little more than one-eighth, 13 per cent, of those who had not worked, came from the fourth or fifth grades. But on the other hand, 9 per cent of those who had worked, as compared with only 7.2 per cent of those who had not worked, had completed one or more years in high-school study. This difference, however, might be entirely accounted for by the smaller proportion of foreign born, and especially Italian children, in the group of vacation workers. That it is at least in part so accounted for appears to be shown by the fact that it occurred entirely among the girls, who were on an average older than the boys when they left school for work, and among whom were an abnormally large proportion of Italians, who tend normally, as already indicated, to leave school for work as soon as they can

secure certificates rather than to work before leaving school. Among the boys, in fact, a smaller proportion of those who had worked than of those who had not worked came from high-school grades.

When Table 78 is considered, however, it appears definitely that a larger proportion of the interviewed children who had worked than of those who had not worked before leaving school came from lower grades and a smaller proportion from higher grades than normal for their ages.⁶⁷ Of the children who had worked, 36.1 per cent and of those who had not worked only 30.1 per cent were retarded. On the other hand, of the children who had worked only 13.3 per cent, but of those who had not worked 18.6 per cent, had completed when they left school higher grades than normal for their ages. Upon the whole, the kind of work done before leaving school by the children who were interviewed appears to have had a disastrous effect on their school standing.

Much of this work, and that which was apparently the most harmful, was at least begun during school term. Among the children who had worked before leaving school a decidedly larger proportion, according to Table 79, of those whose first school positions were for work during school term and at no other time had completed only the sixth or a lower grade than of those whose first positions were of any other kind. Not far from one-half, 46 per cent, of the children of the former group had not completed any grade higher than the sixth. Moreover, the proportion of children from the sixth or a lower grade whose first school positions were for work during both school term and vacation was higher than that of children whose first positions were for work during vacation only—31.1 per cent as compared with 26.8 per cent. A much larger proportion of the children whose first school positions were held during vacation only than of any other group came from high school, 14.1 per cent as compared with 8.3 per cent of those who had worked during both vacation and school term, and with 7.1 per cent of those who had worked only during school term. These figures relate, of course, only to first school positions, but since two-thirds of these children held only one such position the conclusion to which they point is probably not affected by this fact. Evidently for some reason the children whose first positions were held during school term were more likely than those whose first positions were held only during vacation to have completed only the sixth or a lower grade when they finally left school. Most of these children doubtless were retarded.

⁶⁷ As explained on p. 127, the difference between the certificate and schedule groups in the proportions of children from higher grades than normal can not be considered of any special significance because it is probably caused, in part at least, by the large proportion in the certificate group for whom only the school and not the grade was reported and for whom, therefore, retardation could not be determined, i. e., was "not reported."

TABLE 79.—Grade completed, by kind of first school position, and sex; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.

Kind of first school position and sex of child.	All children.	Children who on leaving school had completed specified grade.					
		Sixth or lower.		Seventh or eighth.		High school I or II.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	324	118	36.4	176	54.3	29	9.0
Vacation only.....	71	19	26.8	41	57.7	10	14.1
Vacation and school term.....	132	41	31.1	80	60.6	11	8.3
Out of school hours.....	129	41	31.8	79	61.2	9	7.0
During school hours.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....
School term.....	113	52	46.0	53	46.9	8	7.1
Saturday only.....	36	20	.....	14	.....	2	.....
Before and after school.....	20	9	.....	8	.....	3	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	54	23	42.6	28	51.9	3	5.6
During school hours.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	8	6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	280	100	35.7	156	55.7	23	8.2
Vacation only.....	41	7	.....	27	.....	6	.....
Vacation and school term.....	128	39	30.5	79	61.7	10	7.8
Out of school hours.....	126	39	31.0	78	61.9	9	7.1
During school hours.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....
School term.....	105	50	47.6	48	45.7	7	6.7
Saturday only.....	35	20	.....	14	.....	1	.....
Before and after school.....	19	8	.....	7	.....	3	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	52	22	42.3	27	51.9	3	5.8
During school hours.....	6	4	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	44	18	.....	20	.....	6	.....
Vacation only.....	30	12	.....	14	.....	4	.....
Vacation and school term.....	4	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Out of school hours.....	3	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
During school hours.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
School term.....	8	2	.....	5	.....	1	.....
Saturday only.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Before and after school.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
During school hours.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including one boy whose grade was not reported.

That work during school term tends distinctly to cause a child to fall behind in his school work is even more clearly indicated by the figures in Table 80 than by those in Table 79. For in Table 80 each child's actual age at leaving school is compared with the grade which he had completed at that time. Of the children whose first positions were held only during school term 45.1 per cent were retarded, as compared with 31.1 per cent of those whose first positions were held during both school term and vacation and with 28.2 per cent of those whose first positions were held during vacation only. On the other hand, of the children whose first positions were solely during vacation a larger proportion than of any other group were from normal grades, and of those whose first positions were during both vacation and school term a larger proportion had completed higher grades than normal for their ages.

TABLE 80.—*Retardation, by kind of position first held before leaving school, and sex; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Kind of first school position and sex.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed for their ages—									
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	² 324	43	13.3	163	50.3	117	36.1	105	32.4	12	3.7
Vacation only.....	² 71	9	12.7	41	57.7	20	28.2	17	23.9	3	4.2
Vacation and school term.....	132	23	17.4	68	51.5	41	31.1	37	28.0	4	3.0
Out of school hours.....	129	22	17.1	66	51.2	41	31.8	37	28.7	4	3.1
During school hours.....	3	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
School term.....	113	10	8.8	52	46.0	51	45.1	47	41.6	4	3.5
Saturday only.....	36	3	.....	14	.....	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
Before and after school.....	20	3	.....	8	.....	9	.....	8	.....	1	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	54	4	7.4	29	53.7	21	38.9	18	33.3	3	5.6
During school hours.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	8	1	.....	2	.....	5	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Boys.....	² 280	41	14.6	141	50.4	97	34.6	88	31.4	9	3.2
Vacation only.....	² 41	8	.....	24	.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
Vacation and school term.....	128	23	18.0	66	51.6	39	30.5	35	27.3	4	3.1
Out of school hours.....	126	22	17.5	65	51.6	39	31.0	35	27.8	4	3.2
During school hours.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
School term.....	105	9	8.6	49	46.7	47	44.8	43	41.0	4	3.8
Saturday only.....	35	2	.....	14	.....	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
Before and after school.....	18	3	.....	7	.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	52	4	7.7	28	53.8	20	38.5	17	32.7	3	5.8
Not reported.....	6	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	44	2	.....	22	.....	20	.....	17	.....	3	.....
Vacation only.....	30	1	.....	17	.....	12	.....	9	.....	3	.....
Vacation and school term.....	4	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Out of school hours.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
During school hours.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
School term.....	8	1	.....	3	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Saturday only.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Before and after school.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Saturday and before and after school.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
During school hours.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one boy, whose age on leaving school was not reported.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORIES.

When a child has finally left school to go to work he has started upon a real industrial career the first phase of which ends upon his sixteenth birthday when the restrictions of the law are in large part removed. The occupations which he enters during this period will be considered later, but certain other general facts in regard to his industrial history are important. In the first place how does he secure his first and later positions? Is he guided upon the threshold of industrial life by the advice and assistance of officials of the school which he is leaving or of the department which enforces the child-labor law under the authority of which he is placing himself? Or is he left without guidance from any public source?

It is also important to know how many positions he holds during this period, during what proportion of the time he is unemployed, what wages he receives when he begins work and what wage increases he secures. From one point of view, however, his industrial success can best be measured by his average monthly earnings in all positions and through all periods of employment and unemployment. These average monthly earnings give an idea of the monetary value to himself or his family of the labor of a child under 16 years of age. Finally, it is very important, especially from the point of view of health, to know the hours which he works, and especially from the educational and industrial points of view, to know the reasons for his changes in positions.

METHODS OF SECURING POSITIONS.

The great majority of child workers in Boston appear to have secured their positions either independently or through friends or relatives. Table 81 shows that at least three-fourths of the children studied secured their first positions in one of these two ways. Of those for whom continuation school records were used the proportion was 76 per cent and of those who were interviewed it was 87.7 per cent. A smaller proportion of the interviewed children than of the continuation-school children, 38.4 per cent as compared with 40.2 per cent, secured their first positions independently, and a considerably larger proportion, 49.3 per cent as compared with 35.8 per cent, secured them through friends or relatives. The latter difference may be due in part to the fact that about one-tenth, 10.6 per cent, of the continuation-school children failed to report how they secured their first positions. But the smaller proportion of interviewed children who secured their first positions independently must show a real difference

between the two groups which is due, probably, to the fact that the interviewed children were on an average younger than the continuation-school children when they began work.

Little use appears to have been made of employment agencies or of schools or placement bureaus in securing first positions, and few children were offered positions. Only about one child in twenty, 5.4 per cent of the continuation-school group and 5.1 per cent of the schedule group, secured their first positions through a State or other employment agency or philanthropic organization. An even smaller proportion, 3.9 per cent of the continuation-school group and 1.7 per cent of the schedule group, were assisted by a school or a placement bureau. Of the continuation-school group 4 per cent and of the schedule group 4.6 per cent were offered employment.

TABLE 81.—*Method of securing first position, by sex; comparison of children interviewed with children in Boston continuation school.*

Method of securing first position.	Children in Boston continuation school.						Children interviewed (Boston).					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.		Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Total.....	3,399	100.0	2,026	100.0	1,373	100.0	823	100.0	477	100.0	346	100.0
Position secured through—												
Friend or relative.....	1,217	35.8	738	36.4	479	34.9	406	49.3	212	44.4	194	56.1
Friend.....	555	16.3	325	16.0	230	16.8	183	22.2	84	17.6	99	28.6
Relative.....	547	16.1	330	16.3	217	15.8	160	19.4	83	17.4	77	22.3
Employer is rela-tive.....	115	3.4	83	4.1	32	2.3	63	7.7	45	9.4	18	5.2
Independently secured.	1,367	40.2	735	36.3	632	46.0	316	38.4	186	39.0	130	37.6
Applied personally.	1,296	38.1	698	34.5	598	43.6	234	28.4	140	29.4	94	27.2
Answered adver-tisement.....	65	1.9	31	1.5	34	2.5	44	5.3	16	3.4	28	8.1
Worked there be-fore.....	6	.2	6	.3	.....	.....	38	4.6	30	6.3	8	2.3
Employment offered...	136	4.0	104	5.1	32	2.3	38	4.6	31	6.5	7	2.0
Employment agency, etc.....	184	5.4	171	8.4	13	.9	42	5.1	37	7.8	5	1.4
State employment office.....	31	.9	27	1.3	4	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Private employ-ment agency.....	138	4.1	132	6.5	6	.4	38	4.6	34	7.1	4	1.2
Philanthropic or-ganization.....	15	.4	12	.6	3	.2	4	.5	3	.6	1	.3
School, or placement bureau.....	132	3.9	75	3.7	57	4.2	14	1.7	6	1.3	8	2.3
Day school.....	71	2.1	42	2.1	29	2.1	3	.4	1	.2	2	.6
Continuation school	7	.2	2	.1	5	.4	1	.1	.....	.....	1	.3
Placement bureau..	54	1.6	31	1.5	23	1.7	10	1.2	5	1.0	5	1.4
Other methods.....	3	.1	3	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Method not reported...	360	10.6	200	9.9	160	11.7	7	.9	5	1.0	2	.6

Each public school in Boston had at the time of this study a vocational counselor whose function was, not to secure positions, but to furnish advice to children who were leaving school for work. These counselors, who were usually teachers in the upper grades giving only part time to this work, also sometimes placed children in positions which they considered comparatively desirable. Special types of schools such as disciplinary, prevocational and vocational, frequently secured positions for their pupils. That day schools in general were more likely, however, to secure positions for, and probably also to be consulted by, the older children than the younger ones appears to be indicated by the fact that they secured first positions for 2.1 per cent of the continuation-school children but for only 0.4 per cent of the interviewed children. Evidently, as would be expected, their influence over the actual placement of children in industry was slight.

An agency especially designed for the placement of children existed, however, in the placement bureau which had an office adjoining the Boston certificate office. The work of this bureau was mainly among high-school graduates and children over 16 years of age who were applying for educational certificates. That it had comparatively little to do with securing positions for the children included in this study is shown by the fact that it placed in their first positions only 1.6 per cent of the children for whom continuation-school records were used, 54 children out of 3,399. The State employment office secured first positions for only 31 of these children, 27 of them boys.

Less than one-tenth, 9.3 per cent, of the continuation-school children and an even smaller proportion, 6.8 per cent, of the interviewed children secured their first positions through any sort of agency or bureau organized for the purpose of securing employment. Of those who did make use of such an agency, more than half, 4.1 per cent of the continuation-school children and 4.6 per cent of the interviewed children, were placed by private employment agencies. Most of the children placed by these agencies, as well as of those placed by the State employment office, were boys.

In the continuation-school group a larger proportion of girls than of boys secured their positions independently, 46 per cent as compared with 36.3 per cent, but in the group of children interviewed the tendency of the two sexes was exactly reversed and a somewhat larger proportion of boys secured their positions independently. On the other hand, in the continuation-school group a smaller proportion of girls than of boys, 34.9 per cent as compared with 36.4 per cent, secured their first positions through friends or relatives, and this also was reversed among the interviewed children. In the latter group 56.1 per cent of the girls and 44.4 per cent of the boys were

assisted by friends or relatives. In general it appears that the girls were even more likely than the boys to apply personally for positions, but that there was more difference in timidity between the younger and older girls than between the younger and older boys.

TABLE 82.—*Method of securing first and second positions, by sex; children in Boston continuation school who held two or more positions.*

Method of securing position.	Children who held two or more positions.											
	Both sexes.				Boys.				Girls.			
	First position.		Second position.		First position.		Second position.		First position.		Second position.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.
Total.....	1,908	100.0	1,908	100.0	1,101	100.0	1,101	100.0	807	100.0	807	100.0
Position secured through—												
Friend or relative....	567	29.7	507	26.6	338	30.7	287	26.1	229	28.4	220	27.3
Friend.....	248	13.0	288	15.1	148	13.4	155	14.1	100	12.4	133	16.5
Relative.....	271	14.2	194	10.2	161	14.6	111	10.1	110	13.6	83	10.3
Employer relative..	48	2.5	25	1.3	29	2.6	21	1.9	19	2.4	4	.5
Independently secured.	793	41.6	882	46.2	416	37.8	467	42.4	377	46.7	415	51.4
Applied personally.	747	39.2	832	43.6	392	35.6	446	40.5	355	44.0	386	47.8
Answered adver-tisement.....	41	2.1	48	2.5	19	1.7	19	1.7	22	2.7	29	3.6
Worked there before	5	.3	2	.1	5	.5	2	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Employment offered ...	82	4.3	67	3.5	61	5.5	42	3.8	21	2.6	25	3.1
Employment agency, school, placement bu-reau, etc.....	155	8.1	292	15.3	116	10.5	203	18.4	39	4.8	89	11.0
State employment office.....	14	.7	32	1.7	12	1.1	26	2.4	2	.2	6	.7
Private employ-ment agency.....	61	3.2	80	4.2	61	5.5	71	6.4	.....	.....	9	1.1
Philanthropic or-ganization.....	5	.3	5	.3	3	.3	4	.4	2	.2	1	.1
Day school.....	44	2.3	47	2.5	28	2.5	32	2.9	16	2.0	15	1.9
Continuation school	3	.2	84	4.4	1	.1	42	3.8	2	.2	42	5.2
Placement bureau..	28	1.5	44	2.3	11	1.0	28	2.5	17	2.1	16	2.0
Method not reported...	311	16.3	160	8.4	170	15.4	102	9.3	141	17.5	58	7.2

A larger proportion of the children secured their second positions independently than their first^{67a} and a smaller proportion secured their second positions through relatives. Table 82 shows that of the continuation-school children who held more than one position 46.2 per cent secured their second positions independently, as compared with only 41.6 per cent who secured their first positions in this way. Although a slightly larger proportion secured their second positions

^{67a} Based on total cases. If not reported cases are equally divided among the different positions, then the proportion securing their second positions independently was about the same as the proportion securing their first positions independently.

by answering advertisements, the difference was due almost entirely to the larger proportion who applied personally, 43.6 per cent as compared with 39.2 per cent. This table also shows that only 26.6 per cent of the second positions, as compared with 29.7 per cent of the first positions, were secured through relatives and friends. Here the difference was due entirely to the smaller proportion of cases in which the second position was secured through a relative or in which the second employer was a relative. Only 10.2 per cent of the children who held more than one position secured their second positions through relatives, as compared with a percentage of 14.2 for their first positions. And only 25, or 1.3 per cent of these children, worked for relatives in their second positions, as compared with 48, or 2.5 per cent, in their first positions.⁶⁸ On the other hand, a larger proportion, 15.1 per cent, as compared with 13 per cent, secured their second positions through friends. Both the boys and the girls showed this greater tendency to secure their second than their first positions through friends or by personal application.

With the background of experience secured in their first positions many children evidently had greater confidence and initiative, which led them to branch out for themselves and secure their second positions by personal application. In this they were doubtless often assisted by information secured through all sorts of channels opened up to them through their previous work, including their new associates. The influence of these new associates is shown also in the number of children who secured their second positions through friends instead of relatives. Many children who secured their positions by personal application doubtless heard of the vacancies through associates.

These children showed a decidedly greater tendency to make use of agencies and bureaus designed for placement in securing their second than they had in securing their first positions. Nearly twice as many of them, 292, or 15.3 per cent, as compared with 155, or 8.1 per cent, secured their second positions through employment agencies or schools or placement bureaus. A larger proportion used each different type of such agency, except the philanthropic organization, for second than for first positions; even the day school secured more second than first positions for children who held more than one. The placement bureau, which found first positions for only 28, or 1.5 per cent of these children, found second positions for 44, or 2.3 per cent of them.

The greatest difference was found, as was natural, in the use made of the placement facilities of the continuation school. Voca-

⁶⁸ In all the regular positions held by the children interviewed the employers were parents or relatives in 84 cases involving 78 children, 58 boys and 20 girls.

tional guidance or vocational counseling was a prominent feature of the work of the continuation school and, although this function did not include specifically the placement of children, it naturally led to such placement, especially as the teachers' visits to the establishments where children were at work began to make employers aware of the aid which the schools could give them. Employers at the time of this study were gradually learning to send to the continuation school for boys and girls, especially to fill positions requiring technical or vocational training. Before securing their first positions, children, as a rule, had no contact with the continuation school; they were enrolled only after they had brought their promise of employment and secured their first certificates. Only three of the 100, or 0.2 per cent, therefore, secured their first positions through the continuation school, as compared with 84, or 4.4 per cent, who secured their second positions through this agency. This latter proportion, moreover, must not be considered typical of the work of the continuation school in this respect as it represents only the beginning of placement as could be carried on during the early history of the school when the energies of its staff were occupied mainly in the task of organization and no systematic placement work had been developed.

A larger proportion of the foreign born than of the native children were included in the continuation school group, according to Table I. Those who secured their first positions independently or through relatives were employed by relatives, and a smaller proportion made use of employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. Of the foreign born children 43 per cent, as compared with 39.6 per cent of the native children, secured their positions independently; 17.1 per cent, as compared with 15.9 per cent of the native children, secured their positions through relatives; and 5.8 per cent, as compared with 3.5 per cent of the native children, were employed by relatives. On the other hand not much more than 1 in 20, 6.4 per cent, of the foreign born children, but 1 in 10, 10 per cent, of the native children secured their first positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus.

In regard to methods of securing first positions the general trend of foreign-born children who had been in the United States for five years or more was most like, and that of those who had been here less than 5 years differed most from, that of native children. Practically one-half, 49.7 per cent, of the children who had been in this country less than 5 years secured their first positions independently; one-fifth, 21.6 per cent, secured their first positions through relatives; and less than one-tenth, 9.8 per cent, through friends; and only

2 per cent, through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. A larger proportion of the foreign-born children who had been here from 5 to 10 years, 7.1 per cent, than of any other group were first employed by their relatives.

TABLE 83.—Method of securing first position, by nativity and length of residence in the United States; children in Boston continuation school.

Method of securing first position.	Children in Boston continuation school.											
	Native.		Foreign born.									
			Total.		Living in United States specified number of years.							
					Under 5.		5 under 10.		10 years and over.		Not reported.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bu-tion.
Total.....	2,761	100.0	637	100.0	153	100.0	224	100.0	203	100.0	57	100.0
Positions secured through—												
Friend or relative.....	990	35.9	227	35.6	55	35.9	79	35.3	80	39.4	13	22.8
Friend.....	474	17.2	81	12.7	15	9.8	28	12.5	34	16.7	4	7.0
Relative.....	438	15.9	109	17.1	33	21.6	35	15.6	33	16.3	8	14.0
Employer relative..	73	2.8	37	5.8	7	4.6	16	7.1	13	6.4	1	1.8
Independently secured.	1,092	39.6	274	43.0	76	49.7	96	42.9	84	41.4	18	31.6
Applied personally.	1,035	37.5	260	40.9	68	44.4	94	42.0	80	39.4	18	31.6
Answered adver-tisement.....	51	1.8	14	2.2	8	5.2	2	.9	4	2.0	.....	.....
Worked there before	6	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Employment offered...	119	4.3	17	2.7	5	3.3	4	1.8	7	3.4	1	1.8
Employment agency, school, placement bureau, etc.....	275	10.0	41	6.4	3	2.0	18	8.0	14	6.9	6	10.5
State employment office.....	28	1.0	3	.5	.....	.....	1	.4	2	1.0	.....	.....
Private employ-ment agency.....	121	4.4	17	2.7	1	.7	7	3.1	6	3.0	3	5.3
Philanthropic or-ganization.....	14	.5	1	.2	.....	.....	1	.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Day school.....	62	2.2	9	1.4	.....	.....	6	2.7	3	1.5	.....	.....
Continuation school	5	.2	2	.3	.....	.....	2	.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Placement bureau..	45	1.6	9	1.4	2	1.3	1	.4	3	1.5	3	5.3
All other methods.....	3	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Method not reported...	282	10.2	78	12.2	14	9.2	27	12.1	18	8.9	19	33.3

A much larger proportion of children who had completed a year or more of high school work than of any other group, as appears in Table 84, secured their first positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. Not far from one-fifth, 18 per cent, of the children from high schools made use of these agencies, most of them securing their positions either through private employment agencies,

7.9 per cent, or through their own schools, 6.9 per cent. Nearly one-tenth, 9.6 per cent, of the eighth-grade graduates, but little more than one-twentieth, 5.8 per cent, of the seventh-grade graduates, only 6 per cent of the sixth-grade graduates, and much smaller proportions, 2.4 per cent and 2.7 per cent, respectively, of the fifth and fourth grade graduates, secured their first positions through such agencies. Few of the children from elementary as compared with those from high schools secured positions through their schools. This was probably due in part to a greater amount of attention to the placement of children in the high than in the elementary schools. It is difficult to determine whether this greater tendency of high-school pupils to use placement agencies, or whether the greater tendency previously noted of native children to use such agencies, is due to the comparatively large proportion of native children in the high schools.

A large proportion, 23 per cent, of the children who had completed only the fourth grade secured their first positions through relatives. This was due in part, though not wholly, to the inclusion in this group of a comparatively large number of foreign-born children who, as already seen, tended to secure their positions in this way. In part, the comparatively large proportion, 17.1 per cent, of the foreign-born children who secured positions in this way was due to the large proportion of these children who came from the lower grades in school. Children who had completed the fifth grade showed the next largest proportion, 17.2 per cent, who were placed by relatives.

In general the children from the fourth, fifth, and sixth were more likely than those from any higher grade to go to work for their relatives, and less likely to secure positions through friends. In addition to the fact that a larger proportion of them were foreign born these children from the lower grades would be less likely than those from higher grades to have friends who had preceded them in leaving school for work.

Table 85 shows that over two-fifths, 42.6 per cent, of the continuation-school children whose first employers were relatives were retarded, as compared with 31.4 per cent of the entire number. The girls whose employers were relatives were less frequently retarded than the boys, of whom 45.8 per cent had failed to attain normal grades. Only a little over one-fourth, 27.9 per cent, of the children who secured their first positions through friends were retarded, and on this point little difference was found between the sexes.

	104	5	7.7	41	38.4	37	35.6	30	28.8	7	6.7	18	17.3
...	171	26	16.4	67	56.7	35	30.5	20	17.5	5	2.9	11	6.4
...	27	6	...	14	...	6	...	6	...	1	...	1	...
7.....	137	20	15.2	77	58.3	26	19.7	23	17.4	3	2.3	9	6.8
...	12	3	...	6	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	1	...
...	75	7	8.3	24	22.0	10	13.3	10	13.3	...	...	34	6.8
...	42	2	...	3	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	38	...
...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
...	31	5	...	20	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	1	...
...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	200	25	12.5	70	35.0	61	30.5	52	26.0	9	4.5	44	22.0
...	1,373	123	9.0	705	51.3	434	31.6	339	24.7	95	6.9	111	8.1
Positions secured through—													
Friend or relative.....	479	39	8.1	230	52.2	153	31.9	121	25.3	32	6.7	37	7.7
Friend.....	230	17	7.4	131	57.0	64	27.8	53	23.0	11	4.8	18	7.8
Relative.....	217	19	8.8	101	46.5	78	32.9	57	26.3	21	9.7	19	8.8
...	32	3	...	18	...	11	...	11	...	...	...	...	...
...	632	57	9.0	336	53.2	183	30.5	146	23.1	47	7.4	46	7.3
...	596	53	8.9	320	53.5	181	30.3	139	23.2	42	7.0	44	7.4
...	34	4	...	16	...	12	...	7	...	3	...	3	...
...	32	2	...	14	...	14	...	13	...	1	...	2	...
...	13	1	...	6	...	7	...	6	...	1	...	...	...
...	4	...	...	2	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Y.....	6	1	...	2	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	3	...	...	1	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	57	4	7.0	38	66.7	12	21.1	9	15.8	3	5.3	3	5.3
...	29	1	...	20	...	6	...	4	...	2	...	2	...
...	5	...	...	3	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
...	23	3	...	15	...	4	...	3	...	1	...	1	...
...	160	20	12.5	63	38.8	55	34.4	44	27.5	11	6.9	23	14.4

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other special schools, and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

This table shows also that comparatively few, only 22.8 per cent, of the children who secured their first positions through employment agencies of all kinds and even fewer, 16.7 per cent, of those who secured them through schools or placement bureaus, were retarded. In the latter group—the children who secured positions through schools or placement bureaus—the grade completed by more than one-fourth, 28 per cent, was not given. The children for whom the grade was not given were from disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other special schools, most of which endeavored to place as many as possible of their pupils. Of the children who secured their first positions through the schools they were leaving, about one-half, 49.3 per cent, came from this type of school. Nearly all of them were boys. The children who secured their positions through private employment agencies and through the placement bureau seem to have been those who were advanced rather than retarded in their school work. Of the former group 15.2 per cent and of the latter 14.8 per cent, as compared with only 9.6 per cent of all the children, had completed higher grades than normal. Nearly three-fifths, 57.2 per cent, of the children who secured their first positions through private employment agencies and not far from two-thirds, 64.8 per cent, of those who secured them through the placement bureau, were in normal grades for their ages.

TABLE 86.—*Method of securing first regular position, by employment before leaving school, and sex; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Method of securing first regular position.	Children who, before leaving school—				Boys who, before leaving school—				Girls who, before leaving school—		
	Worked.		Did not work.		Worked.		Did not work.		Worked.	Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Total	324	100.0	499	100.0	280	100.0	197	100.0	44	302	100.0
Position secured through—											
Friend or relative	140	43.2	266	53.3	118	42.1	94	47.7	22	172	57.0
Friend	53	16.4	130	26.1	47	16.8	37	18.8	6	93	30.8
Relative	55	17.0	105	21.0	42	15.0	41	20.8	13	64	21.2
Employer relative	32	9.9	31	6.2	29	10.4	16	8.1	3	15	5.0
Independently secured	130	40.1	186	37.3	113	40.4	73	37.1	17	113	37.4
Applied personally	81	25.0	153	30.7	75	26.8	65	33.0	6	88	29.1
Answered advertisement ..	11	3.4	33	6.6	8	2.9	8	4.1	3	25	8.3
Worked there before	38	11.7	.....	.....	30	10.7	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Employment offered	23	7.1	15	3.0	22	7.9	9	4.6	1	6	2.0
Employment agency, school, placement bureau, etc.	27	8.3	29	5.8	24	8.6	19	9.6	3	10	3.3
Employment agency	21	6.5	17	3.4	19	6.8	15	7.6	2	2	.7
Philanthropic organiza-tion	1	.3	3	.6	1	.4	2	1.0	.....	1	.3
Day school	1	.3	2	.4	.....	.....	1	.5	1	1	.3
Continuation school .....	.....	.....	1	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Placement bureau	4	1.2	6	1.2	4	1.4	1	.5	.....	5	1.7
Not reported	4	1.2	3	.6	3	1.1	2	1.0	1	1	.3

Among the interviewed children, according to Table 86, a larger proportion of those who worked than those who did not work before leaving school secured their first positions independently. But this difference was due entirely to the fact that more than one-tenth, 11.7 per cent, of the children who had worked before leaving school went back to places where they had been employed before. A larger proportion of these children than of those who had not worked before leaving school, 7.1 per cent as compared with 3 per cent, were offered positions; and a larger proportion also, 6.5 per cent as compared with 3.4 per cent, secured their first positions through private employment agencies.

NUMBER OF POSITIONS.

The children who took out certificates before they were 16 years of age began their industrial histories at different ages, when barely 14, when nearly 16, and at all ages between. The number of certificates which a child held before his sixteenth birthday is not, therefore, an index to his relative steadiness or unsteadiness as a worker unless it is known also how long before that birthday, that is, at what age, he took out his first certificate. Even when this is known the records of the certificate office do not necessarily give the child's complete industrial history, for he may at some time between the ages of 14 and 16 have secured a certificate, or even more than one certificate, for work in some other city. A certain number of the children for whom records were secured may have moved from somewhere else to Boston or to one of the neighboring cities included in the study, and others may have moved away, between the ages of 14 and 16. These children may have worked in the city from which they came or to which they went. Still others must have died, and probably a few worked at some time without certificates. Both the certificate and continuation school records, therefore, furnish understatements of the number of positions held. The certificate records, moreover, include children who worked only during vacation and were in school all the rest of the year. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note the number of certificates issued to the children of these two groups who began work at the different ages.

TABLE 87.—*Number of certificated positions held, by age at taking out first certificate and sex; children issued certificates in four cities.*

Number of certificated positions held and age at taking out first certificate.	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
14 under 14½ years.....	¹ 1,703	100.0	1,048	100.0	655	100.0
1 certificate.....	550	32.3	354	33.8	196	29.9
2 certificates.....	468	27.5	300	28.6	168	25.6
3 certificates.....	302	17.7	188	17.9	114	17.4
4 or more certificates.....	383	22.6	206	19.6	177	27.1
4 certificates.....	166	9.7	101	9.6	65	9.9
5 certificates.....	89	5.2	43	4.1	46	7.0
6 certificates.....	65	3.8	35	3.3	30	4.6
7 certificates.....	25	1.5	15	1.4	10	1.5
8 certificates.....	18	1.1	5	.5	13	2.0
9 certificates.....	6	.4	4	.4	2	.3
10 or more certificates.....	14	.8	3	.3	11	1.7
14½ under 15 years.....	1,089	100.0	620	100.0	469	100.0
1 certificate.....	486	44.6	288	46.5	198	42.2
2 certificates.....	302	27.7	194	31.3	108	23.0
3 certificates.....	171	15.7	73	11.8	98	20.9
4 or more certificates.....	130	11.9	65	10.6	65	13.8
4 certificates.....	71	6.5	40	6.5	31	6.6
5 certificates.....	36	3.3	14	2.3	22	4.7
6 certificates.....	11	1.0	4	.6	7	1.5
7 certificates.....	8	.7	6	1.0	2	.4
8 certificates.....	2	.2	.....	.....	2	.4
9 certificates.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10 or more certificates.....	2	.2	1	.2	1	.3
15 under 15½ years.....	1,191	100.0	740	100.0	451	100.0
1 certificate.....	680	57.1	434	58.6	246	54.5
2 certificates.....	300	25.2	191	25.8	109	24.2
3 certificates.....	131	11.0	76	10.3	55	12.2
4 or more certificates.....	80	6.8	39	5.3	41	9.1
4 certificates.....	58	4.9	31	4.2	27	6.0
5 certificates.....	12	1.0	5	.7	7	1.6
6 certificates.....	9	.8	3	.4	6	1.3
7 certificates.....	1	.1	.....	.....	1	.2
15½ under 16 years.....	1,709	100.0	1,011	100.0	698	100.0
1 certificate.....	1,382	80.9	828	81.9	554	79.4
2 certificates.....	248	14.5	136	13.5	112	16.0
3 certificates.....	59	3.5	36	3.6	23	3.3
4 or more certificates.....	20	1.2	11	1.1	9	1.2
4 certificates.....	14	.8	6	.6	8	1.1
5 certificates.....	3	.2	3	.3	.....	.....
6 certificates.....	3	.2	2	.2	1	.1

¹ Including three children who went to work before they were 14 years of age according to continuation school records, but who did not secure employment certificates until after they were 14.

Table 87 shows that, of all the children who took out certificates in the four cities—Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—between the ages of 14 and 14½, and who therefore had from 18 months to 2 years of possible working histories before their sixteenth birthdays, nearly one-third, 32.3 per cent, held only 1 certificate each, but almost one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, held 4 or more certificates. The proportion holding only 1 certificate increased to 44.6 per cent among the children who began work between 14½ and 15, to 57.1 per cent

among those who began between 15 and 15½, and to 80.9 per cent among those who began between 15½ and 16. At the same time the proportion holding 4 or more certificates fell to 11.9 per cent, to 6.8 per cent, and to 1.2 per cent, respectively, among the children who went to work at each of these three different ages. Those who went to work between 15½ and 16, of whom 80.9 per cent held only 1 position and only 1.2 per cent held 4 or more positions, had, of course, less than 6 months of possible work histories before their sixteenth birthdays. Fourteen of the children who received their first certificates between 14 and 14½ years of age and 2 of those who received them between 14½ and 15 years of age took out 10 or more certificates before they became 16; 12 of these children were girls and 4 were boys. One of the girls had taken out 16 certificates and 3 had taken out 13. One boy had taken out 14 certificates and another boy, and also 1 of the girls, had taken out 12.⁶⁶

In each age group a smaller proportion of the girls than of the boys held only 1 position, and a larger proportion held 4 or more positions. Of the girls who took out their first certificates before they were 14½ years of age over one-fourth, 27.1 per cent, as compared with less than one-fifth, 19.6 per cent, of the boys, held 4 or more positions.

In the group of continuation-school children, none of whom had worked merely during vacation, the proportion who had held only 1 certificate was naturally smaller, and the proportion who had held 4 or more certificates larger, than in the certificate group. From Table 88 it appears that of the continuation-school children who went to work when they were between 14 and 14½ years of age less than one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, as compared with nearly one-third, 32.3 per cent, of the children in the certificate group, held only 1 certificate. On the other hand, 28.1 per cent had held 4 or more positions as compared with 22.6 per cent in the certificate group. The tendency toward a greater amount of shifting among girls than boys is again shown in this group. Of those who took out their first certificates before they were 14½ years old about one-third, 33.6 per cent, of the girls held 4 or more positions as compared with less than one-fourth, 24.3 per cent, of the boys. Similar differences between the girls and the boys appear in each age group.

⁶⁶ At the time of this study the Boston certificate office had on file the record of 1 girl (not included in this study) who had taken out 32 certificates within a period of 15 months. For each of 3 different department stores she had taken out 2 certificates; and she had also held certificates for 3 other department stores. The names of 2 candy factories appear twice and of 6 other candy factories once each in her list. The name of a leather goods company also appears twice. In a number of these positions she was probably never actually employed. In 4 cases she secured certificates for one employer one day and for another the next day.

TABLE 88.—*Number of certificated positions held, by age at taking out first certificate and sex; children in Boston continuation school.*

Sex and age at taking out first certificate.	Children in Boston continuation school.								
	Total.	Number of certificated positions held.							
		1		2		3		4 or more.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
14 under 14½ years:									
Both sexes.....	1, 151	260	22.6	324	28.1	244	21.2	323	28.1
Boys.....	687	160	23.3	210	30.6	150	21.8	167	24.3
Girls.....	464	100	21.6	114	24.6	94	20.3	156	33.6
14½ under 15 years:									
Both sexes.....	710	273	38.5	194	27.3	137	19.3	106	14.9
Boys.....	395	165	41.8	122	30.9	57	14.4	51	12.9
Girls.....	315	108	34.3	72	22.9	80	25.4	55	17.5
15 under 15½ years:									
Both sexes.....	732	374	51.1	203	27.7	95	13.0	60	8.2
Boys.....	464	248	53.4	133	28.7	55	11.9	28	6.0
Girls.....	268	126	47.0	70	26.1	40	14.9	32	11.9
15½ under 16 years:									
Both sexes.....	806	584	72.5	164	20.3	42	5.2	16	2.0
Boys.....	480	352	73.3	95	19.8	26	5.4	7	1.5
Girls.....	326	232	71.2	69	21.2	16	4.9	9	2.8

For the interviewed children information was secured in regard to all positions, regardless of whether certificates had been secured, and even regardless of whether the employment had been in Boston or one of the other three cities studied, or elsewhere. For these children, therefore, the record of positions held is complete. On the other hand, these children were all interviewed before they were 16 years of age, and consequently the information available relates only to the period between the date when the child went to work and the date of the interview, and not, as for the other groups, up to his sixteenth birthday. These children, therefore, have been classified in four groups, not according to the number of positions held, but according to the average number held within different lengths of industrial history. The first group, which is called class A, consists of children who held only 1 position within a year or more; these children are called "steady." The second group, class B, consists of children who held, on an average, 1 position within each period of from 6 months to 1 year; they are less steady than the first group, but not exactly unsteady workers, and have been called "active." The children in the third group, class C, held new positions on an average within each period of from 3 to 6 months; and those in the fourth group, class D, within less than 3 months; those in the third group tended toward unsteadiness in their work, but have been called

"restless," while those in the fourth group were distinctly "unsteady."⁷⁰

TABLE 89.—*Steadiness at work, by sex; children interviewed.*

Steadiness at work. ¹	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	823	100.0	477	100.0	346	100.0
Class A—Steady.....	190	23.1	108	22.6	82	23.7
Class B—Active.....	203	24.7	123	25.8	80	23.1
Class C—Restless.....	273	33.2	154	32.3	119	34.4
Class D—Unsteady.....	66	8.0	35	7.3	31	9.0
Class E—Indeterminate.....	91	11.1	57	11.9	34	9.8

¹ Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more 1 position only; class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work histories; class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories; class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

Table 89 gives for all the interviewed children and for each sex separately the results of this classification. Not far from one-fourth, 23.1 per cent, of all the children were found to be steady workers, and a somewhat larger proportion, 24.7 per cent, were classified as "active" because they held on an average 1 position within each period of from 6 months to 1 year. About a third, 33.2 per cent, were found to have held new positions, on an average, within every period of from 3 to 6 months, and 8 per cent within every 3 months. A somewhat larger proportion of the girls than of the boys were found in each of the last two groups. This fact confirms the conclusion arrived at in considering the number of positions held by the certificate and continuation school children, that the girls were more likely to shift, that is, were less steady workers, than the boys.

That the girls worked less steadily than the boys appears, however, to have been due largely, if not entirely, to the peculiarities of many of the occupations open to them. The girls, as will be seen later,⁷¹ were more frequently than the boys employed to assist for short periods in sales in department or dry goods stores. In some cases, according to reports made to agents of the bureau, girls were even required, after having secured certificates on promises of employment from department stores, to wait without work and without pay until needed, sometimes for several days; in some cases they would never be employed at all, and in many others, as soon as the temporary rush of trade was over, they would be dropped.

That many children took out certificates for positions in which they were never actually employed appears in Table 111,⁷² which

⁷⁰ See Appendix, "Case Studies," for summaries of typical work histories of children of these different classes.

⁷¹ See Table 129, pp. 264-265.

⁷² See p. 217.

shows that 117 such certificates were taken out by continuation-school children. This was apparently much more likely to occur to girls than to boys. In 80 cases girls took out certificates which were never used, while only 37 such certificates were taken out by boys. For the children who were interviewed only positions actually held were included in the tabulations. Forty of these children secured certificates for positions in which they never actually worked, 38 of them for regular positions and 2 for school positions. Two of these children had 2 such experiences, so that the number of positions for which children secured certificates but in which they never worked was 42. On the other hand, 9 children held 2 positions at the same time.

The children who shifted their positions frequently were more likely to be retarded in their school work than were the steady workers. Table 90 shows, for the continuation-school children who took out their first certificates before they were 15 years of age,⁷³ that about two-fifths, 40.6 per cent, of those who held 4 or more positions, as compared with only about one-fourth, 25.5 per cent, of those who held but 1 position, were retarded. The amount of retardation increased steadily with the number of positions held. On the other hand, the proportion of children who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages decreased from 11.8 per cent among the children who held only 1 position to 8.6 per cent among those who held 4 or more positions. The slight variations from this tendency which appear when the sexes are considered separately are not important enough to affect the general result.

The steady workers among the interviewed children, too, as appears in Table 91, were less likely to be retarded in their school work than any other group. Although nearly one-third, 32.4 per cent, of all the interviewed children were retarded, less than one-fourth, 24.7 per cent, of the steady workers had not attained a normal grade. The largest proportion of retarded children, about two-fifths, 39.9 per cent, was found in the group of children who held a new position, on an average, within each period of from three to six months—that is, among the “restless” children; but nearly as large a proportion, 37.9 per cent, was found in the group where the children held new positions within each period of 3 months or less—that is, among the “unsteady” children. On the other hand, the largest proportion of children who had completed a higher grade than normal, 21.2 per cent, was found in the group where the children held, on an average, 1 position during every period of from 6 months to a year—not among the “steady” but among the “active” children. The general tendency was the same for the girls and for the boys, although

⁷³ Many of the children who took out their first certificates when between 15 and 16 years of age had been at work for such short periods that the figures for this group are of no particular significance.

the group of "active" girls had a considerably larger proportion of retarded children than had the corresponding group of boys, 35 per cent as compared with 26.8 per cent. This group of girls had also a large proportion, 20 per cent, as compared with 15.6 per cent for all girls, who had completed higher grades than normal.

TABLE 90.—*Retardation, by number of certificated positions held, sex, and age at taking out first certificate; children in Boston continuation school.*

Number of certificated positions held, sex, and age at taking out first certificate.	All children.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported. ¹	
						Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.				
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent.^{2}
Children 14 under 15 years:													
Both sexes.....	1,861	202	10.9	790	42.5	586	31.5	498	26.8	88	4.7	283	15.2
1 position....	533	63	11.8	256	48.0	136	25.5	120	22.5	16	3.0	78	14.6
2 positions...	518	60	11.6	212	40.9	150	29.0	126	24.3	24	4.6	96	18.5
3 positions...	381	42	11.0	161	42.3	126	33.1	107	28.1	19	5.0	52	13.6
4 or more positions.....	429	37	8.6	161	37.5	174	40.6	145	33.8	29	6.8	57	13.3
Boys.....	1,062	120	11.1	431	39.8	332	30.7	286	26.4	46	4.3	199	18.4
1 position....	325	48	14.8	144	44.3	79	24.3	70	21.5	9	2.8	54	16.6
2 positions...	332	36	10.8	125	37.7	95	28.6	83	25.0	12	3.6	76	22.9
3 positions...	207	23	11.1	81	39.1	67	32.4	60	29.0	7	3.4	36	17.4
4 or more positions.....	218	13	6.0	81	37.2	91	41.7	73	33.5	18	8.3	33	15.1
Girls.....	779	82	10.5	359	46.1	254	32.6	212	27.2	42	5.4	84	10.8
1 position....	208	15	7.2	112	53.8	57	27.4	50	24.0	7	3.4	24	11.5
2 positions...	186	24	12.9	87	46.8	55	29.6	43	23.1	12	6.5	20	10.8
3 positions...	174	19	10.9	80	46.0	59	33.9	47	27.0	12	6.9	16	9.2
4 or more positions.....	211	24	11.4	80	37.9	83	39.3	72	34.1	11	5.2	24	11.4
Children 15 under 16 years:													
Both sexes.....	1,538	123	8.0	832	54.1	480	31.2	363	23.6	117	7.6	103	6.7
1 position....	958	87	9.1	529	55.2	283	29.5	219	22.9	64	6.7	59	6.2
2 positions...	367	27	7.4	192	52.3	123	33.5	90	24.5	33	9.0	25	6.8
3 positions...	137	6	4.4	72	52.6	46	33.6	35	25.5	11	8.0	13	9.5
4 or more positions.....	76	3	3.9	39	51.3	28	36.8	19	25.0	9	11.8	6	7.9
Boys.....	944	82	8.7	486	51.5	300	31.8	236	25.0	64	6.8	76	8.1
1 position....	600	56	9.3	312	52.0	180	30.0	141	23.5	39	6.5	52	8.7
2 positions...	228	22	9.6	115	50.4	78	34.2	61	26.8	17	7.5	13	5.7
3 positions...	81	3	3.7	41	50.6	30	37.0	25	30.9	5	6.2	7	8.6
4 or more positions.....	35	1	.....	18	.....	12	.....	9	.....	3	.....	4	.....
Girls.....	594	41	6.9	346	58.2	180	30.3	127	21.4	53	8.9	27	4.5
1 position....	358	31	8.7	217	60.6	103	28.8	78	21.8	25	7.0	7	2.0
2 positions...	139	5	3.6	77	55.4	45	32.4	29	20.9	16	11.5	12	8.6
3 positions...	56	3	5.4	31	55.4	16	28.6	10	17.9	6	10.7	6	10.7
4 or more positions.....	41	2	.....	21	.....	16	.....	10	.....	6	.....	2	.....

¹ "Not reported" means that the children come from disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other special schools, and that on the records only the school attended and not the grade completed was given.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 91.—*Retardation, by steadiness at work and sex; children interviewed.*

Steadiness at work and sex. ¹	All chil- dren.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
		A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
						Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²		
Both sexes....	823	136	16.5	409	49.7	267	32.4	233	28.3	34	4.1	11	1.3
Class A—Steady.....	190	33	17.4	109	57.4	47	24.7	43	22.6	4	2.1	1	.5
Class B—Active.....	203	43	21.2	98	48.3	61	30.0	53	26.1	8	3.9	1	.5
Class C—Restless....	273	40	14.7	119	43.6	109	39.9	92	33.7	17	6.2	5	1.8
Class D—Unsteady..	66	5	7.6	35	53.0	25	37.9	22	33.3	3	4.5	1	1.5
Class E—Indetermi- nate.....	91	15	16.5	48	52.7	25	27.5	23	25.3	2	2.2	3	3.3
Boys.....	477	82	17.2	238	49.9	149	31.2	135	28.3	14	2.9	8	1.7
Class A—Steady.....	108	22	20.4	62	57.4	24	22.2	24	22.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Class B—Active.....	123	27	22.0	62	50.4	33	26.8	31	25.2	2	1.6	1	.8
Class C—Restless....	154	20	13.0	66	42.9	65	42.2	55	35.7	10	6.5	3	1.9
Class D—Unsteady..	35	4	.....	16	.....	14	.....	13	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Class E—Indetermi- nate.....	57	9	15.8	32	56.1	13	22.8	12	21.1	1	1.8	3	5.3
Girls.....	346	54	15.6	171	49.4	118	34.1	98	28.3	20	5.8	3	.9
Class A—Steady.....	82	11	13.4	47	57.3	23	28.0	19	23.2	4	4.9	1	1.2
Class B—Active.....	80	16	20.0	36	45.0	28	35.0	22	27.5	6	7.5	.....	.....
Class C—Restless....	119	20	16.8	53	44.5	44	37.0	37	31.1	7	5.9	2	1.7
Class D—Unsteady..	31	1	.....	19	.....	11	.....	9	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Class E—Indetermi- nate.....	34	6	.....	16	.....	12	.....	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....

¹ Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more 1 position only; class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work histories; class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories; class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Change of position may be effected without any period of unemployment, as when a child secures a new place before leaving the old; but frequently, and practically always when the child is discharged, an interval is found between the old and the new position. In order to measure the importance of the problem of unemployment, the interviewed children were divided into two groups, those who had been at work less than a year and those who had been at work more than a year, and Table 92 was prepared to show the percentage of time unemployed for each of the different nativity groups. The figures for the children who had been at work less than a year are of slight significance, since this group includes children whose industrial histories were too short to permit a normal amount of unemployment. For all the children who had been at work more than a year

the percentage of unemployment was 14.4. It was somewhat higher, 15.1, where both the fathers and the children were native, but highest, 15.4, where both the fathers and the children were foreign born, in spite of the fact that these foreign-born children probably were more affected by economic pressure than other children ⁷⁴ and, therefore, might be expected to be forced to take whatever positions were offered rather than wait for desirable places.

The most significant difference, however, is that between the boys and the girls. For the boys the percentage of unemployed time was only 12.4, but for the girls it was 17. It was highest of all, 22.9, among the native girls whose fathers were also native. The high percentage for both sexes in this nativity group was due entirely to the girls, for the boys whose fathers were native had a comparatively low percentage, 10.5, of unemployment. The native boys whose fathers were foreign born came next with 12.6 per cent of their time unemployed, and the foreign-born boys last with 16.9 per cent. Among the girls the order of the three nativity groups is exactly reversed, the foreign-born girls having the lowest percentage of unemployment, 14.1, the native girls whose fathers were foreign born the next, 16.4, and the native girls whose fathers were also native the highest, 22.9.

TABLE 92.—Unemployment, by length of work history, nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

Nativity of father and nativity and sex of child.	Percentage of time unemployed for a—	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	13.3	14.4
Both fathers and children native.....	10.7	15.1
Fathers foreign born.....	13.3	14.5
Children native.....	13.0	14.2
Children foreign born.....	13.9	15.4
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.....	26.2	4.0
Boys.....	10.4	12.4
Both fathers and children native.....	10.1	10.5
Fathers foreign born.....	9.5	13.5
Children native.....	9.8	12.6
Children foreign born.....	8.8	16.9
Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.....	.....	3.7
Girls.....	18.4	17.0
Both fathers and children native.....	11.8	22.9
Fathers foreign born.....	19.2	15.7
Children native.....	19.1	16.4
Children foreign born.....	19.3	14.1

^a Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.
⁷⁴ See Table 33, p. 101.

The percentage of unemployment was distinctly greater, as appears in Table 93, among the retarded children than among those from normal grades for their ages. Among the boys who had completed a higher grade than normal it was less, only 10, than among those who had completed a normal grade, 11.1; but among the girls who had completed a higher grade than normal it was nearly twice as high, 19.8, as among the boys, and higher than in any other group of girls except those who were one or two grades below normal where it was precisely the same. This peculiarity in the figures for the girls, together with the high percentage of unemployed time among the native girls of native parentage, leads to the suspicion that not all this unemployment was involuntary. In part, however, this high percentage was doubtless due to the fact that the native girls of native parentage who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages were more likely than were the girls of any other group to seek employment in department and other stores, and perhaps in other occupations where the work was unsteady, rather than in factories where short-time positions were comparatively rare.

TABLE 93.—Unemployment, by length of work history, retardation, and sex; children interviewed.

Retardation and sex.	Percentage of time unemployed for —	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	13.3	14.4
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	9.7	13.7
A normal grade.....	11.4	12.8
A lower grade than normal.....	16.7	17.2
One or two grades lower than normal.....	16.8	17.8
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	16.3	11.1
Not reported.....		17.6
Boys.....	10.4	12.4
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	8.1	10.0
A normal grade.....	7.3	11.1
A lower grade than normal.....	14.9	15.6
One or two grades lower than normal.....	15.3	16.3
Three or more grades lower than normal.....		6.8
Girls.....	18.4	17.0
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	11.5	19.8
A normal grade.....	19.8	15.1
A lower grade than normal.....	19.4	19.1
One or two grades lower than normal.....	19.6	19.8
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	18.8	14.3

1 Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

Another unexpected showing in these figures is that both the boys and the girls who were very much retarded—that is, who had completed only grades three or more lower than normal for their ages—had the lowest percentages of unemployment. The boys of this group had only 6.8 per cent of their time unemployed and the girls 14.2 per cent. Special reasons may have existed for the retardation of many of these children which did not affect their ability to hold positions in industry. As already seen, many of them were foreign born ⁷⁶ and were doubtless more handicapped in school than in industry by difficulties with the language.

The number of positions held within specific periods had naturally great influence over the amount of unemployment. Table 94 shows that of the children who had been at work for one year or more, the “unsteady” workers—that is, the children who held a new position on an average within every three months—had more than one-third, 34.9 per cent, of their time unemployed. The “restless” workers were unemployed a little over one-fifth, 21.9 per cent, and the “active” workers less than one-sixth, 15.1 per cent, of their time. In other words, the “unsteady” workers had more than twice as much unemployment as the “active” workers. Among “steady” workers, moreover, the amount of unemployment was negligible, only 2.7 per cent.

All the groups of girls showed higher percentages of unemployment than the corresponding groups of boys, but the difference was especially marked among the “unsteady” workers. The girls in this group were unemployed for more than two-fifths, 42.6 per cent, of their time, whereas the boys were unemployed for only about one-fourth, 25.1 per cent, of their time. Between the “restless” and the “active” girls, moreover, there was little difference, both groups having about one-fifth of their time unemployed, whereas among the boys the percentage of unemployment was nearly as high among the “restless” as among the “unsteady” workers, 23 per cent as compared with 25.1 per cent, but was decidedly less, 11.9 per cent, among the “active” workers.

These figures again suggest that the girls much more frequently than the boys took temporary positions and when dropped were either obliged because of a scarcity of places open to them to remain for a time unemployed or else preferred to wait for places which were quite to their liking, and frequently also temporary, rather than take whatever work might be first available. During their periods of unemployment, many of the girls probably assisted in housework at home and watched for advertisements of positions in the papers, whereas the boys more frequently spent all or most of their time in active search for new positions.

⁷⁶ See Table 53, p. 131.

TABLE 94.—Unemployment, by length of work history, steadiness at work, and sex; children interviewed.

Steadiness at work ¹ and sex.	Percentage of time unemployed for ² —	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	13.3	14.4
Class A—Steady.....		2.7
Class B—Active.....		15.1
Class C—Restless.....	19.8	21.9
Class D—Unsteady.....	25.3	34.9
Class E—Indeterminate.....	1.4	.....
Boys.....	10.4	12.4
Class A—Steady.....		1.1
Class B—Active.....		11.9
Class C—Restless.....	15.1	23.0
Class D—Unsteady.....	19.2	25.1
Class E—Indeterminate.....	1.4	.....
Girls.....	18.4	17.0
Class A—Steady.....		4.7
Class B—Active.....		20.1
Class C—Restless.....	27.1	20.6
Class D—Unsteady.....		42.6
Class E—Indeterminate.....	1.5	.....

¹ Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more one position only; class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than one for every 12 months of their work histories; class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than one position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories; class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

² Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

INITIAL WEEKLY WAGES.⁷⁶

Table 95 gives the initial weekly wages received by the children interviewed in their first regular positions by the nativity of the children and of their fathers. About two-fifths, 41.9 per cent, of all the children received from \$4 to \$5, and over one-fourth, 26.5 per cent, from \$3 to \$4. Nearly three-fourths, 73.5 per cent, earned less than \$5. Only 25 children, 3 per cent of the whole number, earned \$6 or more.

The boys received decidedly higher wages than the girls. Only 68.3 per cent of the boys, as compared with 80.6 per cent of the girls, received less than \$5. The proportion of boys receiving less than \$3 was only 2.5 per cent, as compared with 8.7 per cent of the girls; and the proportion receiving \$3 but less than \$4 was 17.2 per cent, as compared with 39.3 per cent of the girls. On the other hand, a larger proportion of boys than of girls was found in each wage group over \$4. Nearly half, 48.6 per cent, of the boys, but only about one-third, 32.7 per cent, of the girls, earned \$4 but less

⁷⁶ In some cases the children worked on their own account in street trades and other similar occupations and their compensation did not, therefore, consist technically of wages, but to make possible a general view of the compensation received this comparatively unimportant distinction has been ignored and such earnings have been classified along with wages.

than \$5; and about one-fifth, 20.3 per cent, of the boys and only one-twentieth, 5.2 per cent, of the girls earned \$5 but less than \$6. Of the 25 children who earned \$6 or over, 19 were boys and only 6 girls. A much larger proportion of girls than of boys, 10.4 per cent as compared with 5.7 per cent, received wages which could not be classified because they were not paid, or not wholly paid, in cash, or for other reasons.

The foreign-born boys appear to have received the highest initial wages earned by children of any nativity group. About one-third, 31.6 per cent, of them received \$5 or more, as compared with less than one-fourth of the native sons of native and of foreign-born fathers, 23.6 per cent and 23.4 per cent, respectively. In each nativity group the largest proportion of boys earned \$4 but under \$5.

TABLE 95.—Initial weekly wage, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

Initial weekly wage in first regular position and sex.	Children.								Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0	29
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	605	73.5	154	76.6	320	74.9	111	66.9	20
Under \$3.....	42	5.1	9	4.5	23	5.4	10	6.0	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	218	26.5	52	25.9	121	28.3	38	22.9	7
\$4 under \$5.....	345	41.9	93	46.3	176	41.2	63	38.0	13
\$5 or over.....	140	17.0	35	17.4	70	16.4	31	18.7	4
\$5 under \$6.....	115	14.0	30	14.9	59	13.8	23	13.9	3
\$6 or over.....	25	3.0	5	2.5	11	2.6	8	4.8	1
Other ¹	63	7.7	10	5.0	28	6.6	22	13.3	3
Not reported.....	15	1.8	2	1.0	9	2.1	2	1.2	2
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	326	68.3	91	71.7	174	69.0	45	59.2	16
Under \$3.....	12	2.5	2	1.6	9	3.6	1	1.3	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	82	17.2	21	16.5	44	17.5	12	15.8	5
\$4 under \$5.....	232	48.6	68	53.5	121	48.0	32	42.1	11
\$5 or over.....	116	24.3	30	23.6	59	23.4	24	31.6	3
\$5 under \$6.....	97	20.3	25	19.7	49	19.4	20	26.3	3
\$6 or over.....	19	4.0	5	3.9	10	4.0	4	5.3	.....
Other ¹	27	5.7	6	4.7	13	5.2	6	7.9	2
Not reported.....	8	1.7	.....	.....	6	2.4	1	1.3	1
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	279	80.6	63	85.1	146	83.4	66	73.3	4
Under \$3.....	30	8.7	7	9.5	14	8.0	9	10.0	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	136	39.3	31	41.9	77	44.0	26	28.9	2
\$4 under \$5.....	113	32.7	25	33.8	55	31.4	31	34.4	2
\$5 or over.....	24	6.9	5	6.8	11	6.3	7	7.8	1
\$5 under \$6.....	18	5.2	5	6.8	10	5.7	3	3.3	.....
\$6 or over.....	6	1.7	.....	.....	1	0.6	4	4.4	1
Other ¹	36	10.4	4	5.4	15	8.6	16	17.8	1
Not reported.....	7	2.0	2	2.7	3	1.7	1	1.1	1

¹ Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked for less than one week on piecework or only one day each week.

The largest proportion of girls in each nativity group, except the foreign-born children of foreign-born fathers, earned only from \$3 to \$4. Among the girls as among the boys, the foreign born earned somewhat higher initial wages than the native born, 34.4 per cent of the foreign born earning from \$4 to \$5, and 28.9 per cent from \$3 to \$4; the corresponding percentages for the native children of foreign-born fathers were 31.4 and 44, and those for the children of native fathers were 33.8 and 41.9. Of the foreign-born girls, moreover, 7.8 per cent received \$5 or more, while of the native daughters of foreign-born fathers only 6.3 per cent, and of the native daughters of native fathers 6.8 per cent received \$5 or more. Furthermore, an unusually large proportion, 17.8 per cent, of the foreign-born girls received wages which could not be classified in dollars and cents; if these had been disregarded in making the percentages, the advantage of the foreign born over the native girls in the matter of initial wages would have appeared even more pronounced than in the table as given.

TABLE 96.—*Initial weekly wage in first regular position, by time of entering industry and sex; children interviewed.*

Initial weekly wage in first regular position and sex.	Children who went to work—			
	During summer vacation.		At some other time.	
	Number	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes	224	100.0	599	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	162	72.3	443	74.0
Under \$3.....	14	6.3	28	4.7
\$3 under \$4.....	56	25.0	162	27.0
\$4 under \$5.....	92	41.1	253	42.2
\$5 or over	42	18.8	96	16.4
\$5 under \$6.....	36	16.1	79	13.2
\$6 or over	6	2.7	19	3.2
Other ¹	17	7.6	46	7.7
Not reported.....	3	1.3	12	2.0
Boys.....	121	100.0	356	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	77	63.6	249	69.9
Under \$3.....	6	5.0	6	1.7
\$3 under \$4.....	14	11.6	68	19.1
\$4 under \$5.....	57	47.1	175	49.2
\$5 or over	33	27.3	83	23.3
\$5 under \$6.....	29	24.0	68	19.1
\$6 or over	4	3.3	15	4.2
Other ¹	9	7.4	18	5.1
Not reported.....	2	1.7	6	1.7
Girls.....	103	100.0	243	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	85	82.5	194	79.8
Under \$3.....	8	7.8	22	9.1
\$3 under \$4.....	42	40.8	94	38.7
\$4 under \$5.....	35	34.0	78	32.1
\$5 or over	9	8.7	15	6.2
\$5 under \$6.....	7	6.8	11	4.5
\$6 or over	2	1.9	4	1.6
Other ¹	8	7.8	28	11.5
Not reported.....	1	1.0	6	2.5

¹ Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked for less than one week on piecework or only one day a week.

The children who went to work during the summer vacation, according to Table 96, received somewhat higher initial wages than those who went to work at some other time. Of the boys who went to work during the summer vacation 27.3 per cent, and of those who went to work at some other time only 23.3 per cent, received \$5 or more. For the girls the corresponding percentages were 8.7 and 6.2, respectively.

The wages received by children who left school for economic reasons were, upon the whole, lower than those received by children who left school for other reasons. Table 97 shows that three-fourths, 75.1 per cent, of the children who gave economic necessity as their reason for leaving school, as compared with only 71.8 per cent of the children who gave other reasons, received initial wages of less than \$5. In this respect the girls appear to differ from the boys, but the difference is probably due, in part at least, to the large proportion, 13.7 per cent, of girls who left school for economic reasons whose wages were not reported in cash.

As might be expected, it appears from Table 98 that the children who were advanced in their school work had higher initial weekly wages in their first regular positions than the children from normal grades, and that the wages of the latter were higher than those of the retarded children. Almost one-fourth, 22.1 per cent, of the advanced children received \$5 or more, as compared with about one-sixth, 16.4 per cent, of the normal children and with only 14.6 per cent of the retarded children. The boys and girls who had completed higher grades than normal had larger percentages receiving \$5 or over than did the children who had completed only normal grades, and the percentage of the normal children who were in that wage group was larger than the percentage of children who had failed to complete normal grades for their ages. Nevertheless, nearly nine-tenths, 88.9 per cent, of the girls who were advanced in their school studies received less than \$5 a week in their first regular positions, over half, 53.7 per cent, of them receiving from \$3 to \$4. A much larger proportion of the normal than of the advanced girls, 10.5 per cent as compared with 1.9 per cent, and a still larger proportion, 13.6 per cent, of the retarded girls took positions the initial wages of which could not be classified.

The children who worked before leaving school were decidedly more likely to get the better-paid positions when they finally left school. According to Table 99, over one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, of these children, as compared with little more than one-tenth, 11.2 per cent, of those who did not work before leaving school, received initial wages of \$5 or more in their first regular positions. Moreover, only 3.1 per cent of those who worked, as compared with 6.4 per cent

of those who did not work, received less than \$3, and 19.8 per cent of the former, as compared with 30.9 per cent of the latter, received \$3 but less than \$4. That these differences were not due merely to the large preponderance of boys, who generally receive higher wages than girls, among the children who worked before leaving school is shown by a comparison of the percentages given in this table for the boys alone.

TABLE 97.—Initial weekly wage in first regular position and reason for leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.

Initial weekly wage in first regular position and sex.	Children who left school for—					
	Economic reasons.		Other reasons.		Reasons not reported.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹
Both sexes.....	333	100.0	408	100.0	82	100.0
Initial wage:						
Under \$5.....	250	75.1	293	71.8	62	75.6
Under \$3.....	17	5.1	20	4.9	5	6.1
\$3 under \$4.....	99	29.7	102	25.0	17	20.7
\$4 under \$5.....	134	40.2	171	41.9	40	48.8
\$5 or over.....	47	14.1	80	19.6	13	15.9
\$5 under \$6.....	40	12.0	65	15.9	10	12.2
\$6 or over.....	7	2.1	15	3.7	3	3.7
Other ²	30	9.0	29	7.1	4	4.9
Not reported.....	6	1.8	6	1.5	3	3.7
Boys.....	165	100.0	262	100.0	50	100.0
Initial wage:						
Under \$5.....	120	72.7	169	64.5	37	74.0
Under \$3.....	2	1.2	6	2.3	4	8.0
\$3 under \$4.....	34	20.6	43	16.4	5	10.0
\$4 under \$5.....	84	50.9	120	45.8	28	56.0
\$5 or over.....	34	20.6	72	27.5	10	20.0
\$5 under \$6.....	30	18.2	59	22.5	8	16.0
\$6 or over.....	4	2.4	13	5.0	2	4.0
Other ²	7	4.2	18	6.9	3	6.0
Not reported.....	4	2.4	3	1.1	1	2.0
Girls.....	168	100.0	146	100.0	32	100.0
Initial wage:						
Under \$5.....	130	77.4	124	84.9	25	.....
Under \$3.....	15	8.9	14	9.6	1	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	66	38.7	59	40.4	12	.....
\$4 under \$5.....	50	29.8	51	34.9	12	.....
\$5 or over.....	13	7.8	8	5.5	3	.....
\$5 under \$6.....	10	6.0	6	4.1	2	.....
\$6 or over.....	3	1.8	2	1.4	1	.....
Other ²	23	13.7	11	7.5	2	.....
Not reported.....	2	1.2	3	2.1	2	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked for less than one week on piecework or only one day each week.

TABLE 98.—Initial weekly wage in first regular position, by retardation and sex; children interviewed.

Initial weekly wage in first regular position and sex.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					Not reported.
					Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.		Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.		Num-ber.		Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	136	100.0	409	100.0	267	100.0	233	100.0	34	11
Initial wage:										
Under \$5.....	99	72.8	307	75.1	194	72.7	169	72.5	25	5
Under \$3.....	6	4.4	17	4.2	18	6.7	15	6.4	3	1
\$3, under \$4.....	40	29.4	102	24.9	74	27.7	62	26.6	12	2
\$4, under \$5.....	53	39.0	188	46.0	102	38.2	92	39.5	10	2
\$5 or over.....	80	22.1	67	16.4	39	14.6	37	15.9	2	4
\$5, under \$6.....	24	17.6	56	13.7	31	11.6	30	12.9	1	4
\$6 or over.....	6	4.4	11	2.7	8	3.0	7	3.0	1	.....
Other ¹	7	5.1	27	6.6	28	10.5	21	9.0	7	1
Not reported.....			8	2.0	6	2.2	6	2.6	.....	1
Boys.....	82	100.0	238	100.0	149	100.0	135	100.0	14	8
Initial wage:										
Under \$5.....	51	62.2	171	71.8	101	67.8	89	65.9	12	3
Under \$3.....	1	1.2	6	2.5	5	3.4	4	3.0	1	.....
\$3, under \$4.....	11	13.4	41	17.2	20	19.5	23	17.0	6	1
\$4, under \$5.....	39	47.6	124	52.1	67	45.0	62	45.9	5	2
\$5 or over.....	25	30.5	54	22.7	33	22.1	32	23.7	1	4
\$5, under \$6.....	20	24.4	46	19.3	27	18.1	26	19.3	1	4
\$6 or over.....	5	6.1	8	3.4	6	4.0	6	4.4	.....	.....
Other ¹	6	7.3	9	3.8	12	8.1	11	8.1	1	.....
Not reported.....			4	1.7	3	2.0	3	2.2	.....	1
Girls.....	54	100.0	171	100.0	118	100.0	98	100.0	20	3
Initial wage:		1.								
Under \$5.....	212	100.		79.5	93	78.8	80	81.6	13	2
Under \$3.....				6.4	13	11.0	11	11.2	2	1
\$3, under \$4.....	29	53.7		25.7	45	38.1	39	39.8	6	1
\$4, under \$5.....	14	25.9	64	37.4	35	29.7	30	30.6	5	.....
\$5 or over.....	5	9.3	13	7.6	6	5.1	5	5.1	1	.....
\$5, under \$6.....	4	7.4	10	5.8	4	3.4	4	4.1	.....	.....
\$6 or over.....	1	1.9	3	1.8	2	1.7	1	1.0	1	.....
Other ¹	1	1.9	18	10.5	16	13.6	10	10.2	6	1
Not reported.....			4	2.3	3	2.5	3	3.1	.....	.....

¹ Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked for less than one week on piecework or only one day each week.

A larger proportion of the children who secured their first regular positions through friends or relatives than of those who secured them in any other way, as appears in Table 100, received initial weekly wages of \$5 or more. Of the positions secured by friends or relatives 18 per cent, while of those secured independently only 16.8 per cent, and of those secured through an employment agency, a school, or a placement bureau only 14.3 per cent, paid these wages. Moreover, in an unusually large proportion of such positions, 12.3 per cent, as compared with only 1.3 per cent of the positions secured independently and 5.4 per cent of those secured through an employment

agency, a school, or a placement bureau, the wages were not paid or not wholly paid in cash or for some other reason could not be classified on a cash basis. If in any of these positions the remuneration amounted to \$5 or more the financial advantage of securing positions through friends or relatives over securing them in any other way was even greater than is here represented.

Fifty-two children stated to the bureau agents that their wages had been docked because of attendance at continuation school.

TABLE 99.—Initial weekly wage in first regular position, by employment before leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.

Initial weekly wage in first regular position, and sex.	Children who, before leaving school—			
	Worked.		Did not work.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹
Both sexes.....	324	100.0	499	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	212	65.4	393	78.8
Under \$3.....	10	3.1	32	6.4
\$3, under \$4.....	64	19.8	154	30.9
\$4, under \$5.....	138	42.6	207	41.5
\$5 or over.....	84	25.9	56	11.2
\$5, under \$6.....	68	21.0	47	9.4
\$6 or over.....	16	4.9	9	1.8
Other ²	20	6.2	43	8.6
Not reported.....	8	2.5	7	1.4
Boys.....	280	100.0	197	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	180	64.3	146	74.1
Under \$3.....	8	2.9	4	2.0
\$3, under \$4.....	51	18.2	31	15.7
\$4, under \$5.....	121	43.2	111	56.3
\$5 or over.....	79	28.2	37	18.8
\$5, under \$6.....	66	23.6	31	15.7
\$6 or over.....	13	4.6	6	3.0
Other ²	16	5.7	11	5.6
Not reported.....	5	1.8	3	1.5
Girls.....	44	100.0	302	100.0
Initial wage:				
Under \$5.....	32	.....	247	81.8
Under \$3.....	2	.....	28	9.3
\$3, under \$4.....	13	.....	123	40.7
\$4, under \$5.....	17	.....	96	31.8
\$5 or over.....	5	.....	19	6.3
\$5, under \$6.....	2	.....	16	5.3
\$6 or over.....	3	.....	3	1.0
Other ²	4	.....	32	10.6
Not reported.....	3	.....	4	1.3

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked for less than one week on piecework or only one day each week.

CHANGE IN WEEKLY WAGES.

The weekly wages received may have increased or decreased either within the same position or between the time a child took his first regular position and the date of the interview. The increases which occurred without change of position are considered in discussing the

subject of occupations.⁷⁷ Those which occurred between the time the children took their first regular positions and the date of the interview are best measured by considering only children who had been at work for one year or more. Those who had been at work a shorter time had hardly had adequate opportunity to obtain an increased wage or to show their value in the industrial world. In Table 101 the increases received by children of the different nativity groups who had been at work for one year or more are compared.

TABLE 100.—*Initial weekly wage in first regular position, by method of securing position and sex; children interviewed.*

Initial weekly wage in first regular position and sex.	Children securing first position by specified method.								
	Friend or relative.		Independently.		Employment offered.		Employment agency, school, placement bureau, etc.		Not reported.
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ^a	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ^a	
Both sexes.....	406	100.0	316	100.0	38	100.0	56	100.0	7
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	277	68.2	253	80.1	27	.....	44	78.6	4
Under \$3.....	18	4.4	16	5.1	5	.....	2	3.6	1
\$3, under \$4.....	106	26.1	91	28.8	8	.....	13	23.2	.....
\$4, under \$5.....	153	37.7	146	46.2	14	.....	29	51.8	3
\$5 or over.....	73	18.0	53	16.8	6	.....	8	14.3	.....
\$5, under \$6.....	63	15.5	43	13.6	3	.....	6	10.7	.....
\$6 or over.....	10	2.5	10	3.2	3	.....	2	3.6	.....
Other ^b	50	12.3	4	1.3	4	.....	3	5.4	2
Not reported.....	6	1.5	6	1.9	1	.....	1	1.8	1
Boys.....	212	100.0	186	100.0	31	100.0	43	100.0	5
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	130	61.3	136	73.1	21	.....	35	.....	4
Under \$3.....	3	1.4	6	3.2	2	.....	.....	.....	1
\$3, under \$4.....	35	16.5	33	17.7	7	.....	7	.....	.....
\$4, under \$5.....	92	43.4	97	52.2	12	.....	28	.....	3
\$5 or over.....	57	26.9	46	24.7	6	.....	7	.....	.....
\$5, under \$6.....	51	24.1	37	19.9	3	.....	6	.....	.....
\$6 or over.....	6	2.8	9	4.8	3	.....	1	.....	.....
Other ^b	23	10.8	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	2	.9	4	2.2	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Girls.....	194	100.0	130	100.0	7	100.0	13	100.0	2
Initial wage:									
Under \$5.....	147	75.8	117	90.0	6	.....	9	.....	.....
Under \$3.....	15	7.7	10	7.7	3	.....	2	.....	.....
\$3, under \$4.....	71	36.6	58	44.6	1	.....	6	.....	.....
\$4, under \$5.....	61	31.4	49	37.7	2	.....	1	.....	.....
\$5 or over.....	16	8.2	7	5.4	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
\$5, under \$6.....	12	6.2	6	4.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$6 or over.....	4	2.1	1	.8	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Other ^b	27	13.9	4	3.1	1	.....	3	.....	1
Not reported.....	4	2.1	2	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	1

^a Not shown where base is less than 50.

^b Including positions where wage was not paid in cash or not all in cash, where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay, and where he worked less than one week on piecework or only one day each week.

⁷⁷ See pp. 277 to 280.

TABLE 101.—*Change in weekly wage between first and last regular positions, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed with industrial histories of one year or over.*

Change in weekly wage between first and last regular position, ¹ and sex.	Children with industrial histories of one year or over.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Both sexes.....	607	100.0	143	100.0	330	100.0	117	100.0		17
Increase in weekly wage.....	421	69.4	99	59.2	234	70.9	77	65.8	11
Under \$2.....	255	42.0	56	39.2	142	43.0	50	42.7	7
Under \$1.....	76	12.5	14	9.8	44	13.3	17	14.5	1
\$1 under \$2.....	179	29.5	42	29.4	98	29.7	33	28.2	6
\$2 and over.....	166	27.3	43	30.1	92	27.9	27	23.1	4
\$2 under \$3.....	97	16.0	29	20.3	55	16.7	12	10.3	1
\$3 under \$4.....	49	8.1	12	8.4	23	7.0	11	9.4	3
\$4 under \$6.....	17	2.8	1	.7	13	3.9	3	2.6	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	2	.3	.....	.....	1	.3	1	.9	.....
\$10 or over.....	1	.2	1	.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	36	5.9	7	4.9	18	5.5	9	7.7	2
No change.....	99	16.3	30	21.0	55	16.7	13	11.1	1
Not reported.....	51	8.4	7	4.9	23	7.0	18	15.4	3
Boys.....	341	100.0	88	100.0	190	100.0	51	100.0	12
Increase in weekly wage.....	238	69.8	57	64.8	137	72.1	34	66.7	10
Under \$2.....	152	44.6	34	38.6	88	46.3	24	47.1	6
Under \$1.....	36	10.6	9	10.2	20	10.5	6	11.8	1
\$1 under \$2.....	116	34.0	25	28.4	68	35.8	18	35.3	5
\$2 and over.....	86	25.2	23	26.1	49	25.8	10	19.6	4
\$2 under \$3.....	48	14.1	13	14.8	26	13.7	8	15.7	1
\$3 under \$4.....	24	7.0	8	9.1	11	5.8	2	3.9	3
\$4 under \$6.....	12	3.5	1	1.1	11	5.8	.....	.....	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	1	.3	.....	.....	1	.5	.....	.....	.....
\$10 or over.....	1	.3	1	1.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	17	5.0	6	6.8	5	2.6	6	11.8	.....
No change.....	62	18.2	21	23.9	35	18.4	5	9.8	1
Not reported.....	24	7.0	4	4.5	13	6.8	6	11.8	1
Girls.....	266	100.0	55	100.0	140	100.0	66	100.0	5
Increase in weekly wage.....	183	68.8	42	76.4	97	69.3	43	65.2	1
Under \$2.....	103	38.7	22	40.0	54	38.6	26	39.4	1
Under \$1.....	40	15.0	5	9.1	24	17.1	11	16.7	.....
\$1 under \$2.....	63	23.7	17	30.9	30	21.4	15	22.7	1
\$2 and over.....	80	30.1	20	36.4	43	30.7	17	25.8	.....
\$2 under \$3.....	49	18.4	16	29.1	29	20.7	4	6.1	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	25	9.4	4	7.3	12	8.6	9	13.6	.....
\$4 under \$6.....	5	1.9	.....	.....	2	1.4	3	4.5	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	1	.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.5	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	19	7.1	1	1.8	13	9.3	3	4.5	2
No change.....	37	13.9	9	16.4	20	14.3	8	12.1	.....
Not reported.....	27	10.2	3	5.5	10	7.1	12	18.2	2

¹ Difference between wage in first and last regular position.

The weekly wages of nearly seven-tenths, 69.4 per cent, of all the children who had been at work for as long as a year previous to the interview had increased; those of about one-sixth, 16.3 per cent, had remained stationary; and those of a little over one-twentieth, 5.9 per cent, had decreased. The majority of increases amounted to less than \$2, the largest number being in the group \$1 but less than \$2. Of all the children included over four-tenths, 42 per cent, had received increases of less than \$2 in their weekly,

wages, and nearly three-tenths, 29.5 per cent, had received increases of \$1 but less than \$2. On the other hand, 20 children, 3.3 per cent, had received increases of \$4 or more.

TABLE 102.—*Change in weekly wage between first and last regular positions, by retardation and sex; children interviewed with industrial histories of one year or over.*

Change in weekly wage between first and last regular positions ¹ and sex.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					Not reported.
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.		
Both sexes.....	112	100.0	308	100.0	181	100.0	165	100.0	16	6
Increase in weekly wage.....	87	77.7	224	72.7	107	59.1	95	57.6	12	3
Under \$2.....	52	46.4	131	42.5	71	39.2	63	38.2	8	1
Under \$1.....	14	12.5	42	13.6	19	10.5	16	9.7	3	1
\$1 under \$2.....	38	33.9	89	28.9	52	28.7	47	28.5	5	.....
\$2 and over.....	35	31.3	93	30.2	36	19.9	32	19.4	4	2
\$2 under \$3.....	18	16.1	58	18.8	21	11.6	18	10.9	3	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	12	10.7	24	7.8	11	6.1	10	6.1	1	2
\$4 under \$6.....	4	3.6	10	3.2	3	1.7	3	1.8	.....	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	1	.9	1	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$10 or over.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.6	1	.6	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	1	.9	21	6.8	14	7.7	14	8.5	.....	.....
No change.....	15	13.4	43	14.0	40	22.1	37	22.4	3	1
Not reported.....	9	8.0	20	6.5	20	11.0	19	11.5	1	2
Boys.....	68	100.0	171	100.0	99	100.0	93	100.0	6	3
Increase in weekly wage.....	54	79.4	123	71.9	60	60.6	54	58.1	6	1
Under \$2.....	31	45.6	77	45.0	43	43.4	39	41.9	4	1
Under \$1.....	6	8.8	19	11.1	10	10.1	9	9.7	1	1
\$1 under \$2.....	25	36.8	58	33.9	33	33.3	30	32.3	3	.....
\$2 and over.....	23	33.8	46	26.9	17	17.2	15	16.1	2	.....
\$2 under \$3.....	10	14.7	29	17.0	9	9.1	7	7.5	2	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	8	11.8	11	6.4	5	5.1	5	5.4	.....	.....
\$4 under \$6.....	4	5.9	6	3.5	2	2.0	2	2.2	.....	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	1	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$10 or over.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.0	1	1.1	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	.....	.....	10	5.8	7	7.1	7	7.5	.....	.....
No change.....	10	14.7	29	17.0	22	22.2	22	23.7	.....	1
Not reported.....	4	5.9	9	5.3	10	10.1	10	10.8	.....	1
Girls.....	44	100.0	187	100.0	82	100.0	72	100.0	10	3
Increase in weekly wage.....	33	.....	101	73.7	47	57.3	41	56.9	6	2
Under \$2.....	21	.....	54	39.4	28	34.1	24	33.3	4	.....
Under \$1.....	8	.....	23	16.8	9	11.0	7	9.7	2	.....
\$1 under \$2.....	13	.....	31	22.6	19	23.2	17	23.6	2	.....
\$2 and over.....	12	.....	47	34.3	19	23.2	17	23.6	2	2
\$2 under \$3.....	8	.....	29	21.2	12	14.6	11	15.3	1	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	4	.....	13	9.5	6	7.3	5	6.9	1	2
\$4 under \$6.....	.....	.....	4	2.9	1	1.2	1	1.4	.....	.....
\$6 under \$10.....	.....	.....	1	.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	1	.....	11	8.0	7	8.5	7	9.7	.....	.....
No change.....	5	.....	14	10.2	18	22.0	15	20.8	3	.....
Not reported.....	5	.....	11	8.0	10	12.2	9	12.5	1	1

¹ Difference between wage in first and last regular position.
² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

Not only was the proportion of girls whose wages had increased nearly as high as that of boys, 68.8 per cent as compared with 69.8 per cent, but the proportion receiving increases of \$2 or over was higher, 30.1 as compared with 25.2 per cent. This was in spite of the fact

that a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys failed to report on this point. Nevertheless, decreases had occurred in the wages of a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys, 7.1 per cent as compared with 5 per cent.

Increases of \$2 or more were received by a larger proportion, 30.1 per cent, of the native children of native fathers than of the native children of foreign-born fathers, 27.9 per cent, and by a larger proportion of the latter than of the foreign-born children, 23.1 per cent. It should be noted, however, in considering these figures, that only 4.9 per cent of the native children whose fathers also were native, as compared with 7 per cent of those whose fathers were foreign born and with 15.4 per cent of the foreign-born children, failed to make a report as to whether their wages had increased or decreased. Nevertheless, even if these children were excluded, the same relationship would exist between the three groups as to increases of \$2 or more. Moreover, the report that their wages had been stationary was made by 21 per cent of the native children of native fathers and by only 16.7 per cent of the native children of foreign-born fathers and 11.1 per cent of the foreign-born children. Decreases were reported by only 4.9 per cent of the native children of native fathers as compared with 5.5 per cent of the native children of foreign-born fathers and with 7.7 per cent of the foreign-born children. Apparently it is safe to conclude that in the matter of wage increases the immigrant children are not so well off as those whose fathers were immigrants, and the latter are not so well off as the children of native fathers.

According to Table 102, the wages of a decidedly larger proportion of the children who had completed higher grades than normal, 77.7 per cent, than of those in any other group increased between their first regular positions and the date of interview; next came the children from normal grades, 72.7 per cent of whom received wage increases; and last came the retarded children, only 59.1 per cent of whom received higher wages in their last than in their first regular positions. Moreover, the wages of only one child from a higher grade than normal decreased, whereas decreases were noted in the wages of 6.8 per cent of the children from normal grades and of 7.7 per cent of those from lower grades than normal. Almost one-fourth, 22.1 per cent, of the retarded children reported no change in wages, as compared with only 14 per cent of the normal children and 13.4 per cent of the advanced children.

The increase in weekly wages amounted to \$2 or more for 31.3 per cent of the advanced children, 30.2 per cent of the children from normal grades, and only 19.9 per cent of the retarded children. It was as much as \$1 but less than \$2 for about one-third, 33.9 per cent, of the advanced children, as compared with 28.9 per cent of the normal and 28.7 per cent of the retarded children.

TABLE 103.—*Change in weekly wage between first and last regular positions, by steadiness at work and sex; children interviewed with industrial histories of one year or over.*

Change in weekly wage, ¹ and sex.	Children of specified steadiness at work.						Class D ² —Unsteady. ³
	Class A ² —Steady.		Class B ² —Active		Class C ² —Restless.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	
Both sexes.....	191	100.0	200	100.0	182	100.0	34
Increase in weekly wage.....	146	76.4	137	68.5	119	65.4	19
Under \$2.....	88	46.1	79	39.5	75	41.2	13
Under \$1.....	23	12.0	24	12.0	23	12.6	6
\$1, under \$2.....	65	34.0	55	27.5	52	28.6	7
\$2 or over.....	58	30.4	58	29.0	44	24.2	6
\$2, under \$3.....	33	17.3	34	17.0	26	14.3	4
\$3, under \$4.....	20	10.5	14	7.0	13	7.1	2
\$4, under \$6.....	4	2.1	9	4.5	4	2.2	.....
\$6, under \$10.....	.....	.....	1	.5	1	.5	.....
\$10 or over.....	1	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	1	.5	16	8.0	14	7.7	5
No change.....	40	20.9	29	14.5	24	13.2	6
Not reported.....	4	2.1	18	9.0	25	13.7	4
Boys.....	109	100.0	120	100.0	97	100.0	15
Increase in weekly wage.....	86	78.9	83	69.2	64	66.0	5
Under \$2.....	59	53.2	47	39.2	44	45.4	3
Under \$1.....	11	10.1	13	10.8	11	11.3	1
\$1, under \$2.....	47	43.1	34	28.3	33	34.0	2
\$2 or over.....	28	25.7	36	30.0	20	20.6	2
\$2, under \$3.....	16	14.7	17	14.2	14	14.4	1
\$3, under \$4.....	9	8.3	11	9.2	3	3.1	1
\$4, under \$6.....	2	1.8	7	5.8	3	3.1	.....
\$6, under \$10.....	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....	.....
\$10 or over.....	1	.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	.....	.....	7	5.8	7	7.2	3
No change.....	21	19.3	20	16.7	16	16.5	5
Not reported.....	2	1.8	10	8.3	10	10.3	2
Girls.....	82	100.0	80	100.0	85	100.0	19
Increase in weekly wage.....	60	73.2	54	67.5	55	64.7	14
Under \$2.....	30	36.6	32	40.0	31	36.5	17
Under \$1.....	12	14.6	11	13.8	12	14.1	5
\$1, under \$2.....	18	22.0	21	26.3	19	22.4	5
\$2 or over.....	30	36.6	22	27.5	24	28.2	4
\$2, under \$3.....	17	20.7	17	21.3	12	14.1	3
\$3, under \$4.....	11	13.4	3	3.8	10	11.8	1
\$4, under \$6.....	2	2.4	2	2.5	1	1.2	.....
\$6, under \$10.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.2	.....
Decrease in weekly wage.....	1	1.2	0	11.3	7	8.2	2
No change.....	19	23.2	9	11.3	8	9.4	1
Not reported.....	2	2.4	8	10.0	15	17.6	2

¹ Difference between wage in the first and the last regular position.² Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more 1 position only; class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work histories; class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories.³ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

The steady workers—that is, the children who held only one position within a period of one year or more—were more likely, according to Table 103, than were other children, to receive increases in wages. Their increases, too, were in general more substantial than were those of other children. Over three-fourths, 76.4 per cent, of the children classed as “steady,” as compared with only 68.5 per cent of those

classed as "active" and 65.4 per cent of those classed as "restless," received wage increases. Only one "steady" child, but 16 "active" and 14 "restless" children, reported decreases in their weekly wages. Increases of \$2 or more were reported by 30.4 per cent of the "steady" children and by 29 per cent of the "active" and 24.2 per cent of the "restless" children. The "active" boys, however, showed a larger proportion of such increases than did any other group, 30 per cent, as compared with 25.7 per cent for the "steady" boys and with 20.6 per cent for the "restless" boys. This correlation of industrial advance, as measured by changes in wages between the first regular position and the date of the interview, with steadiness in employment should be considered, of course, in connection with the fact shown in Table 102, that this advance was also greatest among the children who were ahead and least among those children who were behind in their school work. The larger proportion of wage increases and of substantial increases among the "steady" workers may be due in part to the fact, shown in Table 91, that the "steady" children were less likely than any other group to be retarded in their school work. Nevertheless, it appears probable that, in general, frequent shifting about from one position to another does not as often lead to wage advancement as does remaining, at least for considerable periods of time, in one position.

AVERAGE EARNINGS.

The average monthly earnings of the interviewed children who had been at work for one year or more, as appears in Table 104, were \$16.68—very little higher than those of the children who had been at work less than one year, \$16.62. Even this slight difference, however, appears to suggest that the wages of children tend to rise slightly with increased industrial experience,⁷⁸ for the percentage of unemployment was somewhat higher for children who had been at work one year or more than for those who had been at work for a shorter period, 14.4 as compared with 13.3.

The boys had higher monthly earnings than the girls, the average for the boys who had been at work more than a year being \$17.90 and that for the girls \$15.06. The average monthly earnings of the girls increased, however, from \$14.23 received by girls who had been at work less than a year to \$15.06 received by girls who had been at work more than a year. On the other hand, the average monthly earnings of boys who had been at work less than a year were higher, \$18, than of boys who had been at work more than a year, \$17.90. This difference between the two groups of boys is doubtless due to the fact, shown in Table 92, that the percentage of unemployment among boys who had been at work less than a year, as might be

⁷⁸ The children interviewed were so nearly the same age when they began work that it was not possible to discover any influence of age over wages.

TABLE 104.—Average monthly earnings, by length of industrial history, nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.

Nativity of father and nativity and sex of child.	Average monthly earnings ¹ of—	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	\$16.62	\$16.68
Both fathers and children native.....	17.29	16.77
Fathers foreign born.....	16.53	16.57
Children native.....	16.26	16.79
Children foreign born.....	17.04	15.95
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	14.53	18.64
Boys.....	18.00	17.90
Both fathers and children native.....	17.74	18.44
Fathers foreign born.....	18.30	17.63
Children native.....	17.91	17.83
Children foreign born.....	19.24	16.91
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	.....	19.21
Girls.....	14.23	15.06
Both fathers and children native.....	16.38	13.98
Fathers foreign born.....	13.80	15.30
Children native.....	13.10	15.36
Children foreign born.....	14.74	15.15

¹ Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

expected from the fact that they were all employed at the beginning of the period under consideration, was less than that among boys who had been at work more than a year, 10.4 as compared with 12.4. But, contrary to this expectation, the girls who had been at work less than a year were unemployed for a larger proportion of their time than were those who had been at work more than a year, 18.4 per cent as compared with 17 per cent, and this difference is reflected in their lower average earnings. The girls as a whole appear to have had a tendency, with greater length of industrial experience, to become more steady workers, and therefore to secure higher earnings than when fresh from school.

The foreign-born boys, who, as already shown,⁷⁹ began with higher initial wages than any other group, seem to have been unable, primarily because of unemployment, to keep this lead. Those who had been at work less than a year received higher average monthly earnings than any other group, \$19.24, but the average monthly earnings of those who had been at work for over a year were lower than for any other group of boys, only \$16.91. As will be seen from Table 92, this was largely due to an increase in unemployment from 8.8 per cent for the boys with shorter to 16.9 per cent for those with longer work histories; but in part it was due to the fact already mentioned⁸⁰ that the weekly wage rates did not increase as much for the foreign-born as for other children.

⁷⁹ See Table 95, p. 195.⁸⁰ See Table 101, p. 202.

The highest average monthly earnings received by any group of children who had been at work more than a year were received by the native boys whose fathers were also natives, \$18.44. The lowest, \$13.98, were received by the girls of this same nativity group. These girls, as already pointed out, were unemployed for not far from one-fourth, 22.9 per cent, of their time. Yet the average earnings of the girls of this nativity group who had been at work less than a year were \$16.38, and they were unemployed, according to Table 92, only 11.8 per cent of their time. The native daughters of native fathers evidently did not share in the tendency shown by the whole group of girls to become more steady workers with greater length of experience, but their influence was not sufficient to counteract the decided tendency of both the other groups of girls—the native daughters of foreign-born fathers and the foreign-born daughters of foreign-born fathers.

The girls, as will be remembered, gave economic reasons for leaving school more frequently than did the boys. Table 105 shows that the average monthly earnings of girls who gave economic reasons for leaving school were somewhat higher than those of girls who gave other reasons. The girls who had been at work more than a year and who had stated that they left school because of economic need in their families, received average monthly earnings of \$15.04 as compared with \$14.78 received by those who had given other reasons for leaving school. The average monthly earnings of the boys who left school for economic reasons and who had been at work for a year or more were lower, however, than those of boys who left for other reasons, \$17.17 as compared with \$18.34.

TABLE 105.—Average monthly earnings, by length of industrial history, reason for leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.

Reason for leaving school, and sex.	Average monthly earnings ¹ of—	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	\$16.62	\$16.68
Economic reasons.....	16.37	16.06
Other reasons.....	17.15	17.05
Not reported.....	15.22	17.49
Boys.....	18.00	17.90
Economic reasons.....	17.56	17.17
Other reasons.....	18.80	18.34
Not reported.....	15.59	17.95
Girls.....	14.23	15.06
Economic reasons.....	14.82	15.04
Other reasons.....	13.44	14.78
Not reported.....		16.74

¹ Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

TABLE 106.—Average monthly earnings, by length of industrial history, retardation, and sex; children interviewed.

Retardation and sex.	Average monthly earnings ¹ of—	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	\$16.62	\$16.68
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	16.14	17.34
A normal grade.....	17.03	17.24
A lower grade than normal.....	16.05	15.35
One or two grades lower than normal.....	16.02	15.20
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	16.15	16.81
Not reported.....		16.54
Boys.....	18.00	17.90
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	18.09	19.35
A normal grade.....	18.79	18.28
A lower grade than normal.....	16.70	16.39
One or two grades lower than normal.....	16.79	16.25
Three or more grades lower than normal.....		18.22
Not reported.....		
Girls.....	14.23	15.06
Having completed:		
A higher grade than normal.....	13.83	14.11
A normal grade.....	13.39	15.87
A lower grade than normal.....	15.11	14.07
One or two grades lower than normal.....	14.65	13.83
Three or more grades lower than normal.....	16.09	15.83
Not reported.....		

¹ Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

Of the children who had been at work for a year or more those who were advanced in their school work, according to Table 106, received, in general, slightly higher average monthly earnings, \$17.34, than did those who were normal, \$17.24, and the latter received decidedly higher earnings than did those who were retarded, \$15.35. This is doubtless due, in part, to the differences in percentages of unemployment shown in Table 93. But as the same relationship was found in the matter of initial wages and also in that of increase in wages, it can not be due entirely to unemployment. The low percentage of unemployment among the children who were three or more grades below normal, however, doubtless accounts for the fact that the average monthly earnings of these children were \$16.81, while the earnings of the children who were retarded only one or two grades were \$15.20.

The boys of the different groups as regards standing in school showed the same tendency as both sexes combined, although the differences were greater and the wages higher. But the average monthly earnings of the girls from normal grades were higher, \$15.87, than those of the girls from grades higher than normal, \$14.11, and the latter were only a trifle higher than the \$14.07 received by

retarded girls. The high percentage of unemployment among the advanced girls, which has already been noted, seems sufficient explanation for their failure to follow the general rule.

The tendency for wages to rise with increased industrial experience was found mainly among the children who were advanced in their school work. The average monthly earnings of children from higher grades than normal who had been at work for one year or more were \$1.20 more than those of the same class of children who had been at work less than one year. At the same time the percentage of unemployment was much greater for the former group of children than for the latter, 13.7, as compared with only 9.7. For the children from normal grades the difference in earnings was only 21 cents, but for this group also the amount of unemployment was greater, though much less markedly so, 12.8 per cent as compared with 11.4 per cent, for the children who had been at work a year or more than for those who had been at work for a shorter period.

TABLE 107.—Average monthly earnings, by length of industrial history, steadiness at work, and sex; children interviewed.

Steadiness at work, ¹ and sex.	Average monthly earnings of ² —	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	\$16.62	\$16.68
Class A—Steady.....		19.54
Class B—Active.....		16.64
Class C—Restless.....	15.63	14.85
Class D—Unsteady.....	13.49	10.71
Class E—Indeterminate.....	18.85	.....
Boys.....	18.00	17.90
Class A—Steady.....		20.60
Class B—Active.....		17.83
Class C—Restless.....	17.45	15.57
Class D—Unsteady.....	14.42	15.07
Class E—Indeterminate.....	19.99	.....
Girls.....	14.23	15.06
Class A—Steady.....		18.15
Class B—Active.....		14.78
Class C—Restless.....	12.82	13.98
Class D—Unsteady.....		7.30
Class E—Indeterminate.....	16.79	.....

¹ Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more 1 position only. Class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work histories. Class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 8 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories. Class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories. Class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

² Not shown where base is less than 100 months of work histories.

Exactly the opposite tendency, however—that is, for wages to fall with increased industrial experience—was found among the retarded children. The average monthly earnings of retarded children who had been at work for one year or more were actually

70 cents lower than those of retarded children who had been at work for less than one year, yet the proportions of time unemployed were 17.2 per cent and 16.7 per cent, respectively—less difference than for any other group of children.

It should be noted that the children whose standing in school was not reported and who had been at work less than one year had the highest average monthly earnings of any group, \$20.93. These children, as will be remembered,^a came from vocational, prevocational, disciplinary, and other special schools which made unusual efforts to place their pupils.

Decided differences, shown in Table 107, were found between the average monthly earnings of the "steady," "active," "restless," and "unsteady" workers who had been at work for a year or more, differences corresponding to those found in the percentages of time unemployed of these four groups. Thus the average monthly earnings of the "steady" workers who were unemployed, according to Table 94, only 2.7 per cent of their time were nearly twice as high, \$19.54, as those, \$10.71, of the "unsteady" workers who were unemployed 34.9 per cent of their time. The average monthly earnings of the "unsteady" girls, who were unemployed more than two-fifths, 42.6 per cent, of their time were only \$7.30, while those of the "steady" girls, who were unemployed only 4.7 per cent of their time, were \$18.15. Less difference was found among the boys. Even the "unsteady" boys made on an average \$15.07 a month; almost three-fourths as much as the "steady" boys, who made an average of \$20.60; and, as has already been noted, the "unsteady" boys were unemployed 25.1 per cent of their time, as compared with only 1.1 per cent of unemployment for the "steady" boys.

HOURS OF LABOR.

The hours worked weekly by the children interviewed, as appears in Table 108, were 48 or less in over four-fifths, 81.3 per cent, of their positions. These hours include periods of attendance at continuation school which are supposed to be deducted from the 48 hours permitted by law. Many of the positions here considered, however, were held during vacation and others were held before the continuation school was started or before the child had been assigned to a class. In nearly two-fifths, 39.1 per cent, of their positions, these children worked exactly 48 hours, and in not far from two-fifths, 37.8 per cent, between 36 and 48 hours. But in 15.3 per cent of their positions they worked over 48 hours—in 6.4 per cent over 54 hours. To what extent these positions involved violations of the law limiting the hours of labor of children under 16 to 8 a day and 48 a week in most occupations^a will be considered later.^b

^a See p. 182.

^a Acts of 1913, ch. 831, sec. 8.

^b See pp. 322 to 331.

The law also requires that, to be excused from school attendance, a child must be employed for at least six hours a day.⁸² Yet in 84 positions, or 4.3 per cent of the entire number, these children were employed for less than 36 hours a week. The entire subject of violations of the law relating to hours of labor, however, is considered later, as also that of the hours worked in the various occupations.

TABLE 108.—*Hours weekly, by sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Hours weekly and sex of child.	Regular positions.					
	All positions.		First position.		Last position.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	1,943	100.0	823	100.0	823	100.0
Hours weekly:						
48 hours or under.....	1,579	81.3	679	82.5	711	86.4
Under 12.....	12	0.6	4	0.5	1	0.1
12 under 24.....	19	1.0	9	1.1	3	0.4
24 under 36.....	53	2.7	24	2.9	16	1.9
36 under 48.....	735	37.8	317	38.5	346	42.0
48 even.....	760	39.1	325	39.5	345	41.9
Over 48 hours.....	297	15.3	126	15.3	102	12.4
Under 54.....	172	8.9	75	9.1	67	8.1
54 or over.....	125	6.4	51	6.2	35	4.3
Not reported.....	67	3.4	18	2.2	10	1.2
Boys.....	1,093	100.0	477	100.0	477	100.0
Hours weekly:						
48 hours or under.....	858	78.5	379	79.5	402	84.3
Under 12.....	8	0.7	3	0.6	.....	.....
12 under 24.....	15	1.4	8	1.7	2	0.4
24 under 36.....	37	3.4	15	3.1	13	2.7
36 under 48.....	409	37.4	183	38.4	207	43.4
48 even.....	389	35.6	170	35.6	180	37.7
Over 48 hours.....	199	18.2	86	18.0	68	14.3
Under 54.....	114	10.4	52	10.9	45	9.4
54 or over.....	85	7.8	34	7.1	23	4.8
Not reported.....	36	3.3	12	2.5	7	1.5
Girls.....	850	100.0	346	100.0	346	100.0
Hours weekly:						
48 hours or under.....	721	84.8	300	86.7	309	89.3
Under 12.....	4	0.5	1	0.3	1	0.3
12 under 24.....	4	0.5	1	0.3	1	0.3
24 under 36.....	16	1.9	9	2.6	3	0.9
36 under 48.....	326	38.4	134	38.7	139	40.2
48 even.....	371	43.6	155	44.8	165	47.7
Over 48 hours.....	98	11.5	40	11.6	34	9.8
Under 54.....	58	6.8	23	6.6	22	6.4
54 or over.....	40	4.7	17	4.9	12	3.5
Not reported.....	31	3.6	6	1.7	3	0.9

In a larger proportion of positions held by boys than by girls, 18.2 per cent as compared with 11.5 per cent, the hours were over 48 a week, but in a smaller proportion, 35.6 per cent as compared with 43.6 per cent, they were exactly 48. That the hours of the girls were more likely to be standardized than those of the boys is again shown by the fact that in only 2.9 per cent of the positions

⁸² Acts of 1913, ch. 831, sec. 8.

held by girls as compared with 5.5 per cent of those held by boys were the hours less than 36 a week.

TABLE 109.—*Hours weekly, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Hours weekly and sex.	Regular positions.							
	Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.	
			Children native.		Children foreign born.			
Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	
Both sexes	459	100.0	998	100.0	426	100.0	60	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under	383	83.4	822	82.4	325	76.3	49	81.7
Under 12.....	4	.9	6	.6	2	.5	.....	.....
12 under 24.....	5	1.1	10	1.0	4	.9	.....	.....
24 under 36.....	18	3.9	27	2.7	5	1.2	3	5.0
36 under 48.....	167	36.4	382	38.2	169	39.7	17	28.3
48 even.....	189	41.2	397	39.8	145	34.0	29	48.3
Over 48 hours.....	62	13.5	142	14.2	84	19.7	9	15.0
Over 48 under 54.....	36	7.8	84	8.4	46	10.8	6	10.0
54 or over.....	26	5.7	58	5.8	38	8.9	3	5.0
Not reported.....	14	3.1	34	3.4	17	4.0	2	3.3
Boys.....	272	100.0	579	100.0	200	100.0	42	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under	231	84.9	458	79.1	133	66.5	36	.....
Under 12.....	1	.4	6	1.0	1	.5	.....	.....
12 under 24.....	3	1.1	10	1.7	2	1.0	.....	.....
24 under 36.....	13	4.8	18	3.1	3	1.5	3	.....
36 under 48.....	111	40.8	219	37.8	64	32.0	15	.....
48 even.....	103	37.9	205	35.4	63	31.5	18	.....
Over 48 hours.....	37	13.6	101	17.4	55	27.5	6	.....
Over 48 under 54.....	21	7.7	62	10.7	27	13.5	4	.....
54 or over.....	16	5.9	39	6.7	28	14.0	2	.....
Not reported.....	4	1.5	20	3.5	12	6.0	.....	.....
Girls.....	187	100.0	419	100.0	226	100.0	18	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under	152	81.3	364	86.9	192	85.0	13	.....
Under 12.....	3	1.6	.....	.....	1	.4	.....	.....
12 under 24.....	2	1.1	.....	.....	2	.9	.....	.....
24 under 36.....	5	2.7	9	2.1	2	.9	.....	.....
36 under 48.....	56	29.9	163	38.9	105	46.5	2	.....
48 even.....	86	46.0	192	45.8	82	36.3	11	.....
Over 48 hours.....	25	13.4	41	9.8	29	12.8	3	.....
Over 48 under 54.....	15	8.0	22	5.3	19	8.4	2	.....
54 or over.....	10	5.3	19	4.5	10	4.4	1	.....
Not reported.....	10	5.3	14	3.3	5	2.2	2	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

The children appear to have been more likely to work both shorter and longer hours than contemplated by law in their first than in their last positions. In their first positions 4.5 per cent but in their last positions only 2.4 per cent of them worked less than 36 hours. Moreover, in their first positions 15.3 per cent but in their last positions only 12.4 per cent worked over 48 hours. These differences were accompanied by correspondingly larger proportions who worked exactly 48 hours, and especially who worked from 36 to 48 hours in their last positions.

TABLE 110.—*Hours weekly, by initial weekly wage and*

Hours weekly and sex.	Regular positions showing specified initial weekly wage.							
	Under \$5.							
	Total.		Under \$3.		\$3 under \$4.		\$4 under \$5.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes.....	1,302	100.0	103	100.0	413	100.0	786	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under.....	1,117	85.8	79	76.7	355	86.0	683	86.9
Under 12.....	3	0.2	3	2.9				
12 under 24.....	17	1.3	11	10.7	3	.7	3	.4
24 under 36.....	32	2.5	9	8.7	13	3.1	10	1.3
36 under 48.....	494	37.9	30	29.1	151	36.6	313	39.8
48 even.....	571	43.9	26	25.2	188	45.5	357	45.4
Over 48 hours.....	168	12.9	18	17.5	51	12.3	99	12.6
Under 54.....	107	8.2	8	7.8	29	7.0	70	8.9
54 or over.....	61	4.7	10	9.7	22	5.3	29	3.7
Not reported.....	17	1.3	6	5.8	7	1.7	4	0.5
Boys.....	660	100.0	39	100.0	135	100.0	486	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under.....	542	82.1	27		104	77.0	411	84.6
Under 12.....	1	.2	1					
12 under 24.....	13	2.0	8		2	1.5	3	.6
24 under 36.....	22	3.3	7		8	5.9	7	1.4
36 under 48.....	254	38.5	6		53	39.3	195	40.1
48 even.....	252	38.2	5		41	30.4	206	42.4
Over 48 hours.....	108	16.4	7		28	20.7	73	15.0
Under 54.....	65	9.8			15	11.1	50	10.3
54 or over.....	43	6.5	7		13	9.6	23	4.7
Not reported.....	10	1.5	5		3	2.2	2	.4
Girls.....	642	100.0	64	100.0	278	100.0	300	100.0
Hours weekly:								
48 hours or under.....	576	89.6	52	81.3	251	90.3	272	90.7
Under 12.....	2	.3	2	3.1				
12 under 24.....	4	.6	3	4.7	1	0.4		
24 under 36.....	10	1.6	2	3.1	5	1.8	3	1.0
36 under 48.....	240	37.4	24	37.5	98	35.3	118	39.3
48 even.....	319	49.7	21	32.8	147	52.9	151	50.3
Over 48 hours.....	60	9.3	11	17.2	23	8.3	26	8.7
Under 54.....	42	6.5	8	12.5	14	5.0	20	6.7
54 or over.....	18	2.8	3	4.7	9	3.2	6	2.0
Not reported.....	7	1.1	1	1.6	4	1.4	2	.7

Both boys and girls showed this tendency toward larger proportions of last positions than of first positions where the hours were either exactly 48 or between 36 and 48 a week.

Table 109 shows that the hours were more than 48 a week in over one-fourth, 27.5 per cent, of all the positions held by foreign-born boys, as compared with not much more than one-sixth, 17.4 per cent, of those held by native boys whose fathers were foreign born and with scarcely over one-eighth, 13.6 per cent, of those held by the sons of native fathers. In 13.5 per cent of all the positions held by foreign-born boys the hours were over 48 but under 54, and in 14 per cent they were over 54 a week. The long hours may account for the higher wages received by the foreign-born boys in their first positions.

sex; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Regular positions showing specified initial weekly wage.										Hours weekly and sex.
\$5 or over.						Other. ¹		Not reported.		
Total.		\$5 under \$6.		\$6 or over.						
Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ²	
465	100.0	325	100.0	140	100.0	127	100.0	49	100.0	Both sexes.
362	77.8	259	79.7	103	73.6	80	63.0	20	.....	Hours weekly:
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	7.1	.....	.....	48 hours or under.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1.6	.....	.....	Under 12.
11	2.4	6	1.8	5	3.6	10	7.9	.....	.....	12 under 24.
196	42.2	148	45.5	48	34.3	35	27.6	10	.....	24 under 36.
155	33.3	105	32.3	50	35.7	24	18.9	10	.....	36 under 48.
95	20.4	60	18.5	35	25.0	28	22.0	6	.....	48 even.
57	12.3	37	11.4	20	14.3	5	3.9	3	.....	Over 48 hours.
38	8.2	23	7.1	15	10.7	23	18.1	3	.....	Under 54.
8	1.7	6	1.8	2	1.4	19	15.0	23	.....	54 or over.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.
355	100.0	249	100.0	106	100.0	57	100.0	21	100.0	Boys.
265	74.6	189	75.9	76	71.7	42	73.7	9	.....	Hours weekly:
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	12.3	.....	.....	48 hours or under.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3.5	.....	.....	Under 12.
10	2.8	5	2.0	5	4.7	5	8.8	.....	.....	12 under 24.
133	37.5	104	41.8	29	27.4	15	26.3	7	.....	24 under 36.
122	34.4	80	32.1	42	39.6	13	22.8	2	.....	36 under 48.
82	23.1	54	21.7	28	26.4	8	14.0	1	.....	48 even.
47	13.2	32	12.9	15	14.2	2	3.5	.....	.....	Over 48 hours.
35	9.9	22	8.8	13	12.3	6	10.5	1	.....	Under 54.
8	2.3	6	2.4	2	1.9	7	12.3	11	.....	54 or over.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.
110	100.0	76	100.0	34	100.0	70	100.0	28	100.0	Girls.
97	88.2	70	92.1	27	.....	38	54.3	11	.....	Hours weekly:
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2.9	.....	.....	48 hours or under.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Under 12.
1	.9	1	1.3	.....	.....	5	7.1	.....	.....	12 under 24.
63	57.3	44	57.9	19	.....	20	28.6	3	.....	24 under 36.
33	30.0	25	32.9	8	.....	11	15.7	8	.....	36 under 48.
13	11.8	6	7.9	7	.....	20	28.6	5	.....	48 even.
10	9.1	5	6.6	5	.....	3	4.3	3	.....	Over 48 hours.
3	2.7	1	1.3	2	.....	17	24.3	2	.....	Under 54.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	17.1	12	.....	54 or over.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.

¹ Including positions where support or meals were given as part or whole of wage; also positions where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay; and where he worked for less than one week on piece-work or only one day a week.

² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

Of the positions held by foreign-born girls, however, only about one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, required over 48 hours of work a week—even less than of those held by native girls whose fathers were also native, 13.4 per cent, but more than of those held by native girls whose fathers were foreign born, 9.8 per cent. The foreign-born girls also showed a greater tendency than the native to secure positions where the hours were from 36 to 48, while the native girls tended to secure positions where the hours were exactly 48. Of all the positions held by foreign-born girls 46.5 per cent, as compared with 38.9 per cent of those held by native girls of foreign parentage and with only 29.9

per cent of those held by native girls of native parentage, required as much as 36 but less than 48 hours a week. On the other hand, in only 36.3 per cent of the positions held by foreign-born girls, as compared with 45.8 per cent of those held by native girls whose fathers were foreign-born and with 46 per cent of those held by native girls whose fathers were also native, were the hours exactly 48 a week.

The hours worked in different positions naturally affected the wages paid. Thus the hours were over 48 a week, according to Table 110, in only about one-eighth, 12.9 per cent, of the positions in which the wages were less than \$5 a week, but in about one-fifth, 20.4 per cent, of those in which the wages were \$5 or more. At the same time the hours were less than 24 a week in considerably more than one-eighth, 13.6 per cent, of the positions paying less than \$3, but in none of those paying more than \$5 a week. In positions where the wages were \$6 or more, as might be expected, the hours were rarely less than 36, but in one-fourth, 25 per cent, of these positions they were over 48 a week. The tendency among the girls and the boys was practically the same. In more than half the positions in which girls received from \$3 to \$5 a week they worked exactly 48 hours; but it is interesting to note that in over one-sixth, 17.2 per cent, of the positions in which girls earned less than \$3 a week they worked over 48 hours. In this case, however, the numbers involved are small. Roughly speaking, the higher rates of wages were paid for comparatively long hours and the lower rates for comparatively short hours of labor.

REASONS FOR LEAVING POSITIONS.

Table 111 shows that, of the positions for which reason for leaving was reported, not far from two-fifths, 38 per cent, of those left by children for whom continuation-school records were used, and over two-fifths, 42.5 per cent, of those left by children who were interviewed were terminated because the children were "laid off." This does not mean necessarily that the children who held these positions were incompetent or troublesome, for children were often discharged because the work was temporary, because business was dull, because the employer failed or sold out his business, and for a variety of other reasons. On the other hand, 37.5 per cent of the positions terminated by continuation-school children and 37.8 per cent of those terminated by interviewed children were for some reason not satisfactory to the children themselves. Not all these positions were left voluntarily, for many children would not like to state that they had been discharged and would complain instead of wages, or hours, or the kind of work, or would merely say that they disliked the work or the place.

The information as to reasons for leaving positions obtained from the interviewed children is probably more accurate than that obtained from the continuation-school children. This greater degree of accuracy

is doubtless reflected in the higher proportion of positions from which the children were "laid off." It is probably also reflected in the differences between the two groups in the proportions of positions left because the children disliked the work or the place and because they secured better, or merely other, places. Of the positions left by continuation-school children, 14.8 per cent, as compared with only 9.9 per cent of those left by interviewed children, were terminated because of dislike of the work or the place. On the other hand, only 7.3 per cent of those left by continuation-school children, as compared with 13.1 per cent of those left by interviewed children, were reported as terminated because better positions had been secured. The continuation-school record on this point was made when the child applied for a certificate, and, as he always had another position at that time, he evidently often gave his reason for hunting the new place, instead of the fact that he had it, as his reason for leaving his former position. The interviewed child, on the other hand, was questioned carefully to ascertain whether he had secured the new position before actually leaving the old one and, if he had done so, this fact, instead of his reasons for dissatisfaction, was given as the cause of leaving.

TABLE 111.—Reason for leaving position, by sex; comparison of positions held by children interviewed and by children in Boston continuation school.

Reason for leaving position.	Regular positions held by children in Boston continuation school.						Regular positions held by children interviewed (Boston).					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.		Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
All positions.....	7,381	.....	4,134	.....	3,247	.....	1,943	.....	1,093	.....	850	.....
Positions left.....	3,324	100.0	1,742	100.0	1,582	100.0	1,136	100.0	627	100.0	509	100.0
Reason for leaving:												
Laid off.....	1,264	38.0	476	27.3	788	49.8	483	42.5	231	36.8	252	49.5
Position not satisfac-tory.....	1,245	37.5	807	46.3	438	27.7	429	37.8	262	41.8	167	32.8
Disliked work or place.....	491	14.8	315	18.1	176	11.1	112	9.9	64	10.2	48	9.4
Low wages.....	283	8.5	132	7.6	151	9.5	93	8.2	46	7.3	47	9.2
Work too hard or hours long.....	230	6.9	174	10.0	56	3.5	75	6.6	51	8.1	24	4.7
Secured better po-sition.....	241	7.3	186	10.7	55	3.5	149	13.1	101	16.1	48	9.4
Continuation school....	49	1.5	31	1.8	18	1.1	25	2.2	16	2.6	9	1.8
Returned to school....	194	5.8	127	7.3	67	4.2	20	1.8	13	2.1	7	1.4
Other reasons.....	455	13.7	264	15.2	191	12.1	179	15.8	105	16.7	74	14.5
Not employed ¹	117	3.5	37	2.1	80	5.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Positions not left or reason not reported.....	4,057	.....	2,392	.....	1,665	.....	807	.....	466	.....	341	.....

¹ Employer did not keep promise of employment or child decided not to take position.

In one respect, the group of children interviewed is not typical of all children who left school to go to work, for it contains an abnormally small proportion of children who left positions in order to return to school. This was natural in view of the fact that these children were all at work on the date of the interview; but it may be due in part to the fact that children who went to work soon after becoming 14, as so large a proportion of these children did, were less likely to return to school than were children who did not go to work until later. Both groups of children worked during school term before they were 16; that is, neither group included children who were merely vacation workers, but it may be that the continuation-school group included some children who went to work with the distinct intention of returning to school within a short time.

Girls were much more likely than boys to be "laid off." If the cases in which the reason for leaving was not reported are disregarded, as is done in Table 111, about half, 49.5 per cent, of the positions left by girls who were interviewed and practically the same proportion, 49.8 per cent, of those left by girls for whom continuation-school records were used were terminated for this reason. Only a little over one-third, 36.8 per cent, of those held by boys who were interviewed, and a decidedly smaller proportion, only 27.3 per cent, of those held by boys for whom continuation-school records were used were terminated for this reason. The differences between the percentages for the two groups of boys may indicate that the boys more often than the girls admitted that they had been laid off only when closely questioned. A much larger proportion of the positions held by girls than of those held by boys, however, were for temporary work, particularly in mercantile establishments. Table 112 shows that although from only one-fifth, 20.4 per cent, of the positions left by boys the children were laid off because the work was temporary, because business was dull, or for reasons not assigned, this group of causes accounted for the termination of nearly two-fifths, 38.7 per cent, of the positions left by girls. At the same time it accounted for about seven-tenths, 69.4 per cent, of all the positions from which children were "laid off."

Twenty-five children, 16 boys and 9 girls, stated to bureau agents that they had lost positions because they had been obliged to attend continuation school.

TABLE 112.—Reason for leaving position, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Reason for leaving position and sex.	Regular positions.								Nativity of father not reported; children native. ¹
	All children.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign-born.				
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Children native.	Children foreign-born.	Children native.	Children foreign-born.	
Both sexes.....	1,943	.....	459	.....	998	.....	426	.....	60
Positions left ²	1,170	100.0	272	100.0	598	100.0	268	100.0	32
Reason for leaving:									
Laid off.....	483	41.3	114	41.9	258	43.1	98	36.6	13
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given..	335	28.6	83	30.5	184	30.8	61	22.8	7
Business sold out or employer failed.....	64	5.5	11	4.0	33	5.5	18	6.7	2
For other reasons.....	84	7.2	20	7.4	41	6.9	19	7.1	4
Position not satisfactory.....	429	36.7	98	36.0	226	37.8	93	34.7	12
Disliked work or place.....	112	9.6	32	11.8	55	9.2	23	8.6	2
No advancement.....	13	1.1	4	1.5	8	1.3	1	.4	.....
Low wages.....	93	7.9	13	4.8	56	9.4	24	9.0	.....
Work too hard, hours long....	75	6.4	24	8.8	35	5.9	14	5.2	2
Secured better position.....	136	11.6	25	9.2	72	12.0	31	11.6	8
Continuation school.....	25	2.1	5	1.8	12	2.0	7	2.6	1
Returned to school.....	20	1.7	3	1.1	11	1.8	6	2.2	.....
Other reasons.....	179	15.3	45	16.5	74	12.4	54	20.1	6
Not reported.....	34	2.9	7	2.6	17	2.8	10	3.7	.....
Positions not left.....	773	.....	187	.....	400	.....	158	.....	28
Boys.....	1,093	.....	272	.....	579	.....	200	.....	42
Positions left ²	646	100.0	155	100.0	342	100.0	129	100.0	20
Reason for leaving:									
Laid off.....	231	35.8	46	29.7	136	39.8	42	32.6	7
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given...	132	20.4	24	15.5	86	25.1	20	15.5	2
Business sold out or employer failed.....	41	6.3	7	4.5	22	6.4	10	7.8	2
For other reasons.....	58	9.0	15	9.7	28	8.2	12	9.3	3
Position not satisfactory.....	262	40.6	69	44.5	136	39.8	48	37.2	9
Disliked work or place.....	64	9.9	19	12.3	34	9.9	9	7.0	2
No advancement.....	10	1.5	3	1.9	6	1.8	1	.8	.....
Low wages.....	46	7.1	9	5.8	26	7.6	11	8.5	.....
Work too hard, hours long....	51	7.9	17	11.0	21	6.1	11	8.5	2
Secured better position.....	91	14.1	21	13.5	49	14.3	16	12.4	5
Continuation school.....	16	2.5	3	1.9	9	2.6	3	2.3	1
Returned to school.....	13	2.0	.....	.....	8	2.3	5	3.9	.....
Other reasons.....	105	16.3	32	20.6	44	12.9	26	20.2	3
Not reported.....	19	2.9	5	3.2	9	2.6	5	3.9	.....
Positions not left.....	447	.....	117	.....	237	.....	71	.....	22
Girls.....	850	.....	187	.....	419	.....	226	.....	18
Positions left ²	524	100.0	117	100.0	256	100.0	139	100.0	12
Reason for leaving:									
Laid off.....	252	48.1	68	58.1	122	47.7	56	40.3	6
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given...	203	38.7	59	50.4	98	38.3	41	29.5	5
Business sold out or employer failed.....	23	4.4	4	3.4	11	4.3	8	5.8	.....
For other reasons.....	26	5.0	5	4.3	13	5.1	7	5.0	1
Position not satisfactory.....	167	31.9	29	24.8	90	35.2	45	32.4	3
Disliked work or place.....	48	9.2	13	11.1	21	8.2	14	10.1	.....
No advancement.....	3	.6	1	.9	2	.8	.....	.....	.....
Low wages.....	47	9.0	4	3.4	30	11.7	13	9.4	.....
Work too hard, hours long....	24	4.6	7	6.0	14	5.5	3	2.2	.....
Secured better position.....	45	8.6	4	3.4	23	9.0	15	10.8	3
Continuation school.....	9	1.7	2	1.7	3	1.2	4	2.9	.....
Returned to school.....	7	1.3	3	2.6	3	1.2	1	.7	.....
Other reasons.....	74	14.1	13	11.1	30	11.7	28	20.1	3
Not reported.....	15	2.9	2	1.7	8	3.1	5	3.6	.....
Positions not left.....	326	.....	70	.....	163	.....	87	.....	6

¹ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.² In this table "Not reported" is included under "Positions left," whereas in Table 111, which includes also the continuation-school children, the cases in which the reason for leaving was not reported were combined with those in which the position had not been left.

Complaint of too hard work or too long hours, according to the same table, accounted for the termination of 6.4 per cent of all the positions held by interviewed children, 7.9 per cent of those held by boys, and only 4.6 per cent of those held by girls. In other words, in about one-sixth of all the cases in which positions were not satisfactory the reason given was that the physical demands were excessive. Although the large proportion of girls who were "laid off" means smaller proportions who left positions for all other reasons, it is natural that excessive physical demands should be mentioned more frequently by boys than by girls, for boys are more frequently employed for comparatively heavy work. It was given in a larger proportion of cases, 8.8 per cent, by native children of native fathers than by either native children of foreign-born fathers, 5.9 per cent, or foreign-born children, 5.2 per cent.

Both groups of native children showed larger proportions of positions from which the children were laid off because the work was temporary, because business was dull, or for some unassigned reason than did the foreign-born children. The percentages for both sexes were 30.5, 30.8, and 22.8, respectively, and they were considerably larger for girls than for boys. Over half, 50.4 per cent, of the positions left by native girls whose fathers also were native were terminated for one of these reasons, as compared with 38.3 per cent of those left by native girls whose fathers were foreign-born and with 29.5 per cent of those left by foreign-born girls. These differences were doubtless due entirely to the differences to be discussed later in the occupations entered by the three nativity groups.

Native boys whose fathers also were native appear to have left because their positions were not satisfactory more frequently than did native boys whose fathers were foreign born, and the latter terminated their positions more frequently for this reason than did foreign-born boys. Of all positions left by the first group 44.5 per cent, of those left by the second 39.8 per cent, and of those left by the third 37.2 per cent were ended because they were considered unsatisfactory. Because of the large proportion of girls of native parentage who were laid off, other reasons were given less frequently by girls of this group. Dissatisfaction with their positions was given as a reason for leaving by less than one-fourth, 24.8 per cent, of them, as compared with over one-third, 35.2 per cent, of the native girls whose fathers were foreign-born and with nearly one-third, 32.4 per cent, of the foreign-born girls.

The frequency with which native girls of native parentage were laid off also accounts for the fact that in so few cases, only 3.4 per cent, as compared with 9 per cent for native girls of foreign parentage and 10.8 per cent for foreign-born girls, were they able to leave one position because they had secured another which they believed to be

TABLE 113.—Reason for leaving position, by retardation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Reason for leaving position and sex.	Regular positions held by children who, on leaving school, had completed for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹
Both sexes.....	307	.....	923	.....	687	.....	602	.....	85	.....
Positions left.....	177	100.0	533	100.0	444	100.0	392	100.0	52	100.0
Reason for leaving:										
Laid off.....	79	44.6	232	43.5	167	37.6	154	39.3	13	25.0
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given.	62	35.0	171	32.1	99	22.3	89	22.7	10	19.2
Business sold out or employer failed.....	6	3.4	27	5.1	29	6.5	26	6.6	3	5.8
For other reasons.....	11	6.2	34	6.4	39	8.8	39	9.9	.....	.....
Position not satisfactory.....	60	33.9	177	33.2	196	41.9	160	40.8	26	50.0
Disliked work or place....	17	9.6	49	9.2	46	10.4	41	10.5	5	9.6
No advancement.....	3	1.7	4	.8	6	1.4	6	1.5	.....	.....
Low wages.....	7	4.0	33	6.2	51	11.5	46	11.7	5	9.6
Work too hard, hours long.	14	7.9	28	5.3	33	7.4	26	6.6	7	13.5
Secured better position...	19	10.7	63	11.8	50	11.3	41	10.5	9	17.3
Continuation school.....	4	2.3	15	2.8	6	1.4	5	1.3	1	1.9
Returned to school.....	7	4.0	7	1.3	6	1.4	4	1.0	2	3.8
Other reasons.....	19	10.7	85	15.9	70	15.8	60	15.3	10	19.2
Not reported.....	8	4.5	17	3.2	9	2.0	9	2.3	.....	.....
Positions not left.....	130	.....	390	.....	243	.....	210	.....	33	.....
Boys.....	181	.....	510	.....	385	.....	344	.....	41	.....
Positions left.....	101	100.0	281	100.0	254	100.0	226	100.0	28	100.0
Reason for leaving:										
Laid off.....	37	36.6	97	34.5	95	37.4	90	39.8	5	.....
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given.	27	26.7	57	20.3	48	18.9	44	19.5	4	.....
Business sold out or employer failed.....	4	4.0	15	5.3	20	7.9	19	8.4	1	.....
For other reasons.....	6	5.9	25	8.9	27	10.6	27	11.9	.....	.....
Position not satisfactory.....	41	40.6	114	40.6	103	40.6	89	39.4	14	.....
Disliked work or place....	9	8.9	34	12.1	21	8.3	18	8.0	3	.....
No advancement.....	3	3.0	2	.7	5	2.0	5	2.2	.....	.....
Low wages.....	4	4.0	18	6.4	23	9.1	22	9.7	1	.....
Work too hard, hours long.	9	8.9	18	6.4	24	9.4	19	8.4	5	.....
Secured better position...	16	15.8	42	14.9	30	11.8	25	11.1	5	.....
Continuation school.....	4	4.0	9	3.2	3	1.2	3	1.3	.....	.....
Returned to school.....	5	5.0	4	1.4	4	1.6	2	.9	2	.....
Other reasons.....	11	10.9	49	17.4	41	16.1	34	15.0	7	.....
Not reported.....	3	3.0	8	2.8	8	3.1	8	3.5	.....	.....
Positions not left.....	80	.....	229	.....	131	.....	118	.....	13	.....
Girls.....	126	.....	413	.....	302	.....	258	.....	44	.....
Positions left.....	76	100.0	252	100.0	190	100.0	166	100.0	24	100.0
Reason for leaving:										
Laid off.....	42	55.3	135	53.6	72	37.9	64	38.6	8	.....
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given.	35	46.1	114	45.2	51	26.8	45	27.1	6	.....
Business sold out or employer failed.....	2	2.6	12	4.8	9	4.7	7	4.2	2	.....
For other reasons.....	5	6.6	9	3.6	12	6.3	12	7.2	.....	.....
Position not satisfactory.....	19	25.0	63	25.0	83	43.7	71	42.8	12	.....
Disliked work or place....	8	10.5	15	6.0	25	13.2	23	13.9	2	.....
No advancement.....	.....	.....	2	.8	1	.5	1	.6	.....	.....
Low wages.....	3	3.9	15	6.0	28	14.7	24	14.5	4	.....
Work too hard, hours long.	5	6.6	10	4.0	9	4.7	7	4.2	2	.....
Secured better position...	3	3.9	21	8.3	20	10.5	16	9.6	4	.....
Continuation school.....	.....	.....	6	2.4	3	1.6	2	1.2	1	.....
Returned to school.....	2	2.6	3	1.2	2	1.1	2	1.2	.....	.....
Other reasons.....	8	10.5	36	14.3	29	15.3	26	15.7	3	.....
Not reported.....	5	6.6	9	3.6	1	.5	1	.6	.....	.....
Positions not left.....	50	.....	161	.....	112	.....	92	.....	20	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

more satisfactory. In this boys appear to have been much more successful than girls, native boys whose fathers also were native somewhat less so than native boys whose fathers were foreign-born, but both more so than foreign-born boys. For in 13.5 per cent of the cases in which native boys of native parentage left positions they had previously secured employment elsewhere, whereas for native boys of foreign parentage this percentage was 14.3 and for foreign-born boys 12.4.

Children from higher grades than normal, doubtless because of the particular type of occupations entered by the girls of this group as will be seen later,⁸³ were somewhat more likely than children from normal grades and decidedly more likely than retarded children, according to Table 113, to be laid off.

Children from higher grades were laid off in 44.6 per cent, those from normal grades in 43.5 per cent, and those from grades lower than normal in only 37.6 per cent of all cases in which they left positions. That this was due primarily at least to the occupations entered by girls is suggested by the fact that retarded boys were laid off in a larger proportion of cases, 37.4 per cent, than advanced boys, 36.6 per cent, or than normal boys, 34.5 per cent. Retarded girls, on the other hand, were laid off from only 37.9 per cent of their positions—about the same proportion as boys of this group—as compared with 53.6 per cent of the positions held by normal girls and 55.3 per cent of those held by advanced girls.

The advanced and normal children, as already pointed out,⁸⁴ received higher initial wages and more wage advances than did the retarded children. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that retarded children were more likely than the other two groups to leave positions because of low wages. Not far from one-eighth, 11.5 per cent, of the positions left by retarded children, as compared with only 4 per cent of those left by children who had completed higher grades than normal and 6.2 per cent of those from normal grades, were terminated for this reason. The differences between advanced, normal, and retarded girls, as regards termination of position on account of low wages, though showing the same tendency, were more marked than the differences between the same groups of boys.

⁸³ See Table 122, pp. 248-249 and Table 135, pp. 282-283.

⁸⁴ See Table 98, p. 199 and Table 102, p. 203.

TABLE 114.—Reason for leaving position, by steadiness at work and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Reason for leaving regular positions and sex.	Regular positions held by children of specified steadiness at work. ¹							
	Class A (steady).	Class B (active).		Class C (restless).		Class D (unsteady).		Class E (indefinite).
		Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Positions held by both sexes...	190	438	.....	896	.....	328	.....	91
Positions left.....	10	242	100.0	644	100.0	274	100.0	.....
Reason for leaving:								
Laid off.....	3	90	37.2	266	41.3	124	45.3	.....
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given....	1	62	25.6	183	28.4	89	32.5	.....
Business sold out or employer failed.....	1	14	5.8	31	4.8	18	6.6	.....
For other reasons.....	1	14	5.8	52	8.1	17	6.2	.....
Position not satisfactory.....	1	100	41.3	245	38.0	83	30.3	.....
Disliked work or place.....		30	12.4	64	9.9	18	6.6	.....
No advancement.....		4	1.7	3	.5	6	2.2	.....
Low wages.....	1	13	5.4	53	8.2	26	9.5	.....
Work too hard, hours long.....		13	5.4	49	7.6	13	4.7	.....
Secured better position.....		40	16.5	76	11.8	20	7.3	.....
Continuation school.....		5	2.1	11	1.7	9	3.3	.....
Returned to school.....		7	2.9	11	1.7	2	.7	.....
Other reasons.....	6	39	16.1	96	14.9	38	13.9	.....
Not reported.....		1	.4	15	2.3	18	6.6	.....
Positions not left.....	180	196	.....	252	.....	54	.....	91
Positions held by boys.....	108	262	.....	502	.....	164	.....	57
Positions left.....	3	143	100.0	361	100.0	139	100.0	.....
Reason for leaving:								
Laid off.....	1	46	32.2	136	37.7	48	34.5	.....
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given....		29	20.3	76	21.1	27	19.4	.....
Business sold out or employer failed.....	1	6	4.2	22	6.1	12	8.6	.....
For other reasons.....		11	7.7	38	10.5	9	6.5	.....
Position not satisfactory.....		65	45.5	145	40.2	52	37.4	.....
Disliked work or place.....		18	12.6	37	10.2	9	6.5	.....
No advancement.....		3	2.1	1	.3	6	4.3	.....
Low wages.....		5	3.5	26	7.2	15	10.8	.....
Work too hard, hours long.....		11	7.7	32	8.9	8	5.8	.....
Secured better position.....		28	19.6	49	13.6	14	10.1	.....
Continuation school.....		5	3.5	6	1.7	5	3.6	.....
Returned to school.....		3	2.1	10	2.8			.....
Other reasons.....	2	23	16.1	57	15.8	23	16.5	.....
Not reported.....		1	.7	7	1.9	11	7.9	.....
Positions not left.....	105	119	.....	141	.....	25	.....	57
Positions held by girls.....	82	176	.....	394	.....	164	.....	34
Positions left.....	7	99	100.0	283	100.0	135	100.0	.....
Reason for leaving:								
Laid off.....	2	44	44.4	130	45.9	76	56.3	.....
Work temporary, business dull, or reason not given....	1	33	33.3	107	37.8	62	45.9	.....
Business sold out or employer failed.....		8	8.1	9	3.2	6	4.4	.....
For other reasons.....	1	3	3.0	14	4.9	8	5.9	.....
Position not satisfactory.....	1	35	35.4	100	35.3	31	23.0	.....
Disliked work or place.....		12	12.1	27	9.5	9	6.7	.....
No advancement.....		1	1.0	2	.7			.....
Low wages.....	1	8	8.1	27	9.5	11	8.1	.....
Work too hard, hours long.....		2	2.0	17	6.0	5	3.7	.....
Secured better position.....		12	12.1	27	9.5	6	4.4	.....
Continuation school.....				5	1.8	4	3.0	.....
Returned to school.....		4	4.0	1	.4	2	1.5	.....
Other reasons.....	4	16	16.2	39	13.8	15	11.1	.....
Not reported.....				8	2.8	7	5.2	.....
Positions not left.....	75	77	.....	111	.....	29	.....	34

¹ Class A consists of children who each held during work histories of 1 year or more 1 position only; class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work histories; class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories; class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

The children of the four different groups, the "steady," "active," "restless," and "unsteady" workers, showed decided differences in their reasons for leaving. Table 114 shows that all but 10 of the 190 positions held by "steady" children were still held at the date of the interview. For this group of children, therefore, the number of positions left is entirely too small to justify any conclusion. But the "unsteady" workers showed a greater tendency to be laid off than the "restless" workers, and the latter than the "active" workers. From 45.3 per cent of the positions left by "unsteady" workers they were laid off; while the corresponding percentage for "restless" workers was 41.3, and for "active" workers only 37.2.

On the other hand, 41.3 per cent of the positions left by "active" workers, as compared with 38 per cent of those left by "restless" workers, and with only 30.3 per cent of those left by "unsteady" workers, were terminated because for some reason the work was not satisfactory. Although "low wages" was most frequently given as a cause of dissatisfaction by the "unsteady" workers and least frequently by the "active" workers, this tendency was more than counterbalanced by the greater tendency of the "active" workers to give other reasons, particularly the securing of a better position, why their positions were not satisfactory. About one-sixth, 16.5 per cent, of the positions left by "active" workers, as compared with about one-ninth, 11.8 per cent, of those left by "restless" and with only 7.3 per cent of those left by "unsteady" workers, were terminated because the children had secured new places, which they believed, at least, to be better. This greater tendency of children who changed their positions less frequently to secure new places before leaving the old may in part account for their smaller percentages already noted of time unemployed.

The tendency as regards reasons for leaving positions was slightly different among the three groups of boys. As has been seen, boys were much less frequently laid off from their positions than were girls. But a larger proportion, 37.7 per cent, of positions terminated by "restless" boys than by any other group were ended in this way. On the other hand, the "unsteady" girls showed decidedly the largest proportion, 56.3 per cent, of positions thus ended. Nearly two-fifths, 19.6 per cent, of the positions terminated by "active" boys, as compared with 13.6 per cent of those terminated by "restless" and with 10.1 per cent by "unsteady" boys were left because the boys had secured better positions.

The reasons for leaving positions, however, are so closely connected with the character of the occupations that before any very satisfactory conclusions can be drawn from them it is necessary to consider what occupations were entered by the boys and girls of the different groups.

OCCUPATIONS.

A thorough study of children's occupations was not possible in connection with this inquiry, partly because of the wide variety of positions and the small number of children doing any one specific task. This condition is characteristic of any large city with diversified industries in which no one type of child-employing industry is largely represented, but practically all types are present. Another reason why no such study was attempted was because an investigation of that kind would necessarily involve careful descriptions of the work performed,⁸⁵ and both physical and mental examinations of a large number of children to determine its effects, as well as a study of a variety of environmental conditions. It probably should also include the following up for a number of years of the group of children studied in order to secure information as to their physical and industrial histories. Such a thorough study of children's occupations is much needed.

For the purpose of tabulation, it was necessary to make a broad, general classification of the occupations engaged in by the children included in this study. No complete industrial classification was attempted, but so far as possible the occupations involving similar labor conditions were grouped together. The children classed as factory operatives, for example, were all engaged in typical manufacturing occupations. Those employed in factories but not engaged in actual production—for example, messengers and labelers—were classed under the general heading, "Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," along with children from other types of establishments engaged in the same kind of work.

Under "factory and mechanical occupations," however, "factory operatives" were carefully distinguished from "apprentices and helpers" in skilled trades; and under "factory operatives" certain kinds of factories which employed unusually large numbers of children were distinguished from the others. The group "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" was divided into five classes, "office work," "cash and messenger work in department stores," "selling," "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work," and "messenger, errand, and delivery work." The last two designations necessarily include positions in a wide variety of industries,

⁸⁵ A few tentative studies of work processes were made in order to estimate the difficulties involved, but not enough was done in this line to justify any conclusions, and these studies were not followed up by physical examinations of the children.

which, though involving considerable variations in external circumstances, possess essential likenesses in their more fundamental characteristics.⁸⁶

Of all the positions held by children who took out certificates in the four cities of this survey, according to Table 115 about one-third, 33 per cent, were for factory and mechanical occupations, and not far from two-thirds, 63.5 per cent, for clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods. Only 3 per cent of these positions were for personal and domestic occupations. An even smaller proportion, 2.6 per cent, were for work, included under factory and mechanical occupations, as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades.

TABLE 115.—Occupation, by sex of child; comparison of positions held by children interviewed with those held by children in Boston continuation school and with those held by children issued certificates in four cities.

Occupation.	Per cent distribution: a All positions held by—											
	Children issued certificates.						Children in the Boston continua- tion school.			Children inter- viewed (Boston).		
	All cities.			Boston.								
	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal and domestic oc- cupations.....	3.0	2.2	3.9	3.0	2.2	4.1	2.7	2.1	3.6	4.6	3.5	6.0
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.9	1.3	2.4	3.2	1.3
House and home work..	1.0	.2	2.1	1.1	.2	2.2	1.1	.2	2.3	2.2	.3	4.7
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	33.0	20.7	48.9	33.6	20.5	49.9	31.1	16.9	49.2	30.3	15.1	49.8
Factory operative.....	30.4	16.6	48.3	31.0	16.5	49.3	29.0	13.6	48.6	29.0	12.8	42.8
Shoe factory.....	8.9	5.3	13.5	10.4	6.3	15.7	10.1	5.5	15.9	10.2	6.3	15.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	5.8	.6	12.7	6.8	.7	14.5	7.2	.6	15.7	9.5	.7	20.8
Textile mill.....	3.0	1.6	4.9	3.5	1.9	5.5	3.2	1.7	5.1	2.7	2.0	3.6
Candy factory.....	.8	.4	1.4	.8	.3	1.3	.7	.2	1.2	1.0	.....	2.2
Other factory.....	11.8	8.8	15.8	9.4	7.2	12.2	7.8	5.6	10.6	5.5	3.8	7.8
Apprentice and helper— skilled trades.....	2.6	4.0	.6	2.6	4.1	.7	2.1	3.3	.5	1.3	2.3	.....
Clerical occupations, wrap- ping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	63.5	76.2	47.0	62.8	76.4	45.8	65.8	80.4	47.2	64.2	79.3	44.2
Office work.....	7.3	9.4	4.6	7.4	9.6	4.7	6.0	7.8	3.7	5.2	6.7	3.3
Cash and messenger work — department store.....	12.4	8.6	17.3	14.0	9.6	19.5	14.3	7.1	23.4	11.0	5.0	18.6
Packing, wrapping, la- beling, and shipping room work.....	6.8	2.4	12.4	4.8	2.0	8.3	4.4	1.5	8.0	5.4	3.1	8.2
Selling.....	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.0	3.8	4.1	2.9	2.5	3.3	3.9	3.9	3.9
Messenger work, er- rand, and delivery...	32.8	51.7	8.3	32.7	51.4	9.2	38.8	61.4	8.8	38.8	61.0	10.2
All other occupations.....	.5	.8	.1	.5	.7	.1	.4	.6	.1	.9	1.6	.....
Not reported.....	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.1	.1	.....

a For the figures on which these percentages are based see Appendix Table I, p. 359. The per cent is not shown where less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

86 The specific occupations included under each designation in the tables are shown in the Appendix, pp. 362 to 363.

Because of differences in industrial opportunities the occupations of the children who took out certificates in Boston alone differed somewhat from those of the children who took out certificates in the four cities combined. A slightly larger proportion of the positions in Boston than of those in the four cities combined was found in the group of factory and mechanical occupations and a slightly smaller proportion in that of clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods. Of the Boston positions 10.4 per cent, as compared with only 8.9 per cent of the positions in the four cities, were for work as operatives in shoe factories. Boston led also in the proportions of positions in clothing factories and in textile mills. The only other differences worthy of note between the occupational distribution of positions held by children in Boston and in the four cities combined are the larger proportion in Boston, 14 per cent as compared with 12.4 per cent, of positions for cash and messenger work in department stores, and the smaller proportion in Boston, 4.8 per cent as compared with 6.8 per cent, of positions for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work. None of these differences, however, is sufficiently significant to invalidate the Boston figures alone as representative, in general, of the occupational distribution of children's positions in the larger industrial unit.

In the figures based on the continuation-school records a new feature enters, for the children in this group had all left school for work, whereas a considerable number of those in the certificate record group worked only during vacations. The differences in occupational distribution of vacation and regular positions, however, will be considered later. Here it is necessary to state only that a smaller proportion of the positions held by the continuation-school children, 31.1 per cent, were for work in factory and mechanical occupations, and a larger proportion, 65.8 per cent, for work in clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods, and that a similar difference was found in the positions held by the children interviewed.

The information in regard to occupations for the certificate and continuation school groups of children was obtained from the promises of employment signed by employers and brought to the certificate office by the children. Only certificated positions, therefore, were included. The occupation designations given on the promises of employment were often vague and sometimes inaccurate. In one establishment, at least, most of the promises of employment were made out for one occupation, though children were employed in a number of different processes. To a considerable extent, however, the broad groups into which the occupations are classified prevent these inaccuracies from causing errors in the conclusions.

For the children interviewed the information was secured by questioning the child as to the occupations in which he had been actually engaged, and uncertificated as well as certificated positions were included. Nevertheless the differences between the proportions of positions held in the different occupations by the children for whom continuation-school records were used and by those who were interviewed are slight. A larger proportion of the latter positions than of the former, 4.6 per cent as compared with 2.7 per cent, were for personal and domestic occupations—a difference which is probably accounted for by the inclusion for the interviewed children of uncertificated positions. The same fact may account for the somewhat larger proportion, 9.5 per cent as compared with 7.2 per cent, of positions in clothing factories and other needle trades among those held by the children who were interviewed. On the other hand the smaller proportion, 1.3 per cent as compared with 2.1 per cent, of positions as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades is probably due to more accurate description by the children of the actual work performed. It is safe to say that the information as to occupations obtained from the children is considerably more accurate than that obtained from the promises of employment.

As to the representative character of the schedule data concerning occupations the differences between the two groups are so slight that it seems safe to assume that, with one exception, the children interviewed are typical in their occupations of all the working children of Boston. This one exception is in positions for cash and messenger work in department stores. At the time of this study continuation-school classes were conducted in a number of large department stores in Boston, but no children from these classes were interviewed. As a result the schedule group includes none of the children who were employed in any of these large stores at the time the schedule study was made. To a limited extent, moreover, this omission probably diminished the proportion of interviewed children employed by department stores in their first positions, for some of the children may have held only one position and others may have merely gone from one of the big department stores to another.

In regard to the children employed in the different occupations facts were secured which were designed to answer certain definite questions. To what extent, for example, do the occupations of boys differ from those of girls, or the occupations of foreign-born children from those of native children or those of native children of foreign parentage from those of native children of native parentage? Do the ages of children at taking out their first certificates, their school standing, or the methods by which they secured their positions affect the occupations they enter? How do the occupations of vacation workers differ from those of children who have left school? How frequently

are occupations changed without change of position? How long do children work, and what are their hours and wages and increases in wages in the different occupations? What reasons do they give for leaving positions involving the various kinds of work? In considering the answers to all these questions it must, of course, be kept constantly in mind, not only that the occupations which these children could enter were limited by law, but that in many, if not most, cases they had no real choice but simply took the first position which they could secure without thought of "picking and choosing."

SEX.

The boys showed a greater tendency than did the girls to go into the group of occupations included under the general designation "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods." Of all the certificates taken out for this group of occupations in the four cities, according to Table 116,⁸⁸ 67.8 per cent were for boys, although boys held only 56.5 per cent of the certificates taken out for all positions. The preponderance of boys in this group was due entirely to their employment in office work and in messenger, errand, and delivery work. Nearly three-fourths, 72.7 per cent, of the certificates held by children for office work, and almost nine-tenths, 89 per cent, of those held for messenger, errand, and delivery work were taken out by boys. The proportion of selling positions held by boys was nearly as high, 55.3 per cent, as the proportion of all positions, 56.5 per cent. Boys took out only about two-fifths, 39.3 per cent, of the certificates for cash and messenger work in department stores and only one-fifth, 20 per cent, of those for "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work."

The girls, on the other hand, showed a greater tendency than did the boys, not only to go into cash and messenger work in department stores and into "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," but also to become factory operatives. Nearly seven-tenths, 69.1 per cent, of the certificates held for work in factories were taken out by girls. They held about two-thirds, 66.2 per cent, of the shoe factory positions, over seven-tenths, 70.7 per cent, of those in textile mills, and nearly three-fourths, 73.9 per cent, of those in candy factories. The greatest preponderance of girls was found, however, in positions as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades, where they held nearly 19 out of every 20, 94.3 per cent, of all the positions. In the entire group of factory and mechanical occupations, however, the preponderance of girls was less than in any of these subdivisions. This was due in part to the fact that they held a smaller proportion, only 58.1 per cent, of the positions in "other factories." But to a considerable extent it was due to the decided preponderance

⁸⁸ The figures on which the percentages given in this table are based will be found in Appendix Table I, p. 350.

of boys in positions as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades Only about one-tenth, 10.6 per cent, of the certificates held for work of this kind were taken out by girls.

TABLE 116.—Sex, by occupation; comparison of positions held by children interviewed with those held by children in Boston continuation school and with those held by children issued certificates in four cities.

Occupation.	Per cent ¹ of positions held by—							
	Children issued certificates.				Children in Boston continuation school.		Children interviewed (Boston).	
	All cities.		Boston.					
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
All occupations.....	56.5	43.5	55.6	44.4	56.0	44.0	56.3	43.7
Personal and domestic occupations...	42.6	57.4	40.5	59.5	42.6	57.4	42.7	57.3
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	59.3	40.7	58.1	41.9	65.3	34.7	.....	.....
House and home work.....	8.8	91.3	9.9	90.1	8.6	91.4	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.	35.4	64.6	34.0	66.0	30.5	69.5	28.1	71.9
Factory operative.....	30.9	69.1	29.5	70.5	26.3	73.7	24.9	75.1
Shoe factory.....	33.8	66.2	33.4	66.6	30.5	69.5	34.7	65.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	5.7	94.3	5.7	94.3	4.3	95.7	4.3	95.7
Textile mill.....	29.3	70.7	30.4	69.6	30.1	69.9	41.5	58.5
Candy factory.....	28.1	73.9	24.0	76.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	41.9	58.1	42.5	57.5	40.3	59.7	38.3	61.7
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	89.4	10.6	88.4	11.6	88.9	11.1	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	67.8	32.2	67.6	32.4	68.4	31.6	69.9	30.1
Office work.....	72.7	27.3	71.8	28.2	73.0	27.0	72.3	27.7
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	39.3	60.7	38.2	61.8	27.7	72.1	25.8	74.2
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	20.0	80.0	23.5	76.5	19.5	80.5	32.7	67.3
Selling.....	55.3	44.7	53.5	46.5	49.3	50.7	56.6	43.4
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	89.0	11.0	87.5	12.5	89.9	10.1	88.5	11.5

¹ For the figures on which these percentages are based see Appendix Table I, p. 359. The per cent is not shown where base is less than 50.

In personal and domestic occupations, also, more positions were held by girls than by boys. Girls held nearly three-fifths, 57.4 per cent, of all the certificates issued for these occupations and over nine-tenths, 91.3 per cent, of those issued for house and home work alone. In personal service other than servants in the home, they fell behind the boys, for only about two-fifths, 40.7 per cent, of these positions were held by girls.

In the continuation school and schedule groups of children, as compared with the certificate group, even larger proportions of the positions in clerical and similar occupations—68.4 per cent for the continuation school group and 69.9 per cent for the schedule group—were held by boys. At the same time larger proportions of the positions in factory and mechanical occupations, 69.5 per cent and 71.9 per cent for the two groups, respectively, were held by girls. Three-fourths, 75.1 per cent, of the factory operative positions held by the

children interviewed were filled by girls, but none of the girls in this group appear to have been employed as apprentices or helpers in skilled trades. This may have been due to the more accurate classification of occupations made possible by the opportunity to question the child. In cash and messenger work in department stores, as in factory and mechanical occupations, both the continuation school and schedule groups of children showed higher proportions of girls, 72.1 per cent and 74.2 per cent, respectively, than did the certificate group, probably because of the fact that most of the large stores were in Boston, comparatively few of them being in Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea.

For some reason a smaller proportion of the positions for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work appear to have been held by girls in the group of children interviewed than in the entire continuation school group, 67.3 per cent as compared with 80.5 per cent, or than in the certificate group, 80 per cent. In all other occupations the group of children interviewed seems to resemble closely, in the distribution of the two sexes, the continuation school group, that is, practically the total number of regular workers who took out certificates in Boston.

In spite of the preponderance of girls over boys in personal and domestic occupations, in cash and messenger work in department stores, and in "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work" nearly half, 48.3 per cent, of all the positions held by girls who took out certificates in the four cities, according to Table 115, were for work as operatives in factories. Only 17.3 per cent of them were for cash and messenger work in department stores, 12.4 per cent for "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," and 3.9 per cent for personal and domestic occupations. The majority—51.7 per cent—of the positions held by boys, on the other hand, were for messenger, errand, and delivery work. It is evident that the girls tended to concentrate in factory work and the boys in what have been called the "fetching and carrying" jobs.

NATIVITY AND FATHER'S NATIONALITY.

The children born in the United States showed a greater tendency than the foreign-born children to enter clerical and similar occupations, and the foreign-born children showed a greater tendency to enter factory and mechanical occupations. Table 117⁸⁹ shows that over seven-tenths, 71.1 per cent, of all the native children taking out certificates in the four cities, as compared with less than six-tenths, 59 per cent, of the foreign-born children, were first employed in clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods. On the other hand, little more than one-fourth, 26 per cent,

⁸⁹ The figures on which the percentages given in this table are based will be found in Appendix Table II, p. 360.

of the native children as compared with considerably over one-third, 36.1 per cent, of the foreign-born children held first positions in factory and mechanical occupations.

Each occupation division within the clerical and similar occupations group, except "selling," and "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work," showed a decidedly larger proportion of the native than of the foreign-born children. Nearly two-fifths, 39.6 per cent, of the native children, as compared with less than one-third, 31.3 per cent, of the foreign-born children, were first employed in messenger work, errands, and the delivery of goods. Office work furnished first positions to 7.6 per cent of the native and only 4.8 per cent of the foreign-born children. Perhaps the most striking difference was found in cash and messenger work in department stores, in which 14.4 per cent of the native children and only 7.9 per cent of the foreign-born children were first employed. On the other hand, only 3.7 per cent of the native children, as compared with 7.5 per cent of the foreign-born children, were first employed in "selling," which generally meant work in small shops kept by foreign-born merchants or on peddlers' wagons. These children were often employed by their parents or relatives. In spite of the comparative prevalence of this type of work among foreign-born children, their general tendency was to enter the more mechanical occupations. This general tendency doubtless accounts for the fact that 7.6 per cent of the foreign-born children, as compared with only 5.8 per cent of the native children, were employed in packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.

In the factory and mechanical occupations group the larger proportion of all foreign born than of all native children appears to be due mainly to the fact that 10.5 per cent of the foreign born, as compared with only 3.7 per cent of the native children, were employed in clothing factories and other needle trades. More than one-fifth—21.8 per cent—of the foreign-born girls, as compared with less than one-tenth—9.2 per cent—of the native girls became operatives in factories of this kind. It is interesting to note also that a larger proportion of foreign born than of native children, 3 per cent as compared with 2 per cent, were first employed as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades; but this difference was entirely among the boys, for practically no foreign-born girls—and only a few native girls—were thus classified.

Decided differences in occupational distribution were found between the children born in different foreign countries. Those born in England and Wales, for example, appear to have found much the same occupations as the native children. The most interesting difference is that in the former group a considerably larger proportion, 5.4 per cent—all boys—were employed in their

first positions as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades. Of the children born in British North America a smaller proportion than of the native children, 66.7 per cent as compared with 71.1 per cent, were employed in clerical and similar occupations and a larger proportion, 5.2 per cent as compared with 2.5 per cent, in personal and domestic occupations.

Of the other two principal nativity groups the Russian children were more like the native in the occupations first entered than were the Italian. For instance, only about one-third, 33.5 per cent, of the Russian children, as compared with not far from one-half, 46.1 per cent, of the Italian children, entered factory and mechanical occupations. Nearly two-thirds, 65 per cent, of the Russian children, as compared with not much more than two-fifths, 43.3 per cent, of the Italian children, entered clerical and similar occupations. A decidedly larger proportion of the children in each of these groups, especially the Italian, than of the native children were first employed in clothing factories and other needle trades. Of the Russian children nearly one-tenth, 9.2 per cent, and of the Italian over one-sixth, 17.6 per cent, as compared with only 3.7 per cent of the native children, entered this group of occupations. In "selling," too, both these groups showed decidedly larger proportions, 8.6 per cent and 11.1 per cent, respectively, than the native, only 3.7 per cent. A particularly large proportion of the Italian boys, 13.2 per cent, sold goods in their first positions. Nearly as large a proportion of the Russian as of the native children, 6.6 per cent as compared with 7.6 per cent, but a very small proportion, only 1.5 per cent, of the Italian children began in office work. Comparatively few of the Italian children began their industrial lives in messenger, errand, and delivery work, only 23.5 per cent as compared with 31.2 per cent of the Russian and 39.6 per cent of the native children. Finally, it is of interest to note that a much larger proportion of the Russian children than of the native, 11.7 per cent as compared with 5.8 per cent, were first employed in packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work, a group of occupations first entered by only 4.6 per cent of the Italian children.

Many of the native children, however, were of foreign parentage, and Table 118, for the children interviewed, shows that, although in their occupational distribution these children tended to be more like the native children of native fathers than like the foreign-born children, they distinctly modified the tendencies shown by the children of native parentage. For instance, 23.5 per cent of all the positions held by native children whose fathers were also native, 29.6 per cent of those held by native children whose fathers were foreign born, and 39.9 per cent of those held by foreign-born children were for factory and mechanical occupations.

TABLE 117.—*Occupation first entered, by country of birth and sex; first positions held by children issued certificates in four cities.*

Occupation first entered and sex.	Per cent distribution: ¹ First positions held by children issued certificates.							
	Total.	Country of birth.						
		United States.	Foreign countries.					
			Total.	Russia.	Italy.	England and Wales.	British North America.	Other.
Both sexes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations...	2.8	2.5	4.3	1.4	9.0	.9	5.2	3.0
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1.9	1.5	3.4	.6	8.7	9	1.0	2.4
House and home work.....	.9	.9	.9	.9	.3	.....	4.2	.6
Factory and mechanical occupations.	27.8	26.0	36.1	33.5	46.1	27.9	28.1	32.1
Factory operative.....	25.7	24.0	33.1	29.8	43.8	22.5	28.1	30.3
Shoe factory.....	7.4	7.5	7.1	6.6	8.7	7.2	8.3	4.2
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	5.0	3.7	10.5	9.2	17.6	3.6	3.1	8.5
Textile mill.....	2.4	2.0	3.9	4.0	4.0	3.6	3.1	4.2
Candy factory.....	.5	.5	.7	.....	.9	.....	1.0	1.8
Other factory.....	10.4	10.3	10.9	10.0	12.1	8.1	12.5	11.5
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	2.1	2.0	3.0	3.7	2.8	5.4	.....	1.8
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	68.9	71.1	59.0	65.0	43.3	71.1	66.7	64.2
Office work.....	7.1	7.6	4.8	6.6	1.5	6.3	7.3	4.8
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	13.2	14.4	7.9	6.9	2.5	18.0	13.5	10.3
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	6.1	5.8	7.6	11.7	4.6	6.3	2.1	8.5
Selling.....	4.4	3.7	7.5	8.6	11.1	2.7	2.1	4.2
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	38.1	39.6	31.3	31.2	23.5	37.8	41.7	36.4
All other occupations.....	.4	.4	.6	.....	1.5	.....	.....	.6
Not reported.....	.1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations...	2.0	1.4	5.0	.6	12.1	1.4	1.9	4.6
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1.9	1.3	5.0	.6	12.1	1.4	1.9	4.6
House and home work.....	.1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.	16.1	15.1	21.2	19.4	31.0	16.2	9.6	16.1
Factory operative.....	12.9	12.3	15.8	12.4	25.9	8.1	9.6	12.6
Shoe factory.....	3.8	3.7	4.3	2.9	8.6	1.4	1.9	2.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	.3	.2	.7	.6	1.7	.....	.....	.....
Textile mill.....	1.4	1.3	2.0	.....	4.6	1.4	.....	2.3
Candy factory.....	.3	.3	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.1
Other factory.....	7.0	6.7	8.6	8.8	10.9	5.4	7.7	6.9
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	3.2	2.8	5.4	7.1	5.2	8.1	.....	3.4
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	81.3	82.9	72.9	80.0	54.6	82.4	88.5	78.2
Office work.....	8.4	9.0	5.6	7.6	1.1	6.8	9.6	6.9
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	7.9	8.5	4.8	4.1	.6	14.9	3.8	6.9
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	1.8	1.7	2.2	4.1	1.7	1.4	.....	1.1
Selling.....	3.9	3.5	6.3	4.7	13.2	4.1	.....	1.1
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	59.3	60.3	54.0	59.4	37.9	55.4	75.0	62.1
All other occupations.....	.6	.5	.9	.....	2.3	.....	.....	1.1
Not reported.....	.1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ For the figures on which these percentages are based, see Appendix Table II, p. 360. The per cent is not shown where base is less than 50 or where rate is less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 117.—*Occupation first entered, by country of birth and sex; first positions held by children issued certificates in four cities—Concluded.*

Occupation first entered and sex.	Per cent distribution: First positions held by children issued certificates.							
	Total.	Country of birth.						
		United States.	Foreign countries.					
			Total.	Russia.	Italy.	England and Wales.	British North America.	Other.
Girls.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations...	4.0	4.2	3.5	2.2	5.4	.....	.....	1.3
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1.9	2.0	1.6	.6	4.7	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.7	.7	.....	.....	1.3
Factory and mechanical occupations.	45.5	43.4	53.2	46.9	63.8	.....	.....	50.0
Factory operative.....	45.0	42.8	53.0	46.4	63.8	.....	.....	50.0
Shoe factory.....	12.8	13.5	10.3	10.1	8.7	.....	.....	6.4
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	11.9	9.2	21.8	17.3	36.2	.....	.....	17.9
Textile mill.....	3.8	3.1	6.2	7.8	3.4	.....	.....	6.4
Candy factory.....	1.0	0.9	1.2	.....	2.0	.....	.....	2.6
Other factory.....	15.5	16.1	13.6	11.2	13.4	.....	.....	16.7
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	.5	.6	.2	.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clrical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	50.3	52.2	43.1	50.8	30.2	.....	.....	48.7
Office work.....	5.1	5.5	3.9	5.6	2.0	.....	.....	2.6
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	21.1	23.8	11.3	9.5	4.7	.....	.....	14.1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	12.6	12.3	13.8	19.0	8.1	.....	.....	16.7
Selling.....	5.1	4.1	8.8	12.3	8.7	.....	.....	7.7
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	6.2	6.5	5.3	4.5	6.7	.....	.....	7.7
All other occupations.....	.1	.1	.2	.....	.7	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	.....	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The occupational distribution of the children whose fathers were foreign born but of English-speaking nationalities, however, including children who were themselves foreign born, as appears in Table 119, was very similar to that of the children of native fathers. An even smaller proportion of the positions held by the boys whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities than of those held by the sons of native fathers, 11.5 per cent as compared with 13.6 per cent, were for factory and mechanical occupations. But this was accompanied by a larger proportion of the positions held by girls, 46.7 per cent as compared with only 38 per cent of those held by the daughters of native fathers. The Irish boys and girls showed less tendency than the sons and daughters of other foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities to become factory operatives.

On the other hand, of the positions held by the children of fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities 38.5 per cent and of those held by the children of Italian fathers 46.6 per cent, were for factory

and mechanical occupations. The Russian-Jewish children showed even less tendency than the children of native fathers to become factory or mechanical workers, for of the positions held by the former only 21.4 per cent, as compared with 23.5 per cent of those held by the latter, belonged to this group. Although the same general tendencies are shown by the boys alone as by both sexes, they are most pronounced among the girls. Of the positions held by girls whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities 56.8 per cent and of those held by Italian girls 62.7 per cent were for work as factory operatives, as compared with 38 per cent of those held by girls whose fathers were native and with only 37.3 per cent of those held by girls whose fathers were Russian Jews.

TABLE 118.—*Occupation, by nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions held by children.									
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.	
					Children native.		Children foreign born.			
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹
Both sexes.....	1,943	100.0	459	100.0	998	100.0	426	100.0	60	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	4.6	23	5.0	45	4.5	19	4.5	2	3.3
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	46	2.4	5	1.1	25	2.5	16	3.8	.....	.....
House and home work.....	43	2.2	18	3.9	20	2.0	8	.7	2	3.3
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	30.3	108	23.5	295	29.6	170	39.9	15	25.0
Factory operative.....	563	29.0	103	22.4	283	28.4	166	39.0	11	18.3
Shoe factory.....	199	10.2	44	9.6	111	11.1	39	9.2	5	8.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	9.5	27	5.9	80	8.0	76	17.8	2	3.3
Textile mill.....	53	2.7	14	3.1	29	2.9	10	2.3	.....	.....
Candy factory.....	19	1.0	3	.7	8	.8	6	1.4	2	3.3
Other factory.....	107	5.5	15	3.3	56	5.5	35	8.2	2	3.3
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	1.3	5	1.1	12	1.2	4	.9	4	6.7
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	64.2	324	70.6	652	65.3	229	53.8	43	71.7
Office work.....	101	5.2	38	8.3	45	4.5	13	3.1	5	8.3
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	213	11.0	76	16.6	107	10.7	24	5.6	6	10.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	104	5.4	14	3.1	52	5.2	36	8.5	2	3.3
Selling.....	76	3.9	10	2.2	33	3.3	33	7.7	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.	754	38.8	186	40.5	415	41.6	123	28.9	30	50.0
All other occupations.....	17	.9	4	.9	5	.5	8	1.9	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 118.—*Occupation, by nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed—Concluded.*

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions held by children.									
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.	
					Children native.		Children foreign born.			
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Boys.....	1,083	100.0	272	100.0	579	100.0	200	100.0	42	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	3.5	4	1.5	23	4.0	11	5.5	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	35	3.2	4	1.5	20	3.5	11	5.5	.....	.....
House and home work.....	3	.3	.....	.....	3	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	15.1	37	13.6	86	14.9	34	17.0	8	.....
Factory operative.....	140	12.8	32	11.8	74	12.8	30	15.0	4	.....
Shoe factory.....	69	6.3	19	7.0	36	6.2	10	5.0	4	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	.7	.....	.....	4	.7	4	2.0	.....	.....
Textile mill.....	22	2.0	5	1.8	15	2.6	2	1.0	.....	.....
Other factory.....	41	3.8	8	2.9	19	3.3	14	7.0	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	2.3	5	1.8	12	2.1	4	2.0	4	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	79.8	227	83.5	464	80.1	147	73.5	34	.....
Office work.....	73	6.7	31	11.4	27	4.7	10	5.0	5	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	5.0	20	7.4	29	5.0	5	2.5	1	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	34	3.1	2	.7	22	3.8	10	5.0	.....	.....
Selling.....	43	3.9	5	1.8	22	3.8	16	8.0	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	667	61.0	169	62.1	364	62.9	106	53.0	28	.....
All other occupations.....	17	1.6	4	1.5	5	.9	8	4.0	.....	.....
Girls.....	850	100.0	187	100.0	419	100.0	226	100.0	18	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	6.0	19	10.2	22	5.3	8	3.5	2	.....
Personal service (other than servants in home).....	11	1.3	1	.5	5	1.2	5	2.2	.....	.....
House and home work.....	40	4.7	18	9.6	17	4.1	3	1.3	2	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	49.8	71	38.0	209	49.9	136	60.2	7	.....
Factory operative.....	423	49.8	71	38.0	209	49.9	136	60.2	7	.....
Shoe factory.....	130	15.3	25	13.4	75	17.9	29	12.8	1	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	20.8	27	14.4	76	18.1	72	31.9	2	.....
Textile mill.....	31	3.6	9	4.8	14	3.3	8	3.5	.....	.....
Candy factory.....	19	2.2	3	1.6	8	1.9	6	2.7	2	.....
Other factory.....	66	7.8	7	3.7	36	8.6	21	9.3	2	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	44.2	97	51.9	188	44.9	82	36.3	9	.....
Office work.....	28	3.3	7	3.7	18	4.3	3	1.3	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	18.6	56	29.9	78	18.6	19	8.4	5	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	70	8.2	12	6.4	30	7.2	26	11.5	2	.....
Selling.....	33	3.9	5	2.7	11	2.6	17	7.5	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	87	10.2	17	9.1	51	12.2	17	7.5	2	.....

¹Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

	34	4.4	9	2.3	5	2.1	4	3.2	25	6.1	18	9.0	4	3.4	3	2.3
in	31	4.0	7	1.9	5	2.1	2	1.6	24	5.9	18	8.0	4	3.4	2	2.2
...	3	4	2	5	...	...	2	1.6	1	2	...	8.0	...	...	1	1.1
...	120	15.4	42	11.5	20	8.4	22	17.6	73	19.0	45	22.9	12	11.1	17	18.5
...	104	13.4	37	10.2	19	7.9	18	14.4	67	18.3	43	21.4	9	7.7	15	16.3
...	46	5.9	31	5.3	12	5.0	9	7.2	25	6.1	15	7.5	3	2.6	7	7.6
...	6	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	2.0	7	3.5	1	...	...	...
...	17	2.2	10	2.7	5	2.1	5	4.0	7	1.7	2	1.0	...	...	5	5.4
...	33	4.2	6	1.6	2	...	4	3.2	27	6.6	19	9.5	5	4.2	3	2.3
...	16	2.1	5	1.4	1	...	4	3.2	11	2.7	5	2.5	4	3.4	2	2.2
...	1611	72.4	305	52.8	210	37.9	95	75.0	301	73.4	120	64.7	99	84.6	72	72.3
...	37	4.7	20	5.5	13	5.4	7	5.6	17	4.1	6	3.0	5	4.3	6	6.5
...	34	4.4	26	7.1	22	8.2	6	3.2	8	2.0	...	...	4	3.4	4	4.3
...	32	4.1	12	3.3	10	4.2	2	1.6	20	4.9	11	5.5	7	6.0	2	2.3
...	38	4.9	5	1.4	6	2.1	...	...	33	8.0	16	8.0	12	10.3	5	5.4
...	1470	62.3	342	64.5	160	62.9	82	65.6	223	64.4	97	48.3	71	60.7	55	59.8
...	13	1.7	7	1.9	3	1.3	4	2.2	6	1.5	5	2.5	1	...	...	...
...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	645	100.0	210	100.0	143	100.0	67	100.0	435	100.0	284	100.0	75	100.0	76	100.0
...	30	4.7	15	7.1	12	8.4	3	4.5	15	3.4	10	3.5	3	4.0	2	2.6
...	10	1.6	2	1.0	2	1.4	...	...	8	1.8	5	2.8	...	...	...	...
...	20	2.1	13	6.2	10	7.0	5	4.5	7	1.6	2	2.7	3	4.0	2	2.6
...	345	53.5	96	46.7	63	44.1	35	52.3	247	54.6	178	62.7	28	57.3	41	53.9
...	345	53.5	96	46.7	63	44.1	35	52.2	247	54.6	178	62.7	28	57.3	41	53.9
...	104	16.1	44	21.0	24	18.2	18	26.9	69	13.8	40	14.1	7	8.3	13	17.1
...	145	22.9	35	11.9	19	13.3	6	9.0	129	28.3	93	32.7	15	20.0	15	19.7
...	23	3.4	10	4.8	8	5.6	2	3.0	12	2.8	9	3.2	1	1.3	2	2.6
...	14	2.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	3.2	13	4.2	...	...	2	2.6
...	57	8.8	19	9.0	10	7.0	9	13.4	38	8.7	24	8.5	5	6.7	9	11.3
...
...	270	41.9	97	46.2	66	47.6	29	43.3	173	39.6	96	33.8	44	56.7	33	43.4
...	21	3.3	6	2.9	3	2.1	3	4.5	15	3.4	5	1.8	6	8.0	4	5.3
...	97	15.6	34	25.7	37	25.9	17	25.4	43	9.9	16	6.3	9	12.0	16	21.1
...	56	8.7	12	5.7	11	7.7	1	1.6	44	10.1	23	7.7	19	26.3	3	2.9
...	26	4.3	2	1.0	2	1.4	...	...	26	6.0	16	6.3	8	10.7	3	2.9
...	63	10.5	23	11.0	16	10.5	8	11.9	45	10.3	36	12.7	2	9.7	7	9.3

1 Including five positions held by a boy the nationality of whose father was not reported.

The native children of foreign-born fathers, however, tended to hold positions as shoe-factory operatives more often than did either of the other groups. Of the positions held by these children 11.1 per cent were for work in shoe factories, whereas of those held by native children of native fathers only 9.6 per cent and of those held by foreign-born children only 9.2 per cent were for this occupation. This comparatively high proportion was due to a decided tendency on the part of the girls of this nativity group to work as operatives in shoe factories. This tendency was most marked among the daughters of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities. Over one-fifth, 21 per cent, of the positions held by the girls of this group, including both native and foreign-born girls, were in this occupation.

On the other hand, work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades furnished a very much larger proportion of the positions held by foreign-born children, 17.8 per cent, as compared with 8 per cent of those held by native children of foreign-born fathers and 5.9 per cent of those held by native children of native fathers. Nearly all the children employed in this occupation were girls. When the nationalities of the fathers of these girls are compared it is found that the great majority were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities. Only 11.9 per cent of the positions held by girls whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities, and 14.4 per cent of those held by girls whose fathers were native, were for this work; but it furnished 28.3 per cent of the positions held by girls whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities, only 20 per cent of those held by Russian-Jewish, but 32.7 per cent of those held by Italian girls. Although these children were by law required to know at least some English in order to be employed, it is evident that to a considerable extent they tended to secure positions in the occupations so frequently followed by their non-English-speaking parents, relatives, and friends.

In general the proportion of positions held by the native children of foreign-born fathers in the different occupations grouped as "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," was higher than that held by foreign-born children and lower than that held by native children whose fathers also were native. Nevertheless, the proportion held by all children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities, including those who were themselves foreign born, was slightly lower, 70 per cent, than that held by children of native fathers, 70.6 per cent. The different tendency of children of foreign-born fathers, therefore, is to be attributed entirely to the children whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities. Of the positions held by this last group only 56.1 per cent could be classified as "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of

goods." Although an even larger proportion, nearly three-fourths, or 74.5 per cent, of the positions held by Russian-Jewish children were so classified, less than one-half, 46.6 per cent, of those held by Italian children were in these occupations. The children of Italian parentage, it is evident, were largely responsible for the apparently greater tendency of the whole group of children of foreign-born fathers than of children of native fathers to go into factory and mechanical rather than clerical and similar occupations.

In two of the subgroups included under the general designation "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," however, the tendency shown for the entire group was exactly reversed. These two subgroups were "selling" and "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work." Of the positions held by native children of native fathers only 2.2 per cent, of those held by native children of foreign-born fathers 3.3 per cent, but of those held by foreign-born children 7.7 per cent involved selling. Of the positions held by native children of native fathers only 3.1 per cent, of those held by native children of foreign-born fathers 5.2 per cent, but of those held by foreign-born children 8.5 per cent were for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work. As in other cases, the opposite tendency here shown by the children of foreign birth or extraction to that shown by those whose fathers were native is due entirely to the children whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities. But in both these cases this opposite tendency is even more marked among the Russian-Jewish than among the Italian children. Of the positions held by Russian-Jewish children about one-tenth, 10.4 per cent, and of those held by Italian children about one-sixteenth, 6.4 per cent, involved selling. For the Russian-Jewish boys and girls the proportions were about the same. But a somewhat larger proportion of the positions held by Italian boys, 8 per cent, than of those held by Italian girls, 5.3 per cent, were for this occupation. Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work, on the other hand, accounted for more than one-eighth, 13.5 per cent, of the positions held by Russian-Jewish children and for only about one-sixteenth, 6.8 per cent, of those held by Italian children; and the difference between the two groups is due almost entirely to the fact that an unusually large proportion, 25.3 per cent, of the positions held by Russian-Jewish girls were for work of this kind.

Messenger, errand, and delivery work provided a somewhat larger proportion of positions for native children of foreign-born fathers, 41.6 per cent, than for native children of native fathers, 40.5 per cent, and a very much larger proportion than for foreign-born children, for whom it furnished only 28.9 per cent of all places held. Although the

order of the different nativity groups was the same for boys as for both sexes combined, this difference was due mainly to the greater tendency of native girls whose fathers were foreign born than of girls of either of the other two nativity groups to take up some form of "messenger, errand, and delivery work." About one-eighth, 12.2 per cent, of the positions held by this group of girls were classified under this general description, as compared with 9.1 per cent of those held by native girls whose fathers were also native and with 7.5 per cent of those held by foreign-born girls.

The children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities showed a decidedly greater tendency than the children of native fathers and a still greater tendency than the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities to go into messenger, errand, and delivery work. Of the positions held by children of this group 46.2 per cent, as compared with only 40.5 per cent of those held by children of native fathers and only 31.7 per cent of those held by children of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities were for occupations of this character. These occupations provided positions, indeed, for about two-thirds, 66.5 per cent, of the boys whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities, as compared with only 54.4 per cent of those whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities. The girls of both types of foreign parentage, English speaking and non-English-speaking, especially the Italian girls, tended to go into messenger, errand, and delivery work more frequently than did the girls whose fathers were native.

In most occupations, as already noted, the distribution of children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities differed comparatively little from that of children of native fathers. This is not true, however, of office work. Only 5.5 per cent of the positions held by the sons of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities, as compared with 11.4 per cent of those held by the sons of native fathers, were for office work. It should be noted, also, that native girls whose fathers were foreign-born showed nearly as great a tendency to go into office work as did their brothers, whereas of the positions held by the native daughters of native fathers only 3.7 per cent, as compared with 11.4 per cent of those held by their brothers, were for office work.

In the tendency to enter personal and domestic occupations the relative position of the girls of the different nativity groups was exactly the reverse of that of the boys. Most of the girls in these occupations were employed in "house and home work," which furnished 9.6 per cent of the positions held by native girls whose

fathers were native as compared with 4.1 per cent of those held by native girls whose fathers were foreign-born and with 1.3 per cent of those held by foreign-born girls. Nearly all the boys, on the other hand, were employed in "personal service other than servants in the home" which furnished only 1.5 per cent of the positions held by native boys whose fathers were native as compared with 3.5 per cent of those held by native boys whose fathers were foreign-born and with 5.5 per cent of those held by foreign-born boys. A larger proportion of the positions held by native girls whose fathers were native, 10.2 per cent as compared with 7.1 per cent of those held by all girls, native and foreign-born, whose fathers were foreign-born of English-speaking nationalities and with only 3.4 per cent of those held by all girls whose fathers were foreign-born of non-English-speaking nationalities were in personal and domestic occupations. But among the boys this order was again reversed, for only 1.5 per cent of the positions held by the sons of native fathers, as compared with 2.5 per cent of those held by the sons of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities and with 6.1 per cent of those held by the sons of foreign-born fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities belonged in this group of occupations.

AGE AT TAKING OUT FIRST CERTIFICATE.

The younger children showed a greater tendency than did the older to enter clerical and similar occupations, and the older ones showed a greater tendency than the younger to enter factory and mechanical occupations. Table 120 shows that about three-fourths, 75.9 per cent, of the children who took out certificates in the four cities when between 14 and 14½ years of age, but little over three-fifths, 62.4 per cent, of those who took out certificates when between 15½ and 16 years of age, went to work in clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods. On the other hand about one-third, 33.9 per cent, of the older group of children, as compared with little more than one-fifth, 21.2 per cent, of the younger, went to work in factory and mechanical occupations. Both the boys and the girls showed, in general, the same tendency. The larger proportion of the older group of children entering factory and mechanical occupations is probably due in part, however, to the fact already noted,⁹⁰ that the foreign-born children, who were most likely to enter these occupations, tended to take out their first certificates at later ages than the native children.

⁹⁰ See Table 18, p. 85.

TABLE 120.—*Occupation first entered, by age at taking out first certificate and sex; children issued certificates in four cities.*

Occupation first entered and sex.	All children.		Children taking out first certificates at specified age.							
			14, under 14½.		14½, under 15.		15, under 15½.		15½, under 16.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes.....	15,692	1,000	11,703	100.0	1,089	100.0	1,191	100.0	1,709	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	159	2.8	42	2.5	38	3.5	24	2.0	55	3.2
Personal service (other than serv-ants in the home).....	107	1.9	32	1.9	22	2.0	14	1.2	39	2.3
House and home work.....	52	.9	10	.6	16	1.5	10	.8	16	.9
Factory and mechanical occupations....	1,585	27.8	361	21.2	305	28.0	340	28.5	579	33.6
Factory operative.....	1,463	25.7	336	19.7	275	25.3	311	26.1	541	31.7
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	122	2.1	25	1.5	30	2.8	29	2.4	38	2.2
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	3,922	68.9	1,293	75.9	741	68.0	822	69.0	1,086	62.4
Office work.....	404	7.1	109	6.4	80	7.3	99	8.3	116	6.8
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	751	13.2	251	14.7	155	14.2	149	12.5	196	11.5
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	347	6.1	113	6.6	66	6.1	76	6.4	92	5.4
Selling.....	252	4.4	88	5.2	50	4.6	57	4.8	57	3.3
Messenger work, errand and de-livery.....	2,168	38.1	732	43.0	390	35.8	441	37.0	605	35.4
All other occupations.....	23	.4	7	.4	5	.5	4	.3	7	.4
Boys.....	13,419	100.0	1,048	100.0	620	100.0	740	100.0	1,011	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	67	2.0	22	2.1	12	1.9	8	1.1	25	2.5
Personal service (other than serv-ants in the home).....	64	1.9	22	2.1	12	1.9	6	.8	24	2.4
House and home work.....	3	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.3	1	.1
Factory and mechanical occupations....	551	16.1	118	11.3	108	17.4	123	16.6	202	20.0
Factory operative.....	440	12.9	95	9.1	82	13.2	95	12.8	168	16.6
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	111	3.2	28	2.2	26	4.2	28	3.8	34	3.4
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	2,779	81.3	902	86.1	495	79.8	604	81.6	778	77.0
Office work.....	287	8.4	85	8.1	54	8.7	75	10.1	73	7.2
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	271	7.9	72	6.9	41	6.6	71	9.6	87	8.6
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	60	1.8	17	1.6	13	2.1	13	1.8	17	1.7
Selling.....	135	3.9	46	4.4	29	4.7	26	3.5	34	3.4
Messenger work, errand, and de-livery.....	2,026	59.3	682	65.1	358	57.7	419	56.6	567	56.1
All other occupations.....	20	.6	6	.6	5	.8	4	.5	5	.5
Girls.....	12,273	100.0	655	100.0	469	100.0	451	100.0	698	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	92	4.0	20	3.1	26	5.5	16	3.5	30	4.3
Personal service (other than serv-ants in the home).....	43	1.9	10	1.5	10	2.1	8	1.8	15	2.1
House and home work.....	49	2.2	10	1.5	16	3.4	8	1.8	15	2.1
Factory and mechanical occupations....	1,034	45.5	243	37.1	197	42.0	217	48.1	377	54.0
Factory operative.....	1,023	45.0	241	36.8	193	41.1	216	47.9	373	53.4
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	11	.5	2	.3	4	.9	1	.2	4	.6
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,143	50.3	391	59.7	246	52.4	218	48.3	288	41.3
Office work.....	117	5.1	24	3.7	26	5.5	24	5.3	43	6.2
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	480	21.1	179	27.3	114	24.3	78	17.3	109	15.6
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	287	12.6	96	14.7	53	11.3	63	14.0	75	10.7
Selling.....	117	5.1	42	6.4	21	4.5	31	6.9	23	3.3
Messenger work, errand, and de-livery.....	142	6.2	50	7.6	32	6.8	22	4.9	28	4.0
All other occupations.....	3	.1	1	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.3

¹ Including three children, two boys and one girl, whose occupations were not reported.

² Including three children who went to work before they were 14 years of age, according to contin-uation-school records, but who did not secure employment certificates until they were 14.

GRADE COMPLETED AND RETARDATION.

According to Table 121, the lower the grade completed in school, the more likely was the child to begin his industrial career in a factory or mechanical occupation. Of all the first positions held by children who took out their certificates in one of the four cities and had completed only the fourth grade, over two-fifths, 42.5 per cent, were for occupations of this kind. But of those held by children who had completed the fifth grade only 30.7 per cent, the sixth 26.9 per cent, the seventh 28 per cent, the eighth 25.9 per cent, and a year or more in high school 23 per cent, were classified as factory and mechanical occupations. The figures for "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" showed a corresponding increase from less than one-half, 49.4 per cent, for the children who had completed only the fourth grade to about three-fourths, 75.2 per cent, for those who had completed a year or more of high school work.

Although the older children tended more frequently than the younger to take positions in factories, it nevertheless appears that children from lower grades also tended more frequently than those from higher grades to take these positions. This is explained by the fact that a larger proportion of the foreign-born children who more frequently secured factory positions than did the native came from the lower grades. Their low standing in school, moreover, frequently meant that they were prevented by the educational requirements of the law from going to work as soon after their fourteenth birthdays as did the native children. This conclusion that the foreign element accounts for at least the greater part of the differences in occupational distribution of the children from the various grades seems to be supported by the fact that, within the group of clerical and similar occupations, "selling," and "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," which were the only ones of this group to show larger proportions of the foreign-born than of native children, were also the only ones to show a reverse tendency from that of the group as a whole in the occupational distribution of the children by grades.

Whatever the reason, the standing of the children in school appears to have had a decided influence over the occupations they entered. Table 122 shows for the continuation school group that a much larger proportion of the positions held by retarded children, 37.4 per cent, than of those held by children from normal grades, 29.9 per cent, and by the latter than by children from grades higher than normal, 24.1 per cent, were for work in factory and mechanical occupations. As a smaller proportion of the positions held by retarded children than by any other group were for work as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades, it is evident that the retarded children showed a decided tendency to become factory operatives. This tendency is more marked among the girls than among the boys, and appears for all types of factories except those making candy.

TABLE 121.—Occupation first entered by grade completed; children issued certificates in four cities.

Occupation first entered		Fourth.		Fifth.		Sixth.		Seventh.		Eighth.		High school.		All other schools. ¹		Not reported.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All occupations.....		233	100.0	440	100.0	861	100.0	838	100.0	1,573	100.0	1,111	100.0	276	100.0	70	100.0
.....		16	6.9	16	3.6	31	3.6	25	3.0	43	2.7	15	1.4	13	4.3	1	1.4
.....		11	4.7	12	2.7	19	2.2	18	2.1	24	1.5	11	1.0	11	4.0	1	1.4
.....		5	2.1	4	.9	13	1.4	7	.8	19	1.0	4	.4	1	.4		
.....		99	42.5	135	30.7	229	26.6	235	28.0	486	30.9	255	23.0	124	44.9	23	31.4
.....		94	40.3	124	28.2	216	25.0	216	25.8	443	28.2	232	20.9	114	41.3	23	31.4
.....		12	5.2	39	8.9	68	8.0	76	9.0	134	7.2	62	5.6	24	8.7	8	11.4
.....		29	12.4	24	5.5	37	4.3	36	4.3	74	4.0	25	2.2	64	19.6	1	1.4
.....		14	6.0	23	5.2	26	3.1	23	2.7	27	1.4	16	1.4	3	1.1	3	4.3
.....		2	.9			6	.6	3	.4	13	.7	5	.5	3	1.1		
.....		37	15.9	38	8.6	82	9.6	87	10.4	195	10.4	114	10.3	30	10.9	10	14.3
.....		6	2.1	11	2.5	11	1.3	19	2.3	48	2.3	23	2.1	10	3.6		
.....		115	49.4	285	64.5	599	69.3	572	68.3	1,339	71.5	836	75.2	139	50.4	47	67.1
.....		6	2.6	10	2.3	35	4.1	41	4.9	148	7.9	144	13.0	13	4.7	7	10.0
.....		4	1.7	31	7.0	96	10.1	106	12.9	300	19.0	186	16.7	28	10.1	8	11.4
.....		21	9.0	36	8.6	66	7.6	60	6.0	96	5.1	66	5.0	18	6.5	4	5.7
.....		16	6.9	25	5.7	50	5.9	23	2.9	83	5.3	51	4.6	13	4.7	1	1.4
.....		68	29.2	181	41.1	363	41.5	340	40.6	733	39.1	400	36.0	67	24.3	27	38.6
.....		3	1.3	4	.9	2	.2	5	.6	3	.2	5	.5	1	.4		

¹ Including special, disciplinary, prevocational, vocational, and other schools.² Including.....³ Including.....

The retarded children also showed a somewhat greater tendency than the other groups to take positions involving "selling," and "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," but the differences here were comparatively slight. In 3.2 per cent of the positions held by retarded children and 2.6 per cent of those held by children from normal grades, the occupation was selling. The tendency toward "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work" was mainly among the girls. Nearly one-tenth, 9.2 per cent, of all the positions held by retarded girls, as compared with only 6.8 per cent of those held by girls from normal grades and with 5.9 per cent of those held by girls from grades higher than normal, were for this type of work.

Another occupation group which the retarded children tended to enter more frequently than other children was the group called "personal and domestic occupations." Of the occupations held by retarded children 3.6 per cent, of those held by normal children 2.4 per cent, and of those held by advanced children only 1 per cent were in this group.

The children who had completed higher grades than normal for their ages, on the other hand, showed a greater tendency than the children from normal grades or the retarded children to go into office work and cash and messenger work in department stores. About one-eighth, 12.6 per cent, of the positions held by advanced children involved office work, as compared with only 6.8 per cent of those held by children from normal grades and with only 3 per cent of those held by retarded children; and 18.1 per cent of the positions held by advanced children, as compared with 16.7 per cent of those held by children from normal grades and with only 8.5 per cent of those held by retarded children, were for cash and messenger work in department stores. In the latter case the differences are due primarily to the girls, who held most of these positions; cash and messenger work in department stores furnished nearly one-third, 32.1 per cent, of the positions held by advanced girls, as compared with 27.1 per cent of those held by normal and only 14.8 per cent of those held by retarded girls.

The only kind of occupation which retarded, normal, and advanced children showed about the same tendency to enter was that classed as messenger, errand and delivery work—the kind which furnished more positions to children than any other single occupation. Of the positions held by retarded children, 38.9 per cent, of those held by normal children 37.3 per cent, and of those held by advanced children 38 per cent, were of this type.

TABLE 122.—Occupation, by retardation and sex of child; all positions held by children in Boston continuation school.

Occupation and sex.	Positions held by children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported. ¹	
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribu-tion.
Both sexes.....	669	100.0	3,284	100.0	2,547	100.0	2,064	100.0	483	100.0	2881	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	7	1.0	80	2.4	92	3.6	71	3.4	21	4.3	23	2.6
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	2	.3	40	1.2	59	2.3	45	2.2	14	2.9	20	2.3
House and home work.....	5	.7	40	1.2	33	1.3	26	1.3	7	1.4	3	.3
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	161	24.1	982	29.9	952	37.4	752	36.4	200	41.4	201	22.8
Factory operative.....	146	21.8	904	27.5	906	35.5	717	34.7	188	38.9	188	21.3
Shoe factory.....	58	8.7	282	8.6	318	12.5	279	13.5	39	8.1	86	9.8
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	38	5.7	247	7.5	223	8.8	149	7.2	74	15.3	25	2.8
Textile mill.....	9	1.3	94	2.9	115	4.5	94	4.6	21	4.3	21	2.4
Candy factory.....	1	.1	31	.9	14	.5	10	.5	4	.8	3	.3
Other factory.....	40	6.0	250	7.6	235	9.2	185	9.0	50	10.4	53	6.0
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	15	2.2	78	2.4	47	1.8	35	1.7	12	2.5	13	1.5
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	500	74.7	2,211	67.3	1,491	58.5	1,231	59.6	260	53.8	652	74.0
Office work.....	84	12.6	223	6.8	76	3.0	66	3.2	10	2.1	57	6.5
Cash and messenger work — department store.....	121	18.1	548	16.7	217	8.5	197	9.5	20	4.1	167	19.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	23	3.4	128	3.9	127	5.0	97	4.7	30	6.2	45	5.1
Selling.....	18	2.7	86	2.6	81	3.2	63	3.1	18	3.7	28	3.2
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	254	38.0	1,226	37.3	990	38.9	808	39.1	182	37.7	355	40.3
All other occupations.....	1	.1	11	.3	11	.4	9	.4	2	.4	3	.3
Boys.....	364	100.0	1,772	100.0	1,412	100.0	1,157	100.0	255	100.0	2586	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....			28	1.6	43	3.0	32	2.8	11	4.3	15	2.6
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....			23	1.3	41	2.9	30	2.6	11	4.3	15	2.6
House and home work.....			5	.3	2	.1	2	.2				
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	54	14.8	274	15.5	268	20.4	226	19.5	62	24.3	84	14.3
Factory operative.....	41	11.3	205	11.6	247	17.5	196	16.9	51	20.0	71	12.1
Shoe factory.....	17	4.7	83	4.7	99	7.0	86	7.4	13	5.1	28	4.8
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	4	1.1	9	.5	9	.6	6	.5	3	1.2	1	.2
Textile mill.....	5	1.4	21	1.2	33	2.3	28	2.4	5	2.0	13	2.2
Candy factory.....			4	.2	5	.4	2	.2	3	1.2		
Other factory.....	15	4.1	88	5.0	101	7.2	74	6.4	27	10.6	29	4.9
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	13	3.6	69	3.9	41	2.9	30	2.6	11	4.3	13	2.2

¹ "Not reported" means that the children came from disciplinary, prevocational, and other special schools, and that on the records only the school attended, and not the grade completed, was given.
² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.
³ Including two positions for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 122.—Occupation, by retardation and sex of child; all positions held by children in Boston continuation school—Concluded.

Occupation and sex.	Positions held by children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—											
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.						Not reported.	
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.			
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Boys—Continued.												
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	309	84.9	1,460	82.4	1,070	75.8	800	76.9	180	70.6	483	82.4
Office work.....	62	17.0	157	8.9	59	4.2	51	4.4	8	3.1	43	7.3
Cash and messenger work — department store.....	23	6.3	139	7.8	49	3.5	46	4.0	3	1.2	83	14.2
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	5	1.4	25	1.4	23	1.6	18	1.6	5	2.0	10	1.7
Selling.....	9	2.5	39	2.2	41	2.9	32	2.8	9	3.5	16	2.7
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	210	57.7	1,100	62.1	898	63.6	743	64.2	155	60.8	331	56.5
All other occupations.....	1	.3	10	.6	11	.8	9	.8	2	.8	2	.3
Girls.....	306	100.0	1,512	100.0	1,135	100.0	907	100.0	228	100.0	295	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	7	2.3	52	3.4	49	4.3	39	4.3	10	4.4	8	2.7
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	2	.7	17	1.1	18	1.6	15	1.7	3	1.3	5	1.7
House and home work..	5	1.6	35	2.3	31	2.7	24	2.6	7	3.1	3	1.0
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	107	35.1	708	46.8	664	58.5	526	58.0	138	60.5	117	39.7
Factory operative.....	105	34.4	699	46.2	658	58.0	521	57.4	137	60.1	117	39.7
Shoe factory.....	41	13.4	199	13.2	219	19.3	193	21.3	26	11.4	58	19.7
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	34	11.1	238	15.7	214	18.9	143	15.8	71	31.1	24	8.1
Textile mill.....	4	1.3	73	4.8	82	7.2	66	7.3	16	7.0	8	2.7
Candy factory.....	1	.3	27	1.8	9	.8	8	.9	1	.4	3	1.0
Other factory.....	25	8.2	162	10.7	134	11.8	111	12.2	23	10.1	24	8.1
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	2	.7	9	.6	6	.5	5	.6	1	.4	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	191	62.6	751	49.7	421	37.1	341	37.6	80	35.1	169	57.3
Office work.....	22	7.2	66	4.4	17	1.5	15	1.7	2	.9	14	4.7
Cash and messenger work — department store.....	98	32.1	409	27.1	168	14.8	151	16.6	17	7.5	84	28.5
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	18	5.9	103	6.8	104	9.2	79	8.7	25	11.0	35	11.9
Selling.....	9	3.0	47	3.1	40	3.5	31	3.4	9	3.9	12	4.1
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	44	14.4	126	8.3	92	8.1	65	7.2	27	11.8	24	8.1
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	1	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3

¹ Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

VACATION AND REGULAR WORKERS.

The opportunities for work during vacation and outside school hours are, of course, even more limited than those for regular positions for children under 16 years of age. Nevertheless, Table 123 shows that the occupational distribution of first positions held by all the children who took out certificates for work only during vacation or out of school hours before their sixteenth birthdays did not differ very widely from that of all the children who left school for work before that age. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find that a larger proportion, 31 per cent, of the first positions held by vacation workers than of those held by regular workers, 27.4 per cent, were in factory and mechanical occupations. This is especially surprising in view of the fact that a smaller proportion of the vacation than of the regular workers were foreign-born,¹ a fact which doubtless accounts for the smaller proportion of vacation than of regular workers, 4.9 per cent as compared with 6 per cent, who began work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. Shoe factories, on the other hand, furnished exactly one-tenth, 10 per cent, of the first positions held by vacation workers as compared with only 8.5 per cent of those held by regular workers, and nearly one-fifth, 19.5 per cent, of those held by the girls who worked only during vacation as compared with only 14.1 per cent of those held by the girls who worked regularly.

The occupations included under the general heading "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," were first entered by a larger proportion of the regular than of the vacation workers, 69.2 per cent as compared with 66 per cent. Although a somewhat smaller proportion of vacation than of regular workers went into office work, the difference was due mainly to the fact that little over three-tenths, 31.3 per cent, of the vacation workers as compared with nearly four-tenths, 39.2 per cent, of the regular workers began industrial life in messenger, errand, and delivery work. Each of the other occupations included in this group showed larger proportions of first positions held by vacation than by regular workers. The difference is particularly striking in the case of boys employed in cash and messenger work in department stores. About one-sixth, 16.4 per cent, of the boys who worked only during vacation and only 7 per cent of those who worked regularly entered this occupation. On the other hand it furnished a smaller proportion of the first positions held by girls who worked only during vacation than of those held by girls who worked regularly, 19.2 per cent as compared with 25.9 per cent.

The children interviewed who worked and those who did not work before leaving school show much greater differences in the occupations entered when they became regular workers. When both sexes are considered together, however, these differences in occupational

¹ See Table 63, p. 149.

TABLE 123.—Occupation in first regular position, by sex of child; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school.

Occupation in first regular position, and sex.	Children issued certificates in Boston who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becoming 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vaca- tion or out of school hours.		Regularly.		Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.
Both sexes.....	1 857	100.0	3,544	100.0	324	100.0	499	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations...	21	2.5	108	3.0	10	3.1	20	4.0
Personal service (other than serv- ants in the home).....	19	2.2	64	1.8	9	2.8	8	1.6
House and home work.....	2	.2	44	1.2	1	.3	12	2.4
Factory and mechanical occupations.	266	31.0	970	27.4	55	17.0	176	35.3
Factory operative.....	246	28.7	895	25.3	48	14.8	173	34.7
Shoe factory.....	86	10.0	300	8.5	21	6.5	66	13.2
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	42	4.9	211	6.0	7	2.2	55	11.0
Textile mill.....	24	2.8	102	2.9	9	2.8	18	3.6
Candy factory.....	4	.5	17	.5	.....	.....	8	1.6
Other factory.....	90	10.5	265	7.5	11	3.4	26	5.2
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	20	2.3	75	2.1	7	2.2	3	.6
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	566	66.0	2,451	69.2	257	79.3	301	60.3
Office work.....	58	6.8	266	7.5	24	7.4	26	5.2
Cash and messenger work—de- partment store.....	150	17.5	519	14.6	23	7.1	77	15.4
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	45	5.3	131	3.7	11	3.4	28	5.6
Selling.....	45	5.3	144	4.1	19	5.9	21	4.2
Messenger work, errand, and de- livery.....	268	31.3	1,391	39.2	180	55.6	149	29.9
All other occupations.....	3	.4	15	.4	2	.6	2	.4
Boys.....	519	100.0	2,114	100.0	280	100.0	197	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations..	7	1.3	44	2.1	7	2.5	5	2.5
Personal service (other than serv- ants in the home).....	7	1.3	41	1.9	7	2.5	5	2.5
House and home work.....	.....	.....	3	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.	100	19.3	321	15.2	35	12.5	32	16.2
Factory operative.....	83	16.0	253	12.0	28	10.0	29	14.7
Shoe factory.....	20	3.9	98	4.6	13	4.6	16	8.1
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	2	.4	8	.4	1	.4	2	1.0
Textile mill.....	10	1.9	39	1.8	7	2.5	6	3.0
Candy factory.....	3	.6	3	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	48	9.2	105	5.0	7	2.5	5	2.5
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	17	3.3	68	3.2	7	2.5	3	1.5
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	410	79.0	1,736	82.1	236	84.3	158	80.2
Office work.....	35	6.7	196	9.3	21	7.5	12	6.1
Cash and messenger work—de- partment store.....	85	16.4	149	7.0	17	6.1	12	6.1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	9	1.7	34	1.6	7	2.5	5	2.5
Selling.....	29	5.6	67	3.1	15	5.4	6	3.0
Messenger work, errand, and de- livery.....	252	48.6	1,290	61.0	176	62.9	123	62.4
All other occupations.....	2	.4	13	.6	2	.7	2	1.0

¹Including one girl whose occupation was not reported.

TABLE 123.—Occupation in first regular position, by sex of child; comparison of vacation and regular workers issued certificates in Boston and regular workers interviewed who worked and did not work before leaving school—Concluded.

Occupation in first regular position, and sex.	Children issued certificates in Boston who, before becoming 16, worked—				Children interviewed who left school to work before becom- ing 16, and who, before leaving school—			
	During vaca- tion or out of school hours.		Regularly.		Worked. ¹		Did not work.	
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.
Girls.....	338	100.0	1,430	100.0	44	100.0	302	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations..	14	4.1	64	4.5	3	.....	15	5.0
Personal service (other than serv- ants in the home).....	12	3.6	23	1.6	2	.....	3	1.0
House and home work.....	2	.6	41	2.9	1	.....	12	4.0
Factory and mechanical occupations.	166	49.1	649	45.4	20	.....	144	47.7
Factory operative.....	163	48.2	642	44.9	20	.....	144	47.7
Shoe factory.....	66	19.5	202	14.1	8	.....	50	16.6
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	40	11.8	203	14.2	6	.....	53	17.5
Textile mill.....	14	4.1	63	4.4	2	.....	12	4.0
Candy factory.....	1	.3	14	1.0	.....	.....	8	2.6
Other factory.....	42	12.4	160	11.2	4	.....	21	7.0
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	3	.9	7	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	156	46.2	715	50.0	21	.....	143	47.4
Office work.....	23	6.8	70	4.9	3	.....	14	4.6
Cash and messenger work—de- partment store.....	65	19.2	370	25.9	6	.....	65	21.5
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	36	10.7	97	6.8	4	.....	23	7.6
Selling.....	16	4.7	77	5.4	4	.....	15	5.0
Messenger work, errand, and de- livery.....	16	4.7	101	7.1	4	.....	26	8.6
All other occupations.....	1	.3	2	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including one girl whose occupation was not reported.

distribution appear greater than they really are because of the fact that the group of children who worked before leaving school was composed of 280 boys and only 44 girls, and therefore tended decidedly to resemble the boys of the entire interviewed group, whereas the group of children who did not work before leaving school was composed of 197 boys and 302 girls and therefore tended decidedly to resemble the girls. When the boys alone are considered the differences are comparatively slight. Nevertheless only one-eighth, 12.5 per cent, of the boys who had worked, as compared with about one-sixth, 16.2 per cent, of those who had not worked before leaving school entered factory and mechanical occupations when they took their first regular positions. This tendency away from factory occupations shown by the boys who had worked before leaving school was accompanied by a corresponding tendency toward "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods." This is natural in view of the fact, shown in Table 124, that nearly nine-tenths, 89.6 per cent, of these boys had worked in "clerical

occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" in the first positions which they held before leaving school. A large proportion of them, as already stated, held these positions before their fourteenth birthdays and at that time the factory and mechanical occupations were closed to them by law. All the children whose first positions

TABLE 124.—Occupation in first school position, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.

Occupation in first school position and sex of child.	Children who worked before leaving school.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	
Both sexes.....	324	100.0	83	100.0	169	100.0	59	100.0		13
Personal and domestic occupations.....	29	9.0	3	3.6	20	11.8	6	10.2	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	18	5.6	1	1.2	11	6.5	6	10.2	.....
House and home work.....	11	3.4	2	2.4	9	5.3	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	15	4.6	.....	.....	8	4.7	6	10.2	1
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	274	84.6	78	94.0	141	83.4	43	72.9	12
Office work.....	5	1.5	1	1.2	2	1.2	2	3.4	.....
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	10	3.1	4	4.8	5	3.0	1	1.7	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	7	2.2	3	3.6	3	1.8	1	1.7	.....
Selling.....	122	37.7	33	39.8	62	36.7	22	37.3	5
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	120	40.1	37	44.6	69	40.8	17	28.8	7
All other occupations.....	3	.9	2	2.4	.....	.....	1	1.7	.....
Not reported.....	3	.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5.1	.....
Boys.....	280	100.0	75	100.0	148	100.0	44	100.0	13
Personal and domestic occupations.....	18	6.4	1	1.3	12	8.1	5	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in home).....	17	6.1	1	1.3	11	7.4	5	.....	.....
House and home work.....	1	0.4	.....	.....	1	.7	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	6	2.1	.....	.....	3	2.0	2	.....	1
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	251	89.6	72	96.0	133	89.9	34	.....	12
Office work.....	2	.7	1	1.3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	1	.4	.....	.....	1	.7	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	4	1.4	2	2.7	2	1.4	.....	.....	.....
Selling.....	115	41.1	32	42.7	61	41.2	17	.....	5
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	129	46.1	37	49.3	69	46.6	16	.....	7
All other occupations.....	3	1.1	2	2.7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Girls.....	44	100.0	8	100.0	21	100.0	15	100.0	.....
Personal and domestic occupations.....	11	.....	2	.....	8	.....	1	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in home).....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
House and home work.....	10	.....	2	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	9	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	4	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	23	.....	6	.....	8	.....	9	.....	.....
Office work.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	9	.....	4	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	3	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Selling.....	7	.....	1	.....	1	.....	5	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

before leaving school were in factory or mechanical occupations had foreign-born fathers and, in spite of the small proportion of girls in the group as a whole, 9 out of the 15 were girls. This was due to the fact that a larger proportion of the girls than of the boys were over 14 when they took their first school positions.

Over two-fifths, 41.1 per cent, of the first school positions held by boys were for occupations involving selling, generally as newsboys or from peddlers' wagons, and an even larger proportion, 46.1 per cent, were for messenger, errand, and delivery work. About half, 49.3 per cent, of the native boys whose fathers also were native went into messenger, errand, and delivery work in their first positions held before leaving school.

The proportion of all regular positions held by children of native fathers in personal and domestic occupations was slightly larger, 5 per cent, than that held by the children of foreign-born fathers, which was 4.5 per cent both for native and for foreign-born children. In view of this fact it is interesting to note, not only that the proportion of first school positions in those occupations was decidedly higher, 9 per cent, than that of regular positions, but also that within the school position group it was much higher, 11.8 per cent, for the native children of foreign-born fathers than for the native children of native fathers, for whom it was only 3.6 per cent, and slightly higher than for the foreign-born children, for whom it was 10.2 per cent.

METHODS OF SECURING POSITIONS.

Positions in the different occupations were secured by all the various methods already discussed, but in some occupations one method was more commonly used than another. Table 125 shows, for example, for the continuation school group of children, that a larger proportion of the positions for factory and mechanical work than of those for clerical and similar occupations, 32.8 per cent, as compared with 27.4 per cent, were secured through friends or relatives, and also that a larger proportion of the former than of the latter, 46.2 per cent, as compared with 43.5 per cent, were secured independently. On the other hand, a larger proportion of the positions for clerical and similar occupations, 7.5 per cent, than of those for factory and mechanical work, 2.2 per cent, were secured through employment agencies of some sort. Private employment agencies alone filled about one-twentieth, 5.3 per cent, of the clerical and similar positions but less than 1 per cent of the factory and mechanical positions. The placement bureau also filled a somewhat larger proportion of the clerical than of the factory and mechanical positions, 2.4 per cent, as compared with 1.4 per cent, but the day and continuation schools filled a larger proportion of the latter than of the former positions, 5.3 per cent, as compared with 4.5 per cent.

The positions in personal and domestic occupations were secured through friends or relatives more often than those in any other occupational division. Moreover, in a comparatively large proportion of these positions the employer was a relative. Of all the positions in this group of occupations, 40.1 per cent, as compared with only 29.4 per cent of those in all occupations, were secured by friends or relatives. Almost one-sixth, 15.3 per cent, of all these positions, as compared with little over one-ninth, 11.9 per cent, of those in all occupations, were secured through relatives alone, and in 8.4 per cent of them, as compared with only 2.2 per cent of those in all positions, the employer was a relative. This high proportion occurred chiefly among the boys. In 16.3 per cent of all the positions held by boys in this group of occupations, but in only 2.6 per cent of those held by the girls, was the child employed by a relative.

TABLE 125.—*Method of securing position, by occupation; positions held by children in Boston continuation school.*

Method of securing position.	All positions.		Positions held in specified occupation groups.						
			Personal and domestic.		Factory and mechanical.		Clerical, wrapping, selling, and delivery.		Other occupations and not reported.
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	
Total.....	7,381	100.0	202	100.0	2,296	100.0	4,854	100.0	29
Position secured through—									
Friend or relative.....	2,169	29.4	81	40.1	754	32.8	1,328	27.4	6
Friend.....	1,126	15.3	33	16.3	408	17.8	684	14.1	1
Relative.....	881	11.9	31	15.3	320	13.9	527	10.9	3
Employer—relative.....	162	2.2	17	8.4	26	1.1	117	2.4	2
Independently secured.....	3,254	44.1	70	34.7	1,060	46.2	2,112	43.5	12
Applied personally.....	3,070	41.6	67	33.2	1,007	43.9	1,985	40.9	11
Answered advertisement.....	169	2.3	3	1.5	48	2.1	117	2.4	1
Worked there before.....	15	.2	.....	.....	5	.2	10	.2	.....
Employment offered.....	328	4.4	21	10.4	68	3.0	234	4.8	5
Employment agency, etc.....	420	5.7	5	2.5	51	2.2	363	7.5	1
State employment office.....	105	1.4	2	1.0	20	.9	82	1.7	1
Private employment agency..	282	3.8	2	1.0	21	.9	259	5.3	.....
Philanthropic organizations..	33	.4	1	.5	10	.4	22	.5	.....
School or placement bureau.....	490	6.6	6	3.0	153	6.7	331	6.8	.....
Day school.....	140	1.9	2	1.0	53	2.3	85	1.8	.....
Continuation school.....	199	2.7	.....	.....	68	3.0	131	2.7	.....
Placement bureau.....	151	2.0	4	2.0	32	1.4	115	2.4	.....
All other methods.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....
Not reported.....	717	9.7	19	9.4	209	9.1	484	10.0	5

¹ Not shown where less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Table 126 shows, for the children interviewed, that there was considerable difference in the methods by which first positions were secured between the occupations included in the two general groups "factory and mechanical occupations" and "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods." This table relates to a different group of children from those included in the preceding table, and also covers only first positions which, as has been shown, are secured by somewhat different methods than later positions. Nevertheless, it confirms the conclusion that a larger proportion of factory than of clerical and similar positions were secured through friends or relatives, and also that a larger proportion of the former than of the latter were secured independently. It also confirms the conclusion that employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus filled a larger proportion of positions for clerical and similar work than for factory and mechanical occupations.

TABLE 126.—*Method of securing first regular position, by occupation; children interviewed.*

Occupation.	Children securing first regular position by specified method.										
	All children.	Friend or relative.		Independently.		Employment offered.		Employment agency, school, placement bureau, etc.		Not reported.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	823	406	49.3	316	38.4	38	4.6	56	6.8	7	0.9
Personal and domestic occupations.....	30	16	.....	6	.....	4	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	231	124	53.7	94	40.7	5	2.2	5	2.2	3	1.3
Factory operative.....	221	121	54.8	91	41.2	3	1.4	3	1.4	3	1.4
Shoe factory.....	87	40	46.0	42	48.3	.....	.....	2	2.3	3	3.4
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	62	45	72.6	14	22.6	2	3.2	1	1.6	.....	.....
Other factory.....	72	36	50.0	35	48.6	1	1.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	10	3	.....	3	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods...	558	263	47.1	215	38.5	29	5.2	48	8.6	3	.5
Office work.....	50	23	46.0	17	34.0	3	6.0	6	12.0	1	2.0
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	100	39	39.0	53	53.0	.....	.....	8	8.0	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work....	39	21	.....	17	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	329	152	46.2	119	36.2	22	6.7	34	10.3	2	.6
Other clerical, etc., occupations.....	40	28	.....	9	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	4	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

Decided variations were found within the different groups. For instance, friends or relatives secured first positions for not far from three-fourths, 72.6 per cent, of the children who began their industrial careers as operatives in clothing factories or other needle trades but for considerably less than one-half, 46 per cent, of those who began

as operatives in shoe factories. This was doubtless due to the larger proportion of foreign-born children—who, as already noted,²² tended to secure their positions through their friends or relatives—employed in clothing factories and other needle trades. In cash and messenger work in department stores, moreover, friends and relatives played a much less prominent part in securing first positions than in office or in messenger, errand, and delivery work. Only 39 per cent of the children who went into cash and messenger work in department stores secured their first positions through friends or relatives as compared with 46 per cent of those who went into office work and with 46.2 per cent of those who went into messenger, errand, and delivery work. Over half, 53 per cent, of the department store positions were secured independently. An unusually large proportion, 12 per cent, of the office work positions but nearly as large a proportion, 10.3 per cent, of the messenger, errand, and delivery work positions were secured through employment agencies, schools or placement bureaus.

CHARACTER OF OCCUPATIONS.

The general character of the different occupations in which the children were employed is indicated, in part at least, by the occupation designation. The children who were engaged in messenger, errand, and delivery work, for example, must have walked or ridden on vehicles and in many cases worked outdoors. On the other hand, those who were employed as factory operatives must have carried on their work indoors and for the most part in sitting positions. Children engaged in cash and messenger work in department stores and in "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work" also worked indoors, but the former group must have walked a great deal and many of the latter must have stood at their work. It is obvious, therefore, that a large part of the work in which boys were engaged was outdoors and involved much walking, while most of that in which girls were employed was indoors and meant a fairly constant sitting position.

Work at or in connection with machines was not common. In only about one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of all the positions in which the children interviewed were employed, according to Table 127, was there any machine work. In many, if not most, of these positions the children were employed at machine work for only part of the time. Of the factory operative positions alone, however, not far from one-third, 31.6 per cent, involved some machine work, and as a result machine work was much more common among the girls, who predominated in this group of occupations, than among the boys, who

²² See Table 83, p. 177.

tended to enter in larger numbers the occupations classed as “clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods,” only 1.9 per cent of which involved any machine work. The largest proportion of positions involving machine work, 40 per cent, was found among the operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. In over one-sixth, 17.5 per cent, of the positions filled by girls, but only about one-twentieth, 5.3 per cent, of those filled by boys, was there work on or about machines of any kind.

TABLE 127.—Type of work, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions.					
	Total.	Involving some machine work.		Involving no machine work.		Type of work not reported.
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber. Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	1,943	207	10.7	1,727	88.9	9 0.5
Personal and domestic occupations.....	80	3	3.4	86	96.6	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	180	30.6	400	68.0	8 1.4
Factory operative.....	563	178	31.6	378	67.1	7 1.2
Shoe factory.....	199	50	25.6	137	68.8	3 1.5
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	74	40.0	108	58.4	3 1.6
Textile mill.....	53	19	35.8	33	62.3	1 1.9
Other factory.....	126	26	20.6	100	79.4	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	2	.....	22	.....	1
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	24	1.9	1,224	98.1	.....
All other occupations.....	17	.....	.....	16	.....	1
Boys.....	1,093	58	5.3	1,033	94.5	2 .2
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	.....	.....	38	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	44	26.7	120	72.7	1 .6
Factory operative.....	140	42	30.0	98	70.0	.....
Shoe factory.....	69	21	30.4	48	69.6	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....
Textile mill.....	22	6	.....	16	.....	.....
Other factory.....	41	8	.....	33	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	2	.....	22	.....	1
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	872	14	1.6	858	98.4	.....
All other occupations.....	17	.....	.....	16	.....	1
Girls.....	850	149	17.5	694	81.6	7 .8
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	3	5.9	48	94.1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	136	32.2	280	66.2	7 1.7
Factory operative.....	423	136	32.2	280	66.2	7 1.7
Shoe factory.....	130	38	29.2	80	61.5	3 2.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	67	37.9	107	60.5	3 1.7
Textile mill.....	31	13	.....	17	.....	1
Other factory.....	85	18	21.2	67	78.8	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	10	2.7	366	97.3	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including 1 position for which occupation was not reported.

OCCUPATIONAL SHIFT.

Before a child could obtain an employment certificate in Massachusetts a physician had to certify that he was physically able to do the

work for which the particular certificate was requested.⁹⁹ This physician's certificate, as already stated, was made out on the back of the card, the face of which bore the name of the occupation, written by the employer. The physician, therefore, always knew the name of the occupation in which the employer said the child was to be engaged. There was nothing in the law, however, to prevent the employer from transferring the child to some other occupation whenever occasion arose, provided the other occupation was not so dangerous or injurious that it was prohibited for all children.

In some cases children, upon beginning work, were employed in different occupations from those for which their certificates read, and in a considerable number, though employed in the occupations shown in their certificates, they worked also in supplementary occupations. For example, an errand boy in a grocery might also watch stock and sell to customers during the noon hour. In some of these latter cases children were employed in two different types of occupation at the same time, as when a boy employed by a real estate dealer to run errands was given typewriting to do when not needed for his major occupation, or when a girl employed for sewing by a dressmaker was sent on errands. These supplementary occupations, however, would usually be expected from the nature of the work originally designated and can hardly be considered as evading any safeguard of the law. The cases of the first kind, in which a child was put at work essentially different from that for which the employer stated that he was hired, were comparatively few.

It more often happened that a child was transferred to another occupation than that specified on his promise of employment after he had been at work for a time, and these cases give a conservative measure of the employment of children in occupations not contemplated by the issuing officer or the examining physician when the certificate was issued. In over one-eighth, 13.5 per cent, of all the positions held by the children interviewed, as appears in Table 128, the children were actually transferred from one occupation to another. Most of these transfers, however, were to similar occupations. In 7.9 per cent of their positions the children were transferred to another occupation of the same kind, so far as the occupational classification adopted for this report is concerned, as the one for which the certificate was made out. In about 1 case out of 20, 5.6 per cent, they were transferred to an occupation of a different class. Boys were not shifted so often from one occupation to another in the same position as were girls. About one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, of the positions held by girls showed occupational shifts within the same classification, but only about one-half as large a proportion, 6 per cent, showed occupational shifts to other classifications.

⁹⁹ Acts of 1919, ch. 514, sec. 58, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 16.

TABLE 128.—*Change of occupation in a position by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Occupation and sex of child.	Regular positions.					
	Total.	Showing an occupational shift in same classification.		Showing an occupational shift to another classification.		Showing no occupational shift.
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	
Both sexes.....	1,943	154	7.9	108	5.6	1,681
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	3	3.4	.....	.....	86
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	87	14.8	23	3.9	478
Factory operative.....	563	87	15.5	23	4.1	453
Shoe factory.....	199	50	25.1	13	6.5	136
Clothing factory, and other needle trades.....	185	24	13.0	3	1.6	158
Other factory.....	179	13	7.3	7	3.9	159
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	25
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	64	5.1	84	6.7	1,100
Office work.....	101	2	2.0	7	6.9	92
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	213	31	14.6	9	4.2	173
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	104	5	4.8	13	12.5	86
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	754	25	3.3	55	7.3	674
Selling.....	76	1	1.3	.....	.....	75
All other occupations.....	17	.....	.....	1	.....	16
Boys.....	1,093	45	4.1	57	5.2	991
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	.....	.....	.....	.....	38
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	7	4.2	8	4.8	150
Factory operative.....	140	7	5.0	8	5.7	125
Shoe factory.....	69	5	7.2	6	8.7	58
Clothing factory, and other needle trades.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	7
Other factory.....	63	1	1.6	2	3.2	60
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	25
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	38	4.4	48	5.5	786
Office work.....	78	2	2.7	5	6.8	66
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	11	20.0	4	7.3	40
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	34	2	.....	4	.....	28
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	667	23	3.4	35	5.2	609
Selling.....	43	.....	.....	.....	.....	43
All other occupations.....	17	.....	.....	1	.....	16
Girls.....	850	109	12.8	51	6.0	690
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	3	5.9	.....	.....	48
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	80	18.9	15	3.5	328
Factory operative.....	423	80	18.9	15	3.5	328
Shoe factory.....	130	45	34.6	7	5.4	78
Clothing factory, and other needle trades.....	177	23	13.0	3	1.7	151
Other factory.....	116	12	10.3	5	4.3	99
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	26	6.9	36	9.6	314
Office work.....	28	.....	.....	2	.....	26
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	20	12.7	5	3.2	123
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	70	3	4.3	9	12.9	58
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	87	2	2.3	20	23.0	65
Selling.....	33	1	.....	.....	.....	32

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

The shifting from one occupation to another in the same position was naturally most likely to occur in establishments employing a considerable number of children in different occupations. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the largest proportion of positions in which girls changed their occupations was found among the shoe-factory operatives. Most of these changes, however, were to similar occupations. More than one-third, 34.6 per cent, of the shoe-factory operative positions held by girls involved changes of occupation within the same classification and only about one-twentieth, 5.4 per cent, to different classifications. Among positions in clothing factories and other needle trades, which were generally in much smaller establishments than shoe factories, only a little over one-eighth, 13 per cent, of those held by girls involved changes within the same classification, while only 1.7 per cent involved changes to another classification. Outside of factories, the only positions in which much shifting occurred were those in which the original occupation was classified as cash or messenger work in department stores. One-fifth, 20 per cent, of the positions so classified which were held by boys and about one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, of those held by girls showed occupational shifts within the same classification and 7.3 per cent of the boys' positions and 3.2 per cent of the girls' positions showed occupational shifts to different classifications.

One important fact brought out in this table is that in nearly one-fourth, 23 per cent, of all the cases in which girls were employed for messenger, errand, and delivery work and in about one-eighth, 12.9 per cent, of those in which they were employed for "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work" they were transferred to occupations of an entirely different character. Evidently the occupation tables already given, which are based upon the first kind of work carried on in each position, must exaggerate the amount of work done by girls in these two groups.

Evidently, too, a promise of employment specifying that a girl is to be employed in one of these classes of occupations is peculiarly weak evidence as to what she is actually likely to be called upon to do. In many cases the shift of occupation is a benefit to the child, as when a girl employed to do errands in a dressmaking or millinery establishment is given sewing when she is not needed for errands, and is thus afforded an opportunity to learn at least a little of the trade. In a case in which the physician would not have certified that the child was able to do any and every kind of work the shift may easily be to an occupation which he would not have approved, and the protection of his certificate may be thus entirely removed.

TIME WORKED.

At the time of this study most of the children were still at work, many of them in their first regular positions. How long they may

have stayed in these positions after the date of the interview or after their sixteenth birthdays was not a point included in the study, which covered the industrial histories of the interviewed children only up to the time they were questioned by bureau agents and of the other children only up to their sixteenth birthdays. It was therefore not possible to ascertain the average length of time that the children remained in positions in different occupations. The number of first regular positions which ended within specified periods could be ascertained, however, with a fair degree of accuracy for the children interviewed.²⁴ Table 129 shows the rate at which first regular positions in different occupations were terminated.

The largest proportion of short-term positions—that is, of positions lasting less than three months—was found, as would be expected, in cash and messenger work in department stores. Of all the first regular positions in this occupation more than one-half, 53 per cent, lasted less than three months; of all those held by girls alone the percentage terminated during this period was even higher, 57.9 per cent. Nearly one-sixth, 16 per cent, of all these positions, and over one-fifth, 21.2 per cent, of those held by girls, lasted less than a week; while over one-third, 35 per cent, of all, and 36.7 per cent of those held by girls lasted from one week to one month. In other words, more than one-half, 51 per cent, of all first regular positions for cash and messenger work in department stores, and not far from three-fifths, 57.9 per cent, of those held by girls lasted less than one month. The great majority of these positions were evidently temporary in character, for special seasons such as the period just before Christmas or for sales. It should be noted, however, that a considerable number of permanent positions for this type of work were evidently open to children, for over one-third, 36 per cent, of all the children—though a smaller proportion, only 31.1 per cent of the girls—who first entered this occupation appear to have held their positions for at least a year.

²⁴ In calculating the percentages a small proportion of first positions not terminated before the end of 12 months have been treated as if they lasted the full 12 months. The percentages in the table, therefore, slightly understate the proportion terminated before 12 months and slightly overstate the proportion that terminated at 12 months and over. That errors are not great is shown in the following table, in which an estimate has been made of the total number of positions that would have terminated before the end of the year based on the proportion among the known cases.

Per cent of children commencing work whose positions terminated in specified period.

Period.	Uncor- rected.	Cor- rected.	Period.	Uncor- rected.	Cor- rected.
Under 1 week.....	5.1	5.1	6 months but under 9 months.....	6.6	7.0
1 week but under 1 month.....	15.7	15.7	9 months but under 12 months....	4.5	4.5
1 month but under 3 months.....	15.1	15.1	12 months and over.....	36.2	35.4
3 months but under 6 months.....	16.9	17.2			

Another occupation in which the percentage of first positions held for less than three months was unusually high was work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. First positions in this occupation were held for less than three months by over two-fifths, 43.6 per cent, of all children, and by a still larger proportion, 45.7 per cent, of the girls concerned. Very few of these positions, however, were terminated within a week and about one-fourth, 24.2 per cent, within from one to three months. At the same time comparatively few clothing factory and needle trades positions, as compared with other occupations, lasted for 12 months or more. For both sexes the proportion lasting that long was not quite three-tenths, 29 per cent, and for girls it was about one-fourth, 25.4 per cent. This is doubtless due to the fact that a large part of the work in clothing factories and other needle trades is seasonal in character, but the rush seasons are much longer than the sales periods of department stores.

Office work and "messenger, errand, and delivery work" showed the highest proportions, 72 per cent for the former and 70.5 per cent for the latter, of positions lasting three months or longer. Office work also showed the highest proportion, 44 per cent, of positions lasting a year or over. Even in messenger work considerably more than one-third, 37.7 per cent, of all the first regular positions held lasted a year or more. In positions lasting for 12 months or more, however, shoe factories ranked higher than messenger work. Of all the first regular positions for work as operatives in shoe factories considerably more than two-fifths, 43.7 per cent and nearly half, 48.3 per cent, of those entered by girls, were held for a year or over. Comparatively few positions in these occupations, as compared with those in occupations which had high proportions of short-time positions, were terminated, as will be seen later,* by the discharge of the children.

The positions held by girls generally lasted for shorter periods than those held by boys. Over two-fifths, 41 per cent, of all the first positions held by girls lasted less than three months, and about one-twelfth, 8.7 per cent, of them lasted less than a week, whereas of those held by boys less than one-third, 32.1 per cent, lasted less than three months and a very small proportion, only 2.5 per cent, less than a week. At the same time the proportion of positions lasting 12 months and over which were held by girls and by boys did not differ greatly, 34.7 per cent and 36.3 per cent, respectively. The failure of girls to hold their positions for as long periods as boys was undoubt-

* See Table 135, pp. 282-283.

TABLE 129.—Duration of first regular position by occupation and sex; children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	Total.	Children whose first regular positions terminated in—							
		Less than 3 months.							
		Total.		Less than one week.		One week but less than 1 month.		One month but less than 3 months.	
		Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	295	35.9	42	5.1	129	15.7	124	15.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....	30	12	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	8	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	231	84	36.3	11	4.8	34	14.7	39	16.9
Factory operative.....	221	84	38.0	11	5.0	34	15.4	39	17.6
Shoe factory.....	87	31	35.6	2	2.3	17	19.5	12	13.7
Clothing factory, etc.....	62	27	43.6	8	4.8	9	14.5	15	24.2
Other factory.....	72	26	36.1	6	8.3	8	11.1	12	16.7
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	558	196	35.1	31	5.6	90	16.1	75	13.4
Office work.....	50	14	28.0	1	2.0	5	10.0	8	16.0
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	100	53	53.0	16	16.0	35	35.0	2	2.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	39	15	.....	2	.....	5	.....	8	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	329	97	29.5	11	3.3	40	12.1	46	14.0
Selling.....	40	17	.....	1	.....	5	.....	11	.....
All other occupations.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Boys.....	477	153	32.1	12	2.5	64	13.4	77	16.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....	12	6	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	5	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	67	23	34.3	1	1.5	10	14.9	12	17.9
Factory operative.....	57	23	40.4	1	1.8	10	17.5	12	21.1
Shoe factory.....	29	12	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	6	.....
Clothing factory, etc.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	25	11	.....	1	.....	4	.....	6	.....
Apprentices and helpers, skilled trades.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	394	121	30.7	11	2.8	52	13.2	58	14.7
Office work.....	33	8	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	6	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	29	12	.....	1	.....	9	.....	2	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling and shipping-room work.....	12	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	299	91	30.4	10	3.3	37	12.4	44	14.7
Selling.....	21	7	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	5	.....
All other occupations.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Girls.....	346	142	41.0	30	8.7	65	18.8	47	13.6
Personal and domestic occupations.....	18	6	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	164	61	37.2	10	6.1	24	14.6	27	16.4
Factory operative.....	164	61	37.2	10	6.1	24	14.6	27	16.4
Shoe factory.....	58	19	32.8	2	3.5	11	19.0	6	10.3
Clothing factory, etc.....	59	27	45.7	8	5.1	9	15.3	15	25.4
Other factory.....	47	15	.....	5	.....	4	.....	6	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	164	75	45.7	20	12.2	38	23.2	17	10.4
Office work.....	17	6	.....	1	.....	3	.....	2	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	71	41	57.9	15	21.2	26	36.7	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling and shipping-room work.....	27	12	.....	2	.....	3	.....	7	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	30	6	.....	1	.....	3	.....	2	.....
Selling.....	19	10	.....	1	.....	3	.....	6	.....

¹ Not shown when base is less than 50.

TABLE 129.—Duration of first regular position by occupation and sex; children interviewed—Concluded.

Occupation and sex.	Children whose first regular positions terminated in—									
	Three months and over.									
	Total. ¹		3 months but less than 6 months.		6 months but less than 9 months.		9 months but less than 12 months.		12 months and over. ¹	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²
Both sexes.....	528	64.1	139	16.9	54	6.6	37	4.5	298	36.2
Personal and domestic occupations.....	18	.....	5	.....	6	.....	1	.....	6	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	147	63.7	35	15.1	14	6.1	9	3.9	89	38.5
Factory operative.....	137	62.0	33	14.9	12	5.4	8	3.6	84	38.0
Shoe factory.....	56	64.4	11	12.6	5	5.7	2	2.3	38	43.7
Clothing factory, etc.....	35	50.4	9	14.5	3	4.8	5	8.1	18	29.0
Other factory.....	46	64.0	13	18.1	4	5.6	1	1.4	28	38.9
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	10	.....	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....	5	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	362	64.9	98	17.6	34	6.1	27	4.8	208	36.4
Office work.....	36	72.0	9	18.0	3	6.0	2	4.0	22	44.0
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	47	47.0	7	7.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	36	36.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	24	.....	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	12	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	232	70.5	61	18.5	26	7.9	21	6.4	124	37.7
Selling.....	23	.....	10	.....	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....
All other occupations.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	324	67.9	82	17.2	36	7.5	28	5.9	178	36.3
Personal and domestic occupations.....	6	.....	1	.....	2	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	44	65.7	12	17.9	4	6.0	3	4.5	25	37.4
Factory operative.....	34	59.7	10	17.5	2	3.5	2	3.5	20	35.1
Shoe factory.....	17	.....	4	.....	2	.....	1	.....	10	.....
Clothing factory, etc.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Other factory.....	14	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	7	.....
Apprentices and helpers, skilled trades.....	10	.....	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....	5	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	273	69.3	68	17.3	30	7.6	24	6.1	151	38.4
Office work.....	25	.....	4	.....	2	.....	2	.....	17	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	17	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	14	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling and shipping room work.....	9	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	208	69.5	53	17.7	26	8.7	19	6.3	110	36.8
Selling.....	14	.....	6	.....	1	.....	1	.....	6	.....
All other occupations.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	204	59.0	57	19.7	18	6.2	9	3.1	120	34.7
Personal and domestic occupations.....	12	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	103	62.8	23	14.0	10	6.1	6	3.7	64	39.0
Factory operative.....	103	62.8	23	14.0	10	6.1	6	3.7	64	39.0
Shoe factory.....	39	67.3	7	12.1	3	5.2	1	1.7	28	48.3
Clothing factory, etc.....	32	54.2	9	15.3	3	5.1	5	8.5	15	25.4
Other factory.....	32	.....	7	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	21	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	89	54.2	30	18.3	4	2.4	3	1.8	52	31.7
Office work.....	11	.....	5	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	30	42.3	6	8.5	2	2.8	.....	.....	22	31.1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	15	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	24	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	14	.....
Selling.....	9	.....	4	.....	1	.....	1	.....	3	.....

¹ All the first regular positions which were not terminated at the date of the interview were considered to have lasted for 12 months or over; 66.1 per cent of them had already lasted 12 months or over; 16.6 per cent had already lasted from 9 to 12 months; and 12.9 per cent had lasted from 6 to 9 months. See Appendix Table III, p. 361.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

edly due primarily to their choice of occupations, particularly to their employment in such seasonal occupations as operative work in clothing factories and other needle trades, and in department store "sales."

HOURS OF LABOR.

Decided differences were found in the weekly hours of labor required in the different occupations. Of the 84 cases already mentioned in which the weekly hours were less than 36, Table 130 shows that 37 were positions for messenger, errand, and delivery work, 13 for personal and domestic occupations, 7 for cash and messenger work in department stores, and 5 each for office work and for work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. But the largest proportion of such positions in any one occupation was 14.6 per cent for personal and domestic occupations. For no other kind of occupation except selling was the proportion of positions in which the hours were less than 36 a week higher than the 5 per cent shown for office work. For all positions in factory and mechanical occupations it was only 1.2 per cent. All such positions in factory and mechanical occupations and also for cash and messenger work in department stores were held by girls, and all those for messenger, errand, and delivery work by boys.

Of the 125 positions in which the hours were very long, 54 or over weekly, 62, or about half, were for messenger, errand, and delivery work, but 23 were in personal and domestic and 22 in factory and mechanical occupations. Nevertheless in over one-fourth, 25.8 per cent, of the whole group of positions in personal and domestic service, as compared with 8.2 per cent of those in messenger, errand, and delivery work and with only 3.7 per cent of those in factory and mechanical occupations these hours were required. In considerably over one-third, 37.3 per cent, of the personal and domestic positions held by girls, the hours were over 54 a week; but most of the messenger, errand, and delivery work positions in which these were the hours, 58 out of 62, were held by boys.

Messenger, errand, and delivery work again took the lead in the number of positions in which the hours were over 48 but under 54. Of 172 such positions 85 were for this class of occupations, but 53 were for factory and mechanical occupations, 32 of them for work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades. In over one-sixth, 17.3 per cent, of the latter positions the hours were between 48 and 54 a week. All but three of these positions were held by girls. But 78 of the 85 messenger work positions were held by boys.

In most occupations a large majority of the children worked either from 36 to 48 hours or exactly 48 hours a week. In factory and mechanical occupations these two hour groups together included 83.5 per cent of all the positions, the larger proportion, 46.3 per cent, being in the group where the hours were from 36 to 48. In shoe factories, however, over nine-tenths, 92.9 per cent, of the positions required from 36 to 48 or exactly 48 hours work, and in the larger proportion, 64.3 per cent, or not far from two-thirds, the hours were exactly 48 a week. On the other hand, of the factory and mechanical occupations specifically enumerated, work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades showed the smallest proportion, 74.1 per cent, of positions in which the hours belonged in one of these two groups. In over one-half, 53 per cent, of these positions, the hours were from 36 to 48 and in only a little over one-fifth, 21.1 per cent, they were exactly 48. It appears, therefore, that of all the factory and mechanical occupations in which the work of children under 16 was used to any considerable extent, their hours varied most in clothing factories and other needle trades, where in nearly one-fourth, 23.8 per cent, of all the positions held the weekly hours were either less than 36 or more than 48. These variations in hours affected the work of girls far more than that of boys, for 177 out of the 185 positions in this occupation were held by girls.

The weekly hours in clerical and similar occupations showed wider variations in general than those in factory and mechanical occupations. The proportion of all positions for clerical and similar work in which the hours were either 36 but less than 48, or exactly 48, was 77.6 per cent, the larger proportion, 41.9 per cent, being in the group where the hours were exactly 48 a week. But even greater differences in the matter of hours were found between the different occupations included in this group than between those included in the group of factory and mechanical occupations. For example, the hours were 36 but less than 48 in over two-thirds, 67.3 per cent, of the office work positions but in only a little over one-half, 51 per cent, of the positions for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work, and for less than one-sixth, 14.6 per cent, of those for cash and messenger work in department stores. On the other hand, they were exactly 48 in about one-fifth, 20.8 per cent, of the office work positions, in over one-third, 36.5 per cent, of the positions for packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work, and in almost four-fifths, 77.9 per cent, of those for cash and messenger work in department stores. In the last-named occupation, cash and messenger work in department stores, the hours were more frequently exactly 48 than in any other, and in only 6.1 per cent of these posi-

TABLE 130.—Hours weekly, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	All regular positions.	Regular positions showing specified number of hours weekly.					
		Under 36.		36, under 48.		48 even.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	21,943	84	4.3	735	37.8	760	39.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	13	14.6	13	14.6	15	16.9
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	7	1.2	272	46.3	219	37.2
Factory operative.....	563	7	1.2	258	45.8	214	38.0
Shoefactory.....	199	.....	.....	57	28.6	128	64.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	5	2.7	98	53.0	39	21.1
Other factory.....	179	2	1.1	103	57.5	47	26.3
Apprentice and helper, skilled trades.....	26	.....	.....	14	.....	5	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	59	4.7	446	35.7	523	41.9
Office work.....	101	5	5.0	68	67.3	21	20.8
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	213	7	3.3	31	14.6	106	77.9
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	104	.....	.....	53	51.0	38	36.5
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	754	37	4.9	270	35.8	283	37.5
Selling.....	76	10	13.2	24	31.6	15	19.7
All other occupations.....	17	5	.....	4	.....	3	.....
Boys.....	11,093	60	5.5	409	37.4	389	35.6
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	7	.....	7	.....	5	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	105	.....	.....	75	45.5	61	37.0
Factory operative.....	140	.....	.....	61	43.6	56	40.0
Shoefactory.....	69	.....	.....	23	33.3	41	59.4
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	63	.....	.....	35	55.6	15	23.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	.....	.....	14	.....	5	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	48	5.5	323	37.0	320	36.7
Office work.....	73	3	4.1	53	72.6	14	19.2
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	.....	.....	10	18.2	40	72.7
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	34	.....	.....	13	.....	14	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	667	37	5.5	233	34.9	245	36.7
Selling.....	43	8	.....	14	.....	7	.....
All other occupations.....	17	5	.....	4	.....	3	.....
Girls.....	850	24	2.8	326	38.4	371	43.6
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	6	11.8	6	11.8	10	19.6
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	7	1.7	197	46.6	158	37.4
Factory operative.....	423	7	1.7	197	46.6	158	37.4
Shoefactory.....	130	.....	.....	34	26.2	87	66.9
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	5	2.8	95	53.7	39	22.0
Other factory.....	116	2	1.7	68	58.6	32	27.6
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	11	2.9	123	32.7	203	54.0
Office work.....	28	2	.....	15	.....	7	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	7	4.4	21	13.3	126	79.7
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	70	.....	.....	40	57.1	24	34.3
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	87	.....	.....	37	42.5	38	43.7
Selling.....	33	2	.....	10	.....	8	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 130.—*Hours weekly, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed—Concluded.*

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions showing specified number of hours weekly.					
	Over 48, under 54.		54 or over.		Not reported.	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	172	8.9	125	6.4	* 67	3.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	8	9.0	23	25.8	17	19.1
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	53	9.0	22	3.7	15	2.6
Factory operative.....	50	8.9	20	3.6	14	2.5
Shoe factory.....	7	3.5	3	1.5	4	2.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	32	17.3	7	3.8	4	2.2
Other factory.....	11	6.1	10	5.6	6	3.4
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	111	8.9	76	6.1	33	2.6
Office work.....	3	3.0	2	2.0	2	2.0
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	6	2.8	.....	.....	3	1.4
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	9	8.7	1	1.0	3	2.9
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	85	11.3	62	8.2	17	2.3
Selling.....	8	10.5	11	14.5	8	10.5
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Boys.....	114	10.4	85	7.8	* 36	3.3
Personal and domestic occupations.....	7	.....	4	.....	8	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	14	8.5	11	6.7	4	2.4
Factory operative.....	11	7.9	9	6.4	3	2.1
Shoe factory.....	3	4.3	1	1.4	1	1.4
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	5	7.9	6	9.5	2	3.2
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	93	10.7	66	7.6	22	2.5
Office work.....	1	1.4	1	1.4	1	1.4
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	5	9.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	5	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	78	11.7	58	8.7	16	2.4
Selling.....	4	.....	6	.....	4	.....
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	58	6.8	40	4.7	31	3.6
Personal and domestic occupations.....	1	2.0	19	37.3	9	17.6
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	39	9.2	11	2.6	11	2.6
Factory operative.....	39	9.2	11	2.6	11	2.6
Shoe factory.....	4	3.1	2	1.5	3	2.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	29	16.4	5	2.8	4	2.3
Other factory.....	6	5.2	4	3.4	4	3.4
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	18	4.8	10	2.7	11	2.9
Office work.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	1	.6	.....	.....	3	1.9
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	4	5.7	.....	.....	2	2.9
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	7	8.0	4	4.6	1	1.1
Selling.....	4	.....	5	.....	4	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

tions were the hours either under 36 or over 48 a week. In no occupation except, perhaps, work as operatives in shoe factories, were the weekly hours of girls as generally within the limit of from 36 to 48, inclusive, as in cash and messenger work in department stores.

The occupation in which the hours of boys varied most widely, with the single exception of personal and domestic occupations, was that classified as messenger, errand, and delivery work. In over one-fourth, 25.9 per cent, of all the positions for messenger, errand, and delivery work held by boys, as might be expected from the preceding discussion, the hours were either less than 36 or more than 48 weekly. The proportion of cases, 36.7 per cent, in which they were exactly 48 was somewhat larger than the proportion, 34.9 per cent, in which they were 36 but less than 48.

The largest proportion of unusual hours for both boys and girls was found, as might be expected, in personal and domestic occupations. Of all the positions held by both sexes in these occupations only 16.9 per cent required exactly 48 hours and 14.6 per cent required 36 but less than 48 hours a week. In nearly one-half, 49.4 per cent, of these positions, and in over one-half, 51.1 per cent, of those held by girls, the weekly hours were either less than 36 or more than 48.

PIECE AND TIME WORK.

In about one-eighth, 12.6 per cent, of all their positions, as shown in Table 131, the children were engaged in piecework. Nearly four-fifths, 195 out of 244, of these positions were in factory and mechanical occupations, 119 of them, or nearly one-half, being in shoe factories. The only other type of occupation in which any considerable proportion of positions involved piecework was "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," and in less than one-sixth, 15.4 per cent, of these positions, as compared with about one-third, 33.2 per cent, of those in factory and mechanical occupations and with nearly three-fifths, 59.8 per cent, of those in shoe factories alone, were the children engaged in piecework. Because of the decided tendency of girls to enter the occupations involving piecework a much larger proportion of the girls than of the boys, 19.9 per cent as compared with 6.9 per cent, held positions in which they were paid by the piece.

The initial wages of both sexes combined were decidedly higher in time-work than in piecework positions. Table 132 shows that in 18.4 per cent of the piecework positions, as compared with only 3.5 per cent of the time-work positions, were wages less than \$3 a week. In over three-fourths, 76.6 per cent, of the piecework positions, as compared with little more than two-thirds, 68.3 per cent, of the time-work positions, were they less than \$5. On the other hand, they were \$5 or more in over one-fourth, 25.6 per cent, of the time-work but less than one fifth, 19.7 per cent, of the piecework positions.

TABLE 131.—*Kind of work, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Occupation and sex of child.	All reg- ular posi- tions.	Regular positions showing specified kind of work.							
		Time-work.		Piecework.		No cash wage.		Not reported.	
		Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	1,943	1,632	84.0	244	12.6	42	2.2	25	1.3
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	74	83.1	12	13.5	1	1.1	2	2.2
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	360	61.2	195	33.2	18	3.1	15	2.6
Factory operative.....	563	336	59.7	195	34.6	17	3.0	15	2.7
Shoe factory.....	199	74	37.2	119	59.8	.....	.....	6	3.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	128	69.2	35	18.9	15	8.1	7	3.8
Other factory.....	179	134	74.9	41	22.9	2	1.1	2	1.1
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	24	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	1,184	94.9	36	2.9	22	1.8	6	.5
Office work.....	101	98	97.0	.....	.....	3	3.0	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	213	213	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping- room work.....	104	86	82.7	16	15.4	.....	.....	2	1.9
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	754	730	96.8	12	1.6	8	1.1	4	.5
Selling.....	76	57	75.0	8	10.5	11	14.5	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	17	14	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Boys.....	1,093	991	90.7	75	6.9	16	1.5	11	1.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	24	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	115	69.7	44	26.7	3	1.8	3	1.8
Factory operative.....	140	91	65.0	44	31.4	2	1.4	3	2.1
Shoe factory.....	69	34	49.3	32	46.4	.....	.....	3	4.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	6	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	63	51	81.0	11	17.5	1	1.6	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	24	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	838	96.1	18	2.1	12	1.4	4	.5
Office work.....	73	73	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	55	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping- room work.....	34	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	667	646	96.9	10	1.5	7	1.1	4	.6
Selling.....	43	30	.....	8	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	17	14	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	850	641	75.4	169	19.9	26	3.1	14	1.6
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	50	98.0	.....	.....	1	2.0	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	245	57.9	151	35.7	15	3.5	12	2.8
Factory operative.....	423	245	57.9	151	35.7	15	3.5	12	2.8
Shoe factory.....	130	40	30.8	87	66.9	.....	.....	3	2.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	122	68.9	34	19.2	14	7.9	7	4.0
Other factory.....	116	83	71.6	30	25.9	1	.9	2	1.7
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	346	92.0	18	4.8	10	2.7	2	.5
Office work.....	28	25	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	158	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping- room work.....	70	52	74.3	16	22.9	.....	.....	2	2.9
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	87	84	96.6	2	2.3	1	1.1	.....	.....
Selling.....	33	27	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

The best opportunities for girls to earn the higher rates of wages appear, however, to have been in piecework positions. Although in only 9.3 per cent of the piecework as compared with 10 per cent of the time-work positions held by boys were the initial weekly

wages \$6 or over, in 7.7 per cent of the piecework as compared with only 3.3 per cent of the time-work positions held by girls these wages were received. The piecework positions held by girls showed a wide range, for in about one-fifth, 20.1 per cent, of them the initial weekly wages were less than \$3, while in 16.6 per cent they were \$5 or over. But when all the piecework and the time-work positions in which the girls made \$4 or over a week are compared it is found that the advantage is with the piecework, for in 54.5 per cent of the former as compared with only 49.6 per cent of the latter were these wages paid.

TABLE 132.—*Initial weekly wage, by kind of work and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Initial weekly wage and sex.	All regular positions.		Regular positions showing specified kind of work.					
			Time-work.		Piecework.		No cash wage.	Not reported.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
Both sexes.....	1,943	100.0	1,632	100.0	244	100.0	42	25
Initial wage:								
Under \$5.....	1,302	67.0	1,114	68.3	187	76.6	.....	1
Under \$3.....	103	5.3	57	3.5	45	18.4	.....	1
\$3 under \$4.....	413	21.3	364	22.3	49	20.1	.....
\$4 under \$5.....	786	40.5	693	42.5	93	38.1	.....
\$5 or over.....	465	23.9	417	25.6	48	19.7	.....
\$5 under \$6.....	325	16.7	297	18.2	28	11.5	.....
\$6 or over.....	140	7.2	120	7.4	20	8.2	.....
Other ¹	127	6.5	79	4.8	6	2.5	42	.....
Not reported.....	49	2.5	22	1.3	3	1.2	.....	24
Boys.....	1,093	100.0	991	100.0	75	100.0	16	11
Initial wage:								
Under \$5.....	660	60.4	608	61.4	52	69.3	.....
Under \$3.....	39	3.6	28	2.8	11	14.7	.....
\$3 under \$4.....	135	12.4	123	12.4	12	16.0	.....
\$4 under \$5.....	486	44.5	457	46.1	29	38.7	.....
\$5 or over.....	355	32.5	335	33.8	20	26.7	.....
\$5 under \$6.....	249	22.8	236	23.8	13	17.3	.....
\$6 or over.....	106	9.7	99	10.0	7	9.3	.....
Other ¹	57	5.2	38	3.8	3	4.0	16	.....
Not reported.....	21	1.9	10	1.0	.....	.....	.....	11
Girls.....	850	100.0	641	100.0	169	100.0	26	14
Initial wage:								
Under \$5.....	642	75.5	506	78.9	135	79.9	.....	1
Under \$3.....	64	7.5	29	4.5	34	20.1	.....	1
\$3 under \$4.....	278	32.7	241	37.6	37	21.9	.....
\$4 under \$5.....	300	35.3	236	36.8	64	37.9	.....
\$5 or over.....	110	12.9	82	12.8	28	16.6	.....
\$5 under \$6.....	76	8.9	61	9.5	15	8.9	.....
\$6 or over.....	34	4.0	21	3.3	13	7.7	.....
Other ¹	70	8.2	41	6.4	3	1.8	26	.....
Not reported.....	28	3.3	12	1.9	3	1.8	.....	13

¹ Including 84 positions where support or meals were given as part or whole of wage; also positions where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay; and where child worked for less than 1 week on piecework, or only one day each week.

INITIAL WEEKLY WAGES.

Taking both sexes together, the occupation in which the highest proportion of positions paid initial weekly wages of \$5 or over, as shown in Table 133, was office work. In personal and domestic occupations, selling, and work as operatives in clothing factories, the proportions of positions in which the wages were not entirely in cash⁹⁹ were high, 42.7 per cent, 27.6 per cent, and 10.3 per cent, respectively, and as a result the proportions in all other groups were comparatively low. With the exception of these three occupations, where the money classification can not be considered representative of the actual status, office work showed not only the highest proportion of positions, 28.7 per cent, paying \$5 or more, but also the lowest proportion, 65.3 per cent, paying less than \$5. In only one such position were the wages less than \$3, and that position was held by a girl.

When boys alone are considered, however, factory and mechanical occupations had the highest proportion, 41.8 per cent, of positions paying \$5 or more and the lowest proportion, 53.3 per cent, of positions paying less than \$5. Although the number of apprentices and helpers in skilled trades is too small to justify the working of percentages, it appears that they contributed largely to this wage superiority of factory and mechanical occupations, for the proportion of positions as factory operatives in which the wages of boys were over \$5 was less, 39.3 per cent, than the proportion, 41.8 per cent, in all factory and mechanical occupations. For both sexes together the highest proportion, 27 per cent, of factory operative positions paying \$5 or more was found in "other factories," that is in factories other than those making shoes, clothing or textiles. In only one position in a factory or mechanical occupation held by a boy, and that a position as operative in a shoe factory where the work was doubtless paid by the piece, were the initial weekly wages less than \$3. On the other hand, the initial weekly wages were \$6 or over in 18.8 per cent of all positions held by boys in factory and mechanical occupations, but in only 16.4 per cent of the factory operative positions—again showing, not only the decided superiority in wages of factory and mechanical over any other class of occupations, but also the special advantage of positions as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades.

⁹⁹ Including positions where support or meals were given as part or whole of wage; also positions where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay; and where he worked for less than one week on piece-work, or only one day each week.

TABLE 133.—Initial weekly wage, by occupation and sex; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	All regular positions.	Regular positions showing specified initial weekly wage.							
		Under \$5.							
		Total.		Under \$3.		\$3 under \$4.		\$4 under \$5.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	1,943	1,302	67.0	103	5.3	413	21.3	786	40.5
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	29	32.6	11	12.4	10	11.2	8	9.0
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	46	21	.....	9	.....	5	.....	7	.....
House and home work.....	43	8	.....	2	.....	5	.....	1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	588	402	68.4	45	7.7	140	23.8	217	36.9
Factory operative.....	563	393	69.8	45	8.0	138	24.5	210	37.3
Shoe factory.....	199	154	77.4	18	9.0	38	19.1	98	49.2
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	116	62.7	20	10.8	49	26.5	47	25.4
Textile mill.....	53	36	67.9	3	5.7	13	24.5	20	32.7
Other factory.....	126	87	69.0	4	3.2	38	30.2	45	35.7
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	9	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	7	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	865	69.3	46	3.7	263	21.1	556	44.6
Office work.....	101	66	65.3	1	1.0	16	15.8	49	48.5
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	218	187	87.8	5	2.3	98	46.0	84	39.4
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	104	72	69.2	7	6.7	27	26.0	38	36.5
Selling.....	76	36	47.4	4	5.3	15	19.7	17	22.4
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	754	504	66.8	20	3.8	107	14.2	368	48.8
All other occupations.....	17	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Boys.....	1,093	660	60.4	39	3.6	135	12.4	486	44.5
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	16	.....	7	.....	6	.....	3	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	35	15	.....	7	.....	5	.....	3	.....
House and home work.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	88	53.3	1	.6	26	15.8	61	37.0
Factory operative.....	140	79	56.4	1	.7	24	17.1	54	38.6
Shoe factory.....	69	44	63.8	1	1.4	15	21.7	28	40.6
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Textile mill.....	22	14	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	10	.....
Other factory.....	41	19	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	14	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	9	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	7	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	550	63.1	30	3.4	103	11.8	417	47.8
Office work.....	73	47	64.4	.....	.....	8	11.0	39	53.4
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	42	76.4	.....	.....	10	18.2	32	58.2
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	84	14	.....	1	.....	2	.....	11	.....
Selling.....	43	19	.....	3	.....	8	.....	8	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	667	428	64.2	26	3.9	75	11.2	327	49.0
All other occupations.....	17	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Girls.....	850	642	75.5	64	7.5	278	32.7	300	35.3
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	13	25.5	4	7.8	4	7.8	5	9.8
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	11	6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
House and home work.....	40	7	.....	2	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	314	74.2	44	10.4	114	27.0	156	36.9
Factory operative.....	423	314	74.2	44	10.4	114	27.0	156	36.9
Shoe factory.....	130	110	84.6	17	13.1	23	17.7	70	53.8
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	114	64.4	20	11.3	49	27.7	45	25.4
Textile mill.....	31	22	.....	3	.....	9	.....	10	.....
Other factory.....	85	68	80.0	4	4.7	33	38.8	31	36.5
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	315	83.8	16	4.3	160	42.6	139	37.0
Office work.....	28	19	.....	1	.....	8	.....	10	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	145	91.8	5	3.2	88	55.7	52	32.9
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	70	58	82.9	6	8.6	25	35.7	27	38.6
Selling.....	33	17	.....	1	.....	7	.....	9	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	87	76	87.4	3	3.4	32	36.8	41	47.1

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 133.—Initial weekly wage, by occupation and sex; regular positions held by children interviewed—Concluded.

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions showing specified initial weekly wage.									
	\$5 or over.						Other. ¹		Not reported.	
	Total.		\$5 under \$6.		\$6 or over.					
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²
Both sexes.....	465	23.9	325	16.7	140	7.2	127	6.5	49	2.5
Personal and domestic occupations.....	18	20.2	11	12.4	7	7.9	38	42.7	4	4.5
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	17	.....	10	.....	7	.....	6	.....	2	.....
House and home work.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	32	.....	2	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	140	23.8	85	14.5	55	9.4	26	4.4	20	3.4
Factory operative.....	126	22.4	79	14.0	47	8.3	24	4.3	20	3.6
Shoe factory.....	38	19.1	22	11.1	16	8.0	1	.5	6	3.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	40	21.6	25	13.5	15	8.1	19	10.3	10	5.4
Textile mill.....	14	26.4	13	24.5	1	1.9	.....	.....	3	5.7
Other factory.....	34	27.0	19	15.1	15	11.9	4	3.2	1	.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	14	.....	6	.....	8	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	300	24.0	228	18.3	72	5.8	60	4.8	23	1.8
Office work.....	29	28.7	22	21.8	7	6.9	5	5.0	1	1.0
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	20	9.4	18	8.5	2	.9	1	.5	5	2.3
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	27	26.0	18	17.3	9	8.7	1	1.0	4	8.8
Selling.....	19	25.0	11	14.5	8	10.5	21	27.6	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	205	27.2	159	21.1	46	6.1	32	4.2	13	1.7
All other occupations.....	7	.....	1	.....	6	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Boys.....	355	32.5	249	22.8	106	9.7	57	5.2	21	1.9
Personal and domestic occupations.....	13	.....	8	.....	5	.....	7	.....	2	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	13	.....	8	.....	5	.....	5	.....	2	.....
House and home work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	69	41.8	38	23.0	31	18.8	5	3.0	3	1.8
Factory operative.....	55	39.3	32	22.9	23	16.4	3	2.1	3	2.1
Shoe factory.....	21	30.4	12	17.4	9	13.0	1	1.4	3	4.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Textile mill.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	21	.....	11	.....	10	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	14	.....	6	.....	8	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	266	30.5	202	23.2	64	7.3	42	4.8	14	1.6
Office work.....	24	32.9	17	23.3	7	9.6	1	1.4	1	1.4
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	12	21.8	10	18.2	2	3.6	.....	.....	1	1.8
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	19	.....	15	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Selling.....	14	.....	9	.....	5	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	197	29.5	151	22.6	46	6.9	30	4.5	12	1.8
All other occupations.....	7	.....	1	.....	6	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	110	12.9	76	8.9	34	4.0	70	8.2	28	3.3
Personal and domestic occupations.....	5	9.8	3	5.9	2	3.9	31	60.8	2	3.9
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	4	.....	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	2	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	71	16.8	47	11.1	24	5.7	21	5.0	17	4.0
Factory operative.....	71	16.8	47	11.1	24	5.7	21	5.0	17	4.0
Shoe factory.....	17	13.1	10	7.7	7	5.4	.....	.....	3	2.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	35	19.8	23	13.0	12	6.8	18	10.2	10	5.6
Textile mill.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Other factory.....	13	15.3	8	9.4	5	5.9	3	3.5	1	1.2
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	34	9.0	26	6.9	8	2.1	18	4.8	9	2.4
Office work.....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	8	5.1	8	5.1	.....	.....	1	.6	4	2.5
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	8	11.4	3	4.3	5	7.1	.....	.....	4	5.7
Selling.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....	11	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	8	9.2	8	9.2	.....	.....	2	2.3	1	1.1

¹ Including positions where support or meals were given as part or whole of wage; also positions where child worked for nothing or employer failed to pay; and where he worked for less than one week on piece-work or only one day each week.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

³ Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 134.—Change in weekly wage, by occupation and sex; time work positions held three months and over by children interviewed.

Occupation, duration of position, and sex	All regular positions showing time work.	Regular positions showing specified change in weekly wage in time work.				Regular positions showing specified change in time work.				Increasing.				Not reported or inapplicable.	
		No change.		Diminishing.		Fluctuating.		Total.		Under \$1.		\$1 and over.			
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	806	444	55.3	2	0.2	58	6.7	351	40.5	103	11.9	248	28.6	11	1.3
.....	38	31	81.5	1	2.6	1	2.6	6	15.8	2	5.3	4	10.5	2	5.3
.....	176	80	45.5	30	17.0	30	17.0	64	36.4	18	10.2	46	26.1	2	1.1
.....	139	68	42.8	30	18.9	30	18.9	59	37.1	18	11.3	41	25.8	2	1.3
.....	17	12	70.6	1	5.9	1	5.9	5	29.4	1	5.9	4	23.5	2	11.8
.....	647	330	51.0	2	.3	27	4.2	279	43.1	83	12.8	196	30.3	9	1.4
.....	69	36	52.2	1	1.4	1	1.4	32	46.4	6	8.7	26	37.7	1	1.4
.....	75	31	41.3	1	1.3	1	1.3	43	57.3	10	13.3	33	44.0	1	1.3
.....	433	224	51.7	2	.6	14	3.2	184	42.5	61	14.1	123	28.4	9	2.1
.....	70	39	55.7	1	1.4	11	15.7	20	28.6	6	8.6	14	20.0	1	1.4
.....	5	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0
Boys.....	572	305	53.3	2	.3	10	1.7	247	43.2	70	12.2	177	30.9	8	1.4
.....	11	9	81.8	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	18.2	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1
.....	63	24	38.1	3	4.8	3	4.8	26	41.3	4	6.3	22	34.9	2	3.2
.....	46	22	47.8	3	6.5	3	6.5	21	45.7	4	9.1	17	37.0	1	2.2
.....	17	12	70.6	1	5.9	1	5.9	5	29.4	1	5.9	4	23.5	1	5.9
.....	493	259	52.5	2	.4	7	1.4	217	44.0	66	13.4	151	30.6	8	1.6
.....	53	25	47.2	1	1.9	1	1.9	23	43.4	5	9.4	18	33.9	1	1.9
.....	24	11	45.8	1	4.2	1	4.2	12	50.0	4	16.7	8	33.3	1	4.2
.....	376	198	52.7	2	.5	5	1.3	163	43.4	52	11.8	111	29.5	8	2.1
.....	40	25	62.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	14	35.0	5	12.5	9	22.5	1	2.5
.....	5	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0

Girls.....	294	139	47.3	.....	.....	48	16.3	104	35.4	33	11.2	71	24.1	3	1.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	27	22	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	113	46	40.7	.....	.....	27	23.9	38	33.6	14	12.4	24	21.2	2	1.8
Factory operatives.....	113	46	40.7	.....	.....	27	23.9	38	33.6	14	12.4	24	21.2	2	1.8
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	154	71	46.1	.....	.....	20	13.0	62	40.3	17	11.0	45	28.2	1	.6
Office work.....	16	11	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work--department store...	51	20	39.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	31	60.8	6	11.8	25	49.0	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	57	26	45.6	.....	.....	9	15.8	21	36.8	9	15.8	12	21.1	1	1.8
Other.....	30	14	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	6	.....	1	.....	5	.....	.....	.....

1 Not shown where base is less than 50.

For boys, office work was the occupation which showed the largest proportion of positions in which wages were increased, considering only occupations in which boys held as many as 50 positions. Over one-half, 52.8 per cent, of all office positions held by boys showed wage increases. These increases were comparatively substantial, for in more than two-fifths, 43.4 per cent, of all these positions the boys' wages were raised \$1 or more. The increases given boys in messenger, errand, and delivery work positions were smaller. In 43.4 per cent of these positions the wages were increased, but in only 29.5 per cent of them did the increases amount to \$1 or more. Both these occupations, as will be remembered, had high proportions of positions lasting three months or longer, and office work had a particularly high proportion lasting more than a year. In a somewhat larger proportion of positions held by boys in clerical and other similar occupations than in factory and mechanical occupations, 44 per cent, as compared with 41.3 per cent, were the wages increased, but increases of \$1 or more were given in a larger proportion of the factory and mechanical than of the clerical and other similar occupations, 34.9 per cent as compared with 30.6 per cent.

The occupation in which girls received their lowest initial wages, cash and messenger work in department stores, was the one in which they received increases in the highest proportion, 60.8 per cent, of their positions. Moreover, in almost one-half, 49 per cent, of these positions they received increases of \$1 or more. As will be remembered, more than half of the positions in this occupation were only temporary and were held less than three months, but the girls who secured fairly permanent positions evidently fared better than their low initial wages would seem to indicate. Partly, at least, because of the frequency with which their wages were increased in cash and messenger work in department stores girls received wage increases in about two-fifths, 40.3 per cent, of their positions in clerical and other similar occupations, as compared with little more than one-third, 33.6 per cent, of their positions in all factory and mechanical occupations.

REASONS FOR LEAVING POSITIONS.

Table 135 gives, for the children interviewed, the reasons for leaving all terminated positions in the different occupations. The most conspicuous point shown in this table is the large proportion of positions for cash and messenger work in department stores from which the children were "laid off." This was given as the reason for leaving almost seven-eighths, 85.5 per cent, of all these positions and nearly nine-tenths, 89.7 per cent, of those held by girls. As girls held 74.2 per cent of all these positions⁹⁷ this explains the larger proportion of positions held by girls than by boys, as already noted, from which the children were laid off. The large number of girls

⁹⁷ See Table 116, p. 230.

who were employed in temporary positions in department stores, for sales or at other rush times, also explains, at least in part, why the girls held more positions and had more unemployment than did the boys.

Another conspicuous point in the table is the small proportion, only 18.1 per cent, of all terminated positions for work as operatives in shoe factories from which the children were laid off. This, however, may be rather an apparent than a real showing, for at least one large Boston shoe factory made a practice of keeping children on its pay roll through slack seasons, requiring them to report frequently if not every day, but giving them little or no work. As already stated, a great part of the shoe factory work of children is done on a piece price basis. The result of this policy was that the children were not discharged but that during such periods their wages amounted to little or nothing. Only a small proportion of shoe factory positions were left because the children were laid off but a large proportion, 48.9 per cent, were left because they were not satisfactory, the chief cause of dissatisfaction being the low earnings.

In only three occupations were more than two-fifths of the terminated positions held by children ended by their discharge. These were cash and messenger work in department stores already mentioned, "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work," in which 44.1 per cent of all positions were thus terminated, and work as operatives in clothing factories and other needle trades in which the proportion was 42.5 per cent. The term "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work" includes positions in a considerable number of industries, many of them more or less seasonal in character, and work in clothing factories is distinctly seasonal. It appears probable, therefore, that in the majority of cases in which children were laid off their discharge was not due to any fault of theirs but to the character of the industry in which they were employed.

The chief reason for leaving positions in personal and domestic occupations and in messenger, errand, and delivery work, as well as in shoe factories, was dissatisfaction on the part of the children. Of all the terminated positions in personal and domestic occupations 44.1 per cent, and of all those in messenger, errand, and delivery work 42.3 per cent were left for this reason.

The positions ended because of the requirement that the children attend continuation school, which constituted only 2.1 per cent of all terminated positions, were fairly evenly distributed among the various occupations. The only noteworthy fact about those which were left in order to return to school, constituting 1.7 per cent of all terminated positions, is the comparatively large proportions in shoe factories and in "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work," 4.3 per cent and 3.4 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 135.—Reason for leaving position, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions left by children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	All regular positions left. ¹	Regular positions left for specified reason.					
		Laid off.		Position not satisfactory. ²		Continuation school.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ³	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ³	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ⁴
All occupations—both sexes.....	1,170	483	41.3	420	36.7	25	2.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....	68	18	26.5	30	44.1	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	325	106	32.6	130	40.0	8	2.5
Factory operative.....	313	103	32.9	127	40.6	7	2.2
Shoe factory.....	94	17	18.1	46	48.9	2	2.1
Clothing factory and other needle trades	113	48	42.5	30	34.5	1	.9
Other factory.....	106	38	35.8	42	39.6	4	3.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	12	3	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	762	353	46.3	263	34.5	17	2.2
Office work.....	46	24	.....	13	.....	2	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	152	130	85.5	14	9.2	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	50	26	44.1	23	39.0	2	3.4
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	447	152	34.0	180	42.3	13	2.9
Selling.....	58	21	36.2	24	41.4	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	14	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Occupations—boys.....	646	231	35.8	262	40.6	16	2.5
Personal and domestic occupations.....	29	9	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	94	31	33.0	35	37.2	3	3.2
Factory operative.....	82	28	34.1	32	39.0	2	2.4
Shoe factory.....	34	6	.....	15	.....	1	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades	5	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	43	19	.....	15	.....	1	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	12	3	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	508	185	36.4	211	41.5	13	2.6
Office work.....	27	13	.....	6	.....	2	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	35	25	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	14	5	.....	7	.....	1	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	400	130	32.5	175	43.8	10	2.5
Selling.....	32	12	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	14	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Occupations—girls.....	524	252	48.1	167	31.9	9	1.7
Personal and domestic occupations.....	39	9	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	231	75	32.5	96	41.1	5	2.2
Factory operative.....	231	75	32.5	96	41.1	5	2.2
Shoe factory.....	60	11	18.3	31	51.7	1	1.7
Clothing factory and other needle trades	108	45	41.7	37	34.3	1	.9
Other factory.....	63	19	30.2	27	42.9	3	4.8
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	254	168	66.1	52	20.5	4	1.6
Office work.....	19	11	.....	7	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	117	105	89.7	6	5.1	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	45	21	.....	16	.....	1	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	47	22	.....	14	.....	3	.....
Selling.....	26	9	.....	9	.....	.....	.....

¹ That is, omitting entirely those not left.² Disliked work or place, no advancement, low wages, work too hard or hours long, secured better position.³ Not shown where base is less than 50.⁴ Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 135.—Reason for leaving position, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions left by children interviewed—Concluded.

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions left for specified reason.					
	Returned to school.		Other reasons.		Not reported.	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
All occupations—both sexes.....	20	1.7	179	15.3	34	2.9
Personal and domestic occupations.....			18	26.5	2	2.9
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	6	1.8	65	20.0	10	3.1
Factory operative.....	5	1.6	61	19.5	10	3.2
Shoe factory.....	4	4.3	21	22.3	4	4.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	1	.9	22	19.5	2	1.8
Other factory.....			18	17.0	4	3.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	1		4			
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling and delivery of goods.....	14	1.8	94	12.3	21	2.8
Office work.....	2		5			
Cash and messenger work—department store.....			5	3.3	3	2.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	3.4	5	8.5	1	1.7
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	8	1.8	69	15.4	16	3.6
Selling.....	2	3.4	10	17.2	1	1.7
All other occupations.....			2			
Not reported.....					1	
Occupations—boys.....	13	2.0	105	16.3	19	2.9
Personal and domestic occupations.....			9		1	
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	4	4.3	19	20.2	2	2.1
Factory operative.....	3	3.7	15	18.3	2	2.4
Shoe factory.....	3		8		1	
Other factory.....			7		1	
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	1		4			
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	9	1.8	75	14.8	15	3.0
Office work.....	2		4			
Cash and messenger work—department store.....			1		1	
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....			1			
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	6	1.5	65	16.3	14	3.5
Selling.....	1		4			
All other occupations.....			2			
Occupations—girls.....	7	1.3	74	14.1	15	2.9
Personal and domestic occupations.....			9		1	
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	2	.9	46	19.9	8	3.5
Factory operative.....	2	.9	46	19.9	8	3.5
Shoe factory.....	1	1.7	13	21.7	3	5.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	1	.9	22	20.4	2	1.9
Other factory.....			11	17.5	3	4.8
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	5	2.0	19	7.5	6	2.4
Office work.....			1			
Cash and messenger work—department store.....			4	3.4	2	1.7
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2		4		1	
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	2		4		2	
Selling.....	1		6		1	

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

SICKNESS AND ACCIDENTS.

All the children included in this study were supposed to have had physical examinations before receiving their employment certificates. As this examination could be given by a family or school physician, as well as by a physician appointed for this purpose, no uniformity could be expected between different cities in the matter of records as to the physical condition of children when they went to work. In Boston, where nearly all the children were examined by the physician at the certificate office, a uniform record form was used. An attempt was made, therefore, to secure from these forms, for the Boston children included in the study, information as to the physical defects with which they went to work or which may have been noted when they applied for second or later certificates; but the files had not been carefully kept and the physical examination records were missing for so many children that this attempt had to be abandoned.

The physical examination given when a child applied for permission to go to work rarely resulted, at the time of this study, in the refusal of a certificate; and the cases in which the certificate was even temporarily withheld on account of lack of vaccination or because of evidence of a communicable disease were almost as rare as refusals. At the certificate office it was stated that the chief reason for this was that children with physical disabilities rarely applied as they knew that they would not be granted certificates.

Many of the children interviewed reported to agents of the bureau that they had not been told of minor physical defects which the physician had noted on the physical examination form and about which the agents questioned them. In no case was a certificate withheld until any minor trouble, such as defective teeth or eyesight, was corrected.

Little attention was paid in the physical examination to the occupation in which the child expected to be employed. The shifts in occupation which, as previously stated, occurred during employment in a single position⁹⁸ did not, therefore, have the practical importance that they would have had if more distinction had been made in the first place between occupations.

Although children were supposed to be reexamined when they returned for later certificates, the records of the certificate office afforded no information as to the effects, upon their health, of the

⁹⁸ See pp. 258-261.

various occupations in which they had been engaged. The Massachusetts General Hospital had at the time of this study begun to keep separate records of all persons, children as well as adults, treated for diseases resulting from their occupations. But these records included only cases in which the ill effects of an occupation were so acute as to necessitate treatment and in which the patient applied for assistance to the Massachusetts General Hospital.

The only information secured in regard to sickness among the children studied which could be utilized as the basis of any statistical statement was obtained by questioning the 823 children who were interviewed in regard to illnesses that had occurred between the time they took their first regular positions and the date of the interview. This information, of course, has no medical value, as it is based upon the child's statement of his own case, but it does furnish a rough estimate as to the number of cases, the probable causes, and the amount of time lost through sickness.

At the same time that the children were questioned about sickness, they were asked whether they had suffered from any accident and, if so, what was the cause and how much time they had lost from their work. The information thus secured related not only to accidents which occurred in the course of their work but also to accidents which had no connection with their work. To supplement this information the records of the Massachusetts Accident Board were searched for reports of accidents to any of the 823 children interviewed. These records, since they were based on reports by employers, related only to accidents which were in some way connected with places of employment. Not all accidents thus reported occurred in the course of employment. An employer would report, for example, an accident resulting from a scuffle between two boys during their lunch hour if it occurred on his premises. In a few cases it was found that children failed to tell the bureau agents of accidents which their employers had reported to the accident board, and in others they told of accidents which had not been reported. But in practically all cases of either kind of discrepancy the accident was trivial in character.

The number of cases of either sickness or accident reported by the 823 children interviewed, according to Table 136, was 424. Of these considerably more than one-fourth, 28.1 per cent, were due to colds, grippe, or sore throat,⁹⁹ and about one-fifth, 20.3 per cent, to accidents. More than one-tenth of all the cases were due to eye diseases and eye defects, which showed 11.8 per cent, and to headache and neuralgia, which showed 10.6 per cent. Digestive disorders caused 7.1 per cent of the cases, skin diseases, boils, and abscesses 5.7 per

⁹⁹ This was during an ordinary period, so far as colds, grippe, etc., are concerned, as it was before the influenza epidemic.

cent, and toothache 2.6 per cent. No other single cause or related group of causes was responsible for as many as 10 cases of sickness or accident.

Of the 424 cases, 241 occurred to boys and 183 to girls.

Sixty-three of the cases among the boys, however, were due to accidents, which caused only 23 of those occurring among the girls. On the other hand, 178 of the cases of sickness occurred to boys, while 160 occurred to girls. Comparing these figures with the number of boys and girls who were interviewed in regard to sickness or accidents, it appears that the boys were much more likely to suffer from accidents but somewhat less likely to suffer from sickness than were the girls.

TABLE 136.—*Nature of case, by sex of child; cases of sickness or accident reported by children interviewed.*

Nature of case.	Number of cases of sickness or accident to—					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Total.....	424	100.0	241	100.0	183	100.0
Nature reported.....	409	96.5	233	96.7	176	96.2
Cold, grippe, sore throat.....	119	28.1	65	27.0	54	29.5
Injuries by accident.....	86	20.3	63	26.1	23	12.6
Eye diseases and eye defects.....	50	11.8	26	10.8	24	13.1
Headache and neuralgia.....	45	10.6	19	7.9	26	14.2
Digestive disorders.....	30	7.1	21	8.7	9	4.9
Skin diseases, boils, and abscesses.....	24	5.7	12	5.0	12	6.6
Toothache.....	11	2.6	7	2.9	4	2.2
Pneumonia and bronchitis.....	8	1.9	4	1.7	4	2.2
Ear diseases.....	6	1.4	4	1.7	2	1.1
Heart trouble.....	4	.9	2	.8	2	1.1
Nervous diseases.....	3	.7	.....	.....	3	1.6
Contagious diseases.....	3	.7	3	1.2	.....	.....
Other diseases.....	20	4.7	7	2.9	13	7.1
Nature not reported.....	15	3.5	8	3.3	7	3.8

In proportion to the number of girls, all the diseases which caused more than 10 cases of sickness, except digestive disorders and toothache, occurred more frequently among them. Although girls constituted only 42 per cent of the children who were interviewed, they had 45.4 per cent of the cases of colds, grippe, or sore throat, 48 per cent of those of eye diseases and eye defects, 50 per cent of those of skin diseases, boils and abscesses, and 57.8 per cent of those of headache and neuralgia. The boys, however, appear to have been more liable to suffer from digestive disorders and from toothache than the girls. Of the 30 cases of digestive disorders 21, and of the 11 cases of toothache 7, occurred to boys. These numbers, however, are small.

The amount of time lost from work on account of sickness or accident was small as compared with the amount lost by reason of unemployment. Table 137 shows that the children who had been at work for one year or more had lost through sickness or accidents

only 2.6 per cent of their time, the boys somewhat less than the girls, 2.4 per cent as compared with 3 per cent. The children who had been at work less than a year, most of whom were younger at the time of the interview than those in the other group, had lost 4.1 per cent of their working time; and in this group the boys had lost more time than the girls, 4.6 per cent as compared with 3.3 per cent.

This does not mean, of course, that these children were in perfect health during all the remainder of the time between the dates when they took their first regular positions and when they were interviewed. Some of the cases of sickness and accident reported were too trivial to cause loss of time from work. These two groups of children were unemployed, respectively, during 14.4 per cent and 13.3 per cent of their time, and no illness or accident which occurred during a period of unemployment—that is, between two different positions—was considered to have caused loss of time from work, even though it might have prevented the child from securing another position as soon as he would otherwise have done. The somewhat greater amount of unemployment among the children who had been at work for a year or more may have contributed to the smaller proportion of time which they lost on account of sickness or accident. It is probable that with greater length of industrial experience children tend more frequently to disregard minor ailments and continue at their work.

TABLE 137.—Time lost on account of sickness or accident, by length of industrial history and sex; children interviewed.

Sex.	Percentage of time lost on account of sickness or accident of—	
	Children who had been at work less than 1 year.	Children who had been at work 1 year or over.
Both sexes.....	4.1	2.6
Boys.....	4.6	2.4
Girls.....	3.3	3.0

SICKNESS.

According to Table 138, more than one-third, 36 per cent, of all the children interviewed—34.6 per cent of the boys and 37.9 per cent of the girls—reported at least 1 case of sickness. Of the 296 children who reported sickness, moreover, 34 reported two and 4 three cases. Only a little over three-fourths, 76 per cent, of these children, however—including 32 of the 34 who reported 2 and all 4 of those who reported 3 cases—stated that they had lost time

from work on account of sickness. All 4 of the children who reported 3 cases of sickness and 21 of the 34 who reported 2 cases were girls.

TABLE 138.—Cases of sickness per child and time lost from work, by sex; children interviewed.

Sex.	Children.					
	Total.	Re- port- ing no sick- ness.	Reporting sickness.			
			Total.	1 case.	2 cases.	3 cases.
Both sexes:						
Number.....	823	527	296	258	34	4
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	64.0	36.0	31.3	4.1	0.5
Losing time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	225	.....	225	189	32	4
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	.....	100.0	84.0	14.2	1.8
Losing no time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	591	527	64.0	63	1	.....
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	89.2	10.8	10.7	0.2	.....
Not reported.....	7	.....	7	6	1	.....
Boys:						
Number.....	477	312	165	152	13	.....
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	65.4	34.6	31.9	2.7	.....
Losing time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	130	.....	130	117	13	.....
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	.....	100.0	90.0	10.0	.....
Losing no time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	347	312	35	35	.....	.....
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	89.9	10.1	10.1	.....	.....
Girls:						
Number.....	346	215	131	106	21	4
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	62.1	37.9	30.6	6.1	1.2
Losing time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	95	.....	95	72	19	4
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	.....	100.0	75.8	20.0	4.2
Losing no time from work on account of sickness:						
Number.....	244	215	29	28	1	.....
Per cent distribution.....	100.0	89.1	11.9	11.5	0.4	.....
Not reported.....	7	.....	7	6	1	.....

For more than one-fourth, 26.3 per cent, of their cases of sickness the children, according to Table 139, reported no working time lost. Although the girls had more cases than the boys, a smaller proportion of their cases resulted in loss of time. Only about two-thirds, 66.9 per cent, of the cases of sickness reported by girls, as compared with about three-fourths, 75.3 per cent, of those reported by boys, resulted in loss of time from work.

TABLE 139.—Time lost from work on account of sickness, by sex of child; cases of sickness reported by children interviewed.

Time lost from work on account of sickness.	Cases of sickness reported by—					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Cases.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Cases.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Cases.	Per cent distrib- ution.
Total.....	338	100.0	178	100.0	160	100.0
No time lost.....	89	26.3	44	24.7	45	28.1
Some time lost.....	241	71.3	134	75.3	107	66.9
Not reported.....	8	2.4	.....	.....	8	5.0

ACCIDENTS.

The 86 accidents already mentioned occurred, as shown in Table 140, to 66 children, 51 boys and 15 girls. Of these children 59 reported only 1 case of accident each, but 3 boys and 1 girl reported 2 cases each, and 2 boys and 1 girl reported 3 or more cases each. About one-twelfth, 8 per cent, of the children interviewed—more than one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of the boys but less than one-twentieth, 4.3 per cent, of the girls—had had accidents of some sort.

TABLE 140.—*Number of cases of accident per child and time lost from work, by sex; children interviewed.*

Number of cases of accidents.	Both sexes.					Boys.					Girls.			
	Total.		Losing time from work on account of accidents.			Total.		Losing time from work on account of accidents.			Total.		Losing time from work on account of accidents.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Yes.	No.	Not re-port-ed.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Yes.	No.	Not re-port-ed.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Yes.	No.
All children....	823	100.0	42	779	2	477	100.0	35	440	2	346	100.0	7	339
Reporting no acci-dents.....	757	92.0	.....	757	.....	426	89.3	.....	426	.....	331	95.7	.....	331
Reporting accidents..	66	8.0	42	22	2	51	10.7	35	14	2	15	4.3	7	8
1 case.....	59	7.2	38	21	.....	46	9.6	33	13	.....	13	3.8	5	8
2 cases.....	4	.5	2	.....	2	3	.6	1	.....	2	1	.3	1	.....
3 or more cases...	3	.4	2	1	.....	2	.4	1	1	.....	1	.3	1	.....

As in the cases of sickness, not all these accidents resulted in loss of time from work. In nearly one-third, 32.6 per cent, of all the cases of accident, according to Table 141, no time was lost. Twenty of these accidents occurred to boys and eight to girls. The girls and boys apparently differed little in the proportions of their accidents which resulted in loss of time.

TABLE 141.—*Time lost from work on account of accident, by sex of child; accidents re-ported by children interviewed.*

Time lost from work on account of accident.	Accidents to—				
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls. ¹
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Total.....	86	100.0	63	100.0	23
No time lost.....	28	32.6	20	31.7	8
Some time lost.....	55	64.0	40	63.5	15
Not reported.....	3	3.5	3	4.8	.....

¹ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

Not all these accidents, it should be remembered, occurred in the course of employment. Table 142 shows that not far from one-fourth, 23.3 per cent, of all the accidents and about three-tenths, 30.2 per cent, of those reported by boys, occurred when the children were not at work.

Sixty accidents occurred while the children were at work—38 of them to boys and 22 to girls. Most of the accidents to girls, 17 out of the 22, but only 9 of the accidents to boys, were due to machinery. This comparatively large number of accidents to girls from machinery is doubtless due to the fact that to a greater extent than boys they were employed in machine work.¹ Elevators and vehicles, which caused no accidents to girls, caused, respectively, 3 and 6 accidents to boys, while hand tools caused 4 accidents to boys and only 1 to a girl.

TABLE 142.—*Time and cause of accident, by sex of child; accidents reported by children interviewed.*

Time and cause of accident.	Accidents to—				
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls. ^a
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Total.....	86	100.0	63	100.0	23
Accidents when not at work.....	20	23.3	19	30.2	1
Accidents when at work.....	66	69.8	38	60.3	22
Machinery.....	26	30.2	9	14.3	17
Elevators.....	3	3.5	3	4.8	.....
Vehicles.....	6	7.0	6	9.5	.....
Hand tools.....	5	5.8	4	6.3	1
Other.....	20	23.3	16	25.4	4
Time of accident not reported.....	6	7.0	6	9.5	.....

^a Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

¹ See Table 127, p. 258.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHILD-LABOR LAW.

At the time this study was made two agencies were responsible for the enforcement of the child-labor laws of Massachusetts, local school authorities and inspectors of the State board of labor and industries. The local school authorities had two tasks, that of issuing employment and educational certificates and that of following up children to see that the compulsory school and continuation-school attendance laws were enforced. The issuing of certificates, as earlier stated, was a function of the superintendent of schools or some one deputized by him for that purpose. The enforcement of attendance was a function of the school attendance officers who worked under the direction of the superintendent of schools. The inspectors of the State board of labor and industries, on the other hand, were expected to see that no children under 14 were employed, that employment certificates were on file for children between 14 and 16, and educational certificates for those between 16 and 21 years of age, and that children were not employed in occupations or for hours prohibited by law. They also enforced other laws which affected both adults and children, especially those relating to safety and sanitation.

The method of issuing certificates has already been sufficiently described. It should be noted in connection with the subject of law enforcement that a certificate office is not merely an agency for issuing permits to leave school for work, but is itself part of the enforcement machinery, not only of the child-labor laws but also of the compulsory school-attendance laws. The chief function of the certificate office is to see that children do not enter industry who have not attained the age and school standing required by law or who are not physically able to work. But this office also receives from employers the certificates of children who have left their positions or been discharged and who therefore should return to school unless they secure new positions and new certificates. Its records, too, furnish the principal source of information as to children who should be attending continuation school.

Keeping children under 16 years of age in school does not, of course, prevent them from being employed illegally during vacations or outside of school hours. Nevertheless, the occupations in which they can engage while in regular attendance at school are comparatively limited, and strict enforcement of the compulsory school-attendance law is of material assistance in preventing illegal employment. The work of attendance officers, therefore, both in preventing

children enrolled in school from leaving without legal excuse—either an employment certificate or a special home permit—and in securing the enrollment of newcomers to the city, is another part of the machinery for enforcing the child-labor law.

In Boston at the time of this study if a child under 16 years of age left school without having obtained either a transfer card to another school, a special home permit, or a school record to present in applying for an employment certificate, the teacher was required to send a formal notification to the chief attendance officer. This official assigned the case to the attendance officer in charge of the district in which the school was located. The city was divided into 21 such districts, with a corresponding number of attendance officers. When the child had been located and the cause of absence ascertained a report was sent back to the teacher for his information. Private and parochial as well as public schools, it was said, notified the attendance department of absences.

Children who secured school records as a preliminary to applying for employment certificates were not discharged from school until after the certificates were actually issued. In order to insure that such a child did not drop out without securing a certificate the school records were made out in duplicate and one copy was forwarded to the superintendent of schools. When the child's certificate had actually been issued this copy, indorsed on the back with the date of issuance and the signature of the issuing officer, was returned to the school by the attendance officer and only then was the child supposed to be dropped from the school register. Children who did not apply for certificates within about 10 days after having received their school records were investigated by attendance officers. In case the certificate was refused that fact was noted on the back of the school record which then constituted a notice not to discharge the child and in addition the attendance officer was expected to see that the child returned to school.

In locating children who had never been enrolled in school in Boston no use was made of the school census, but attendance officers occasionally made canvasses of their districts. They also made regular visits to the office of the Immigration Service to secure the names and addresses of children coming from abroad. But the names of children who applied at the certificate office without the requisite documents or with documents improperly made out were not recorded by the issuing officer. Some of these children may have been newcomers to the city or for other reasons may not have been enrolled in school and, if so, they could easily go to work illegally when they found difficulties in the way of securing certificates.

As for the return to school of children who were temporarily unemployed, during the early part of the period covered by this inquiry

little effort was made in this direction. The new eight-hour law for children under 16 went into effect in September, 1913, at the same time as the new certificate law, and its immediate result was the discharge of a considerable number of children—all of whom had gone to work before September 1, 1913, and who were therefore not included in this study. The number of children discharged and the fact that it was considered impossible to send back to school any of those who had been employed for some time, resulted in practically no effort being made to return to school any unemployed children. Gradually the children originally thrown out of work by the eight-hour law secured new positions or became 16 and were therefore no longer subject to the compulsory-education law. At the same time the new legal provision requiring employers to return to the certificate office the certificates of children who left work or were discharged led to the accumulation of evidence never before available as to what children were unemployed. By the end of the period covered by this study, as has been stated, more or less successful efforts were being made to have these children attend continuation school every day until they had secured new positions.

Because of the large number of employers in Boston it was found difficult to secure the prompt return of all certificates, and unless the certificates are returned it is not possible even to know the names of the unemployed children. To aid in insuring prompt return, the certificate office refused to issue a new certificate to a child until his previous one had been returned. This made the child, as well as the officials, interested in forcing the employer to obey the law; but it was of only indirect assistance in case the child did not soon secure a new position, and these were exactly the cases where it was most important that the school authorities be notified of the unemployment.

The Boston attendance officers, in the course of their work, not infrequently inspected industrial establishments. The main burden of such inspections, however, rested upon the inspectors of the State board of labor and industries. These inspectors were specifically directed, while school attendance officers were only permitted, to visit "factories, workshops, manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments" to ascertain whether children were employed contrary to law.² During most of the period covered by this study there were for the entire State only 24 of these inspectors (of whom 12 were industrial health inspectors); 19 of them were men and 5 were women. With this force it was not believed possible to inspect all establishments in the State more often than once a year. Some establishments in which violations had been found were visited again within a comparatively short period.

² Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 62, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 20.

The methods of inspection for child labor varied with the inspector and with the size of the establishment. Sometimes an inspector would take from the office all the certificates on file and endeavor to identify each child for whom he found a certificate. In the larger establishments he was more likely to pick out children while going through the rooms and ask them to sign their names on a slip of paper, looking afterwards in the office files for their certificates. Orders were made out in triplicate, a white copy to be left with the employer, a pink copy to be sent to the State board, and a blue copy to be kept by the inspector. A date was usually set before which the order must be obeyed, and at or near the expiration of the time the inspector was instructed by the attorney for the board to visit the establishment again and ascertain whether the order had been complied with or prosecution should be undertaken. Inspectors did not usually recommend prosecution unless the employer was a repeated offender or the violation was long continued and evidently willful.

The inspectors in Boston as a rule made no reports to the school authorities as to children whom they ordered discharged. An inspector sometimes inquired at the certificate office as to whether a particular child whom he had ordered to obtain a certificate had done so. More often he went back to the establishment to find out, and if he found the child had been discharged, made no further inquiry as to his whereabouts. In such a case, the child was likely to secure illegal employment in another position and inspections were so infrequent that he might easily be over 16 years of age before being again discovered.

The law creating the State board of labor and industries went into effect on June 1, 1913; and the new certificate law requiring that a special certificate be issued to each employer, on September 1, 1913. The former law, under which a child secured his certificate and took it from employer to employer, was enforced under a quite different system by the district police. The three years covered by this study included the period of organization of the work of the board of labor and industries. At the same time, as already seen, it included a period during which employers, parents, and children were becoming accustomed to the much more strict regulations of the new certificate law, to the limitation of the hours of children to eight a day, and in Boston to the establishment of the compulsory continuation school. As a result of the number and complexity of the new laws which went into effect in the fall of 1913, the inspectors of the State board were engaged from September of that year to the spring of 1914 primarily in visits to employers to instruct them in the provisions of the new law and to endeavor to secure their cooperation in its enforcement.

The cases of violation of child-labor laws discovered in the course of this study must be considered, therefore, as belonging to a period when a new enforcing authority was endeavoring to put into effect a number of new provisions of law, especially the provision requiring a certificate for each different employer and the provision limiting the hours of children to eight a day. At least at the beginning of this period, employers were not fully acquainted with the provisions of the law and the administrative machinery was not in full operation. It should be added, however, that for many years certificates of some sort had been required for the employment of children, and their hours in many occupations had been limited to 10 a day and 54 or 58 a week. Moreover, many if not most of the violations in positions held before the children had left school occurred under the old and less strict law and a long-established system of enforcement.

At the same time it should be remembered that the information secured as to violations of law is based entirely upon the statements of the children. As these statements related mainly to past events in their lives they could not, of course, be verified, but there seems no reason to doubt that in most cases the child's statement was substantially correct. Only positive cases of violation were so classified; in case of the slightest apparent doubt the work was classified as legal. Except in the case of school positions, violations of the child-labor law only, and not violations of the school-attendance law, are considered. For instance, many of the intervals between leaving school and going to work, as well as many of the periods of unemployment discussed earlier in this report, were probably in violation of the school-attendance law. On the other hand, during some of these periods the children doubtless held special home permits which enabled them legally to remain out of school.³

EVIDENCE OF AGE.

Before proceeding to a discussion of violations, however, it is of interest to note in connection with the enforcement of the certificate law the kind of evidence of age secured from applicants for employment certificates. According to law^{3a} no other evidence of age should be accepted if either a birth or a baptismal certificate is obtainable. These two documents are equally acceptable. If neither is available the next preferred evidence is a passport, immigration record or transcript, or other official or religious record; and if no one of these documents is available a record of age as given on the register of the school which the child first attended in Massachusetts is accepted, provided the record was kept for at least two years while the child was in attendance. As a last resort, if no other evidence of age can

³ See appendix, pp. 364 to 365, for results of a study of special home permits in Boston.

^{3a} As in effect at the time of the study.

be produced, a certificate of age, signed by a school physician or by a physician appointed by the school committee, may be accepted.⁴

In the latter case, the parent must also sign the card, certifying that he or she is unable to produce for the child a birth certificate or any other document named as acceptable evidence of age.

Official records of birth ought usually to be available for children born in Massachusetts, for birth registration has long been efficiently carried on in that State. Nevertheless, Table 143 shows that, of all the children taking out employment certificates in the four cities—Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea—who were born in one of those cities, only 87.9 per cent produced official birth records as evidence of age. Most of the others, however, 10.1 per cent, produced baptismal certificates, which were equally acceptable. Only three-tenths of 1 per cent of these children were obliged to resort to a physician's examination for evidence of age.

TABLE 143.—*Proof of age, by place of birth; children issued certificates in four cities.*

Proof of age.	Children born in—								Not reported.
	All places.		Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea.		Elsewhere in United States.		Foreign countries.		
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ¹	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Total.....	5,692	100.0	4,023	100.0	623	100.0	1,044	100.0	2
Birth record.....	4,499	79.0	3,536	87.9	481	77.2	480	46.0	2
Baptismal record.....	576	10.1	407	10.1	73	11.7	96	9.2	.....
School register.....	307	5.4	37	.9	41	6.6	229	21.9	.....
Passport or other official or religious record.....	198	3.5	2	.....	8	1.3	188	18.0	.....
Physician's examination.....	67	1.2	13	.3	13	2.1	41	3.9	.....
Not reported.....	45	.8	28	.7	7	1.1	10	1.0	.....

¹ Not shown where less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

For native children born elsewhere than in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, or Chelsea, many of whom doubtless were born in some other place in Massachusetts, official birth records were produced in a little over three-fourths, 77.2 per cent, of all cases. A somewhat larger proportion of these children, 11.7 per cent, as compared with 10.1 per cent of those born in one of the four cities, used baptismal records, and a much larger proportion, 6.6 per cent, as compared with 0.9 per cent, used school registers as evidence of age. About 1 in 50, 2.1 per cent, of these children could secure no documentary evidence and had to have their ages determined by physical examination.

⁴ Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 58, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 16.

Before the beginning of the World War it was the custom to require foreign-born children who did not bring baptismal records or passports to send abroad for copies of their birth certificates. Even after the beginning of the war these children were for a time required to send to those countries which were most accessible. Thus many birth certificates were secured for Italian children who constituted the predominating foreign element in Boston. On the other hand, in Chelsea, where the predominating foreign element was Russian-Jewish, few birth certificates could be secured for foreign-born children after the first year covered by this study. During the latter part of the period, moreover, especially after the entrance of Italy into the war, the difficulties of communication became so great that efforts to send to any foreign country for evidence of age were entirely suspended.

Nevertheless, nearly one-half, 46 per cent, of the foreign-born children who took out certificates in the four cities produced official records of birth, and less than one-tenth, 9.2 per cent, produced records of baptism. School registers were used as evidence of age by a larger proportion of these children, 21.9 per cent, than were "passports or other official or religious records," 18 per cent. It is said that the reason so few passports are offered is that in many cases, on coming to this country, parents have understated the ages of their children in order to enable them to travel at half rates. Of the foreign-born children only 3.9 per cent were obliged to resort to the physician's certificate. This small proportion was doubtless due in part to the fact that the requirement of ability to read and write English forced the children from non-English-speaking countries, even if nearly or quite of working age, to go to school in this country for a long enough period so that the school register could be used as evidence of age.

VIOLETIONS IN SCHOOL POSITIONS.

A decided majority, 60.8 per cent, of the children who worked before leaving school did so, according to Table 144, in violation of some provision of the child-labor law. This does not mean that all the work of these children before leaving school was illegal or that violations occurred in all the positions held by them, but it does mean that nearly two-thirds of all the children who worked before leaving school were employed in some way illegally in one or more of their school positions. The proportion of boys who had worked illegally before leaving school was much higher than that of girls, 64.3 per cent as compared with 38.6 per cent. This was probably in part due to the fact that the girls, as a rule, were older when they began work. A large proportion, perhaps the majority, of these

violations occurred under the child-labor law in force before September 1, 1913, but all of these and many others would have been classed as violations if the latter law had been in effect at the time of their occurrence.⁵

TABLE 144.—*Illegal employment in any school position, by sex; interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Sex.	Children who worked before leaving school—				
	Total.	Illegally in one or more positions.		Legally in all positions.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Both sexes.....	324	197	60.8	127	39.2
Boys.....	280	180	64.3	100	35.7
Girls.....	44	17	38.6	27	61.4

Of the positions held before leaving school 83 per cent were for "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," but of those in which violations of any kind occurred, as appears in Table 145, not far from nine-tenths, 88.9 per cent, and of those in which two violations occurred, decidedly over nine-tenths, 93 per cent, belonged in this group. For the boys alone these proportions were even higher, 90.8 per cent and 94.2 per cent, respectively. "Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work" and "selling, other than newsboys" each showed an excess in the proportion of positions in which violations occurred over the proportion of all positions held before leaving school. By far the greatest excess was found in positions for messenger, errand, and delivery work. Less than one-half, 47.6 per cent, of all the school positions, but nearly three-fourths, 74.5 per cent, of those in which any violations occurred, and over four-fifths, 81.7 per cent, of those in which two violations occurred, were for occupations of this kind. This was due to the large amount of employment before leaving school as delivery boys for small stores and as peddlers' helpers, occupations frequently involving Saturday night work.

Factory and mechanical occupations also showed a slight excess in the proportion of positions in which violations occurred over their proportion of all school positions, 7.7 per cent, as compared with 5.2 per cent. Personal and domestic occupations, evidently because of

⁵ Before Sept. 1, 1913, the minimum age of 14 applied only to factories, workshops, or mercantile establishments and there was no minimum age in street trades. Night work was prohibited for women and minors in manufacturing establishments from 10 p. m. to 6 a. m., but in other occupations only for children under 14 from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m. In manufacturing establishments the hours of minors under 18 were limited to 10 a day, and 54 (or 58 in seasonal industries) a week, and in mercantile establishments they were limited to 58 per week. Acts of 1909, ch. 514, secs. 17 (as amended by Acts of 1912, ch. 191), 47, 48 (as amended by Acts of 1912, ch. 477), 49, 51, 56, 62-65.

a comparative lack of legal regulations, accounted for only 2.6 per cent of the positions in which violations of any kind occurred, as compared with 9.1 per cent of all positions held before leaving school. Both newsboys and bootblacks, the latter included under "personal service (other than servants in the home)," could work legally outside of school hours as soon as they were 12 years of age on street trades licenses and were not obliged to secure employment certificates. No information was secured in regard to whether or not they had secured such licenses. Boys engaged in these occupations could work later at night and earlier in the morning than could children engaged in other occupations.⁶ Violations of the child-labor law, therefore, were less likely to occur among newsboys and bootblacks than among other children. As domestic service and agricultural pursuits were regulated only by the compulsory school-attendance law comparatively few violations were likely to occur in these occupations.

The most common type of violation was employment under legal age, and the next most common type was illegal employment at night. According to Table 146, out of a total of 385 violations of law occurring in positions held before leaving school, 155 involved employment at too early an age and 123 involved employment either too early in the morning or too late at night. These two kinds of violation together accounted for almost three-fourths, 72.2 per cent, of all the violations which occurred in positions held before leaving school. In 46 cases the children were illegally not certificated; in 42 the daily hours and in 13 the weekly hours were too long; in 2 the children worked seven days a week; in 3 they were employed during school hours; and in 1 the occupation was illegal.

Both under age and night-work violations were especially common in messenger, errand, and delivery work. Of the under age violations 126 out of 155, and of the night-work violations 95 out of 123 occurred in this occupation. Selling, which accounted for nearly one-tenth, 9.6 per cent, of the total violations in all positions, had less than its proportionate share, 6.5 per cent, of under age violations, but more than its proportionate share, 10.6 per cent, of night-work violations. Personal and domestic occupations also had more than their proportionate share, 4.9 per cent, as compared with 2.6 per cent of all violations, of cases in which children worked too early in the morning or too late at night. Ten children had been employed under age, but only 3 had been employed at night in factory and mechanical occupations before they left school. Moreover, 6 children had been illegally employed without certificates and 4 had been employed for too long daily and 2 for too long weekly hours in factory and mechanical occupations.

⁶ Acts of 1913, ch. 831, secs. 11-15.

TABLE 145.—*Number of violations, by occupation and sex of child; school positions held by interviewed children.*

Occupation and sex of child.	Total school positions held.		Total positions in which violations occurred.		School positions showing—			
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹	One viola-tion.		Two viola-tions.	
					Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹
Both sexes.....	483	100.0	235	100.0	127	100.0	71	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	44	9.1	6	2.6	3	2.4	2	2.8
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	26	5.4	4	1.7	1	.8	2	2.8
House and home work.....	18	3.7	2	.9	2	1.6	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	25	5.2	18	7.7	13	10.2	3	4.2
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	401	83.0	209	88.9	109	85.8	66	93.0
Office work.....	5	1.0	1	.4	1	.8	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	13	2.7	3	1.3	2	1.6	1	1.4
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	9	1.9	7	3.0	3	2.4	2	2.8
Selling.....	144	29.8	23	9.8	14	11.0	5	7.0
Newsboys.....	112	23.2	1	.4	1	.8	.....	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	32	6.6	22	9.4	13	10.2	5	7.0
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	230	47.6	175	74.5	89	70.1	58	81.7
All other occupations.....	10	2.1	2	.9	2	1.6	.....	.....
Not reported.....	3	.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	430	100.0	217	100.0	112	100.0	69	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	31	7.2	5	2.3	2	1.8	2	2.9
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	25	5.8	4	1.8	1	.9	2	2.9
House and home work.....	6	1.4	1	.5	1	.9	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	13	3.0	13	6.0	9	8.0	2	2.9
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	375	87.2	197	90.8	99	88.4	65	94.2
Office work.....	2	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	4	.9	1	.5	1	.9	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	5	1.2	5	2.3	1	.9	2	2.9
Selling.....	136	31.6	17	7.8	9	8.0	5	7.2
Newsboys.....	112	26.0	1	.5	1	.9	.....	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	24	5.6	16	7.4	8	7.1	5	7.2
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	228	53.0	174	80.2	88	78.6	58	84.1
All other occupations.....	9	2.1	2	.9	2	1.8	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	53	100.0	18	100.0	15	100.0	2	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	13	24.5	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	1.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	12	22.6	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	12	22.6	5	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	26	49.1	12	.....	10	.....	1	.....
Office work.....	3	5.7	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	9	17.0	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	4	7.5	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Selling.....	8	15.1	6	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Newsboys.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	8	15.1	6	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	2	3.8	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	1	1.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	1	1.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 145.—Number of violations, by occupation and sex of child; school positions held by interviewed children—Concluded.

Occupation and sex of child.	School positions showing—				Total violations in all school positions.	
	Three viola- tions.		Four viola- tions.			
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution. ¹
Both sexes.....	32	100.0	5	100.0	385	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	1	.....	.....	.....	10	2.6
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	.....	.....	.....	8	2.1
House and home work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.5
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	2	.....	.....	.....	25	6.5
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	29	.....	5	.....	348	90.4
Office work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	.....	.....	.....	13	3.4
Selling.....	3	.....	1	.....	37	9.6
Newsboys.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Selling, other than newsboys.....	3	.....	1	.....	36	9.4
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	24	.....	4	.....	293	76.1
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.5
Boys.....	32	100.0	4	100.0	362	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	1	.....	.....	.....	9	2.5
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	.....	.....	.....	8	2.2
House and home work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	2	.....	.....	.....	19	5.2
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	29	.....	4	.....	332	91.7
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	.....	.....	.....	11	3.0
Selling.....	3	.....	.....	.....	28	7.7
Newsboys.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.3
Selling, other than newsboys.....	3	.....	.....	.....	27	7.5
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	24	.....	4	.....	292	80.7
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.6
Girls.....	.....	100.0	1	100.0	23	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
House and home work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	.....	.....	1	.....	16	.....
Office work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Selling.....	.....	.....	1	.....	9	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	.....	.....	1	.....	9	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

¹ Not shown when base is less than 50.

TABLE 146.—*Kind of violation, by occupation and sex of child; violations occurring in school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school.*

Occupation and sex.	Total violations in all school positions.		Under age.		Illegally un-certified (num-ber). ¹	Ille-gal occu-pa-tion (num-ber). ¹	Hour violations.					Work dur-ing school hours (num-ber). ¹
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹			Daily hours (num-ber). ¹	Week-ly hours (num-ber). ¹	Night work.		7-day week (num-ber). ¹	
									Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹		
Both sexes.....	385	100.0	155	100.0	46	1	42	13	123	100.0	2	3
Personal and domestic oc-cupations.....	10	2.6	2	1.3	1	.....	.....	.....	6	4.9	1	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	8	2.1	2	1.3	1	.....	.....	.....	4	3.3	1	.....
House and home work.	2	.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1.6	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	25	6.5	10	6.5	6	.....	4	2	3	2.4	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrap-ping, selling, and deliv-ery of goods.....	348	90.4	143	92.3	39	.....	38	11	113	91.9	1	3
Office work.....	1	.3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	4	1.0	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and ship-ping-room work.....	13	3.4	7	4.5	.....	.....	1	.....	5	4.1	.....	.....
Selling.....	37	9.6	10	6.5	5	.....	6	2	13	10.6	.....	1
Newsboys.....	1	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	36	9.4	10	6.5	5	.....	6	2	12	9.8	.....	1
Messenger work, er-rand and delivery...	293	76.1	126	81.3	31	.....	30	9	95	77.2	1	1
All other occupations.....	2	.5	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....
Boys.....	362	100.0	145	100.0	43	1	39	11	120	100.0	2	1
Personal and domestic oc-cupations.....	9	2.5	2	1.4	1	.....	.....	.....	5	4.2	1	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	8	2.2	2	1.4	1	.....	.....	.....	4	3.3	1	.....
House and home work.	1	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	19	5.2	7	4.8	5	.....	3	1	3	2.5	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrap-ping, selling, and deliv-ery of goods.....	332	91.7	136	93.8	37	.....	36	10	111	92.5	1	1
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	1	.3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and ship-ping-room work.....	11	3.0	5	3.4	.....	.....	1	.....	5	4.2	.....	.....
Selling.....	28	7.7	6	4.1	5	.....	5	1	11	9.2	.....	.....
Newsboys.....	1	.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....
Selling, other than newsboys.....	27	7.5	6	4.1	5	.....	5	1	10	8.3	.....	.....
Messenger work, er-rand and delivery...	292	80.7	125	86.2	31	.....	30	9	95	79.2	1	1
All other occupations.....	2	.6	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.8	.....	.....

¹ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 146.—*Kind of violation, by occupation and sex of child; violations occurring in school positions held by interviewed children who worked before leaving school—Concluded.*

Occupation and sex.	Total violations in all school positions.		Under age.		Illegally un-certified (num-ber). ¹	Ille-gal occu-pa-tion (num-ber). ¹	Hour violations.					Work dur-ing school hours (num-ber). ¹
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ¹			Daily hours (num-ber). ¹	Week-ly hours (num-ber). ¹	Night work.		7-day week (num-ber). ¹	
Girls.....	23	100.0	10	100.0	3	.....	3	• 2	3	100.0	.....	2
Personal and domestic oc-cupations.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	6	.....	3	.....	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrap-ping, selling, and deliv-ery of goods.....	16	.....	7	.....	2	.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	2
Office work.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cash and messenger work, department store.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and ship-ping-room work.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Selling.....	9	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	1
Selling, other than newsboys.....	9	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	1
Messenger work, er-rand and delivery...	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All other occupations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

VIOLATIONS IN REGULAR POSITIONS.

In regular positions—that is, positions held after leaving school—practically one-half, 49.8 per cent, of the children interviewed, according to Table 147, were employed in one or more positions in violation of some provision of the child-labor law. The proportion of boys so employed was decidedly higher than that of the girls, 57.7 per cent as compared with 39 per cent.

The foreign-born children appear to have been somewhat more likely to be employed illegally than the native children of foreign-born fathers and decidedly more so than the native children of native fathers. Of the first group 51.2 per cent, of the second 50.4 per cent, and of the third 45.3 per cent, were employed at some time in viola-tion of the law. Nearly two-thirds, 65.8 per cent, of the foreign-born boys, but not much more than one-third, 38.9 per cent, of the foreign-born girls worked illegally. Among the native children of foreign-born fathers nearly three-fifths, 59.5 per cent, of the boys and less than two-fifths, 37.1 per cent, of the girls worked illegally. The dif-ference between the boys and girls was less, 47.2 per cent as com-pared with 41.9 per cent, among the native children whose fathers also were native.

TABLE 147.—*Illegal employment in any regular position, by nativity of father, and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nativity of father and nativity and sex of child.	All children.	Children who worked—			
		Illegally in one or more regular positions.		Legally in all regular positions.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	410	49.8	413	50.2
Both fathers and children native.....	201	91	45.3	110	54.7
Fathers foreign born.....	593	300	50.6	293	49.4
Children native.....	427	215	50.4	212	49.6
Children foreign born.....	166	85	51.2	81	48.8
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	19	.....	10	.....
Boys.....	477	275	57.7	202	42.3
Both fathers and children native.....	127	60	47.2	67	52.8
Fathers foreign born.....	328	200	61.0	128	39.0
Children native.....	252	150	59.5	102	40.5
Children foreign born.....	76	50	65.8	26	34.2
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	22	15	.....	7	.....
Girls.....	346	135	39.0	211	61.0
Both fathers and children native.....	74	31	41.9	43	58.1
Fathers foreign born.....	265	100	37.7	165	62.3
Children native.....	175	65	37.1	110	62.9
Children foreign born.....	90	35	38.9	55	61.1
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	7	4	.....	3	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

The retarded children, as appears in Table 148, were more likely to be employed illegally than the children from normal grades or from grades higher than normal. The latter, the advanced children, were more often employed illegally than the normal children. The proportions of children who worked illegally were 55.4 per cent for the retarded, 49.3 per cent for the advanced, and 46.2 per cent for the normal groups. For the boys alone these proportions were 65.1 per cent, 61 per cent, and 51.7 per cent, respectively. Among the girls a different order was found for, although a larger proportion, 43.2 per cent, of the retarded than of any other group of girls was employed illegally, the smallest proportion, 31.5 per cent, of girls who were illegally employed was found among those who had completed a higher grade than normal for their ages.

The children who worked before leaving school were more frequently employed illegally in one or more of their regular positions than were those who did not work before leaving school. Table 149 shows that of all the children who worked before leaving school 57.7 per cent, and of those who did not work only 44.7 per cent were employed illegally in some regular position. This difference occurred entirely among the boys, for only 38.6 per cent of the girls who had worked, as compared with 39.1 per cent of those who had not worked, before leaving school were illegally employed after they had defi-

nately left school for industrial life. About three-fifths, 60.7 per cent, of the boys who worked, as compared with 53.3 per cent of those who did not work, before leaving school were illegally employed in some regular position.

TABLE 148.—*Illegal employment in any regular position, by retardation and sex; children interviewed.*

Violation of law in regular positions, and sex.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.				Not re- ported.	
	Total.	One or two grades low- er than normal.	Three or more grades lower than nor- mal, num- ber. ¹							
	Num- ber.	Per cent dis- tribu- tion.	Num- ber.	Per cent dis- tribu- tion.	Num- ber.	Per cent dis- tribu- tion.	Num- ber.	Per cent dis- tribu- tion.		
Both sexes.....	136	100.0	409	100.0	267	100.0	233	100.0	34	11
Working illegally in one or more posi- tions.....	67	49.3	189	46.2	148	55.4	125	53.6	23	6
No violation.....	69	50.7	220	53.8	119	44.6	108	46.4	11	5
Boys.....	82	100.0	238	100.0	149	100.0	135	100.0	14	8
Working illegally in one or more posi- tions.....	50	61.0	123	51.7	97	65.1	86	63.7	11	5
No violation.....	32	39.0	115	48.3	52	34.9	49	36.3	3	3
Girls.....	54	100.0	171	100.0	118	100.0	98	100.0	20	3
Working illegally in one or more posi- tions.....	17	31.5	66	38.6	51	43.2	39	39.8	12	1
No violation.....	37	68.5	105	61.4	67	56.8	59	60.2	8	2

¹ Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 149.—*Illegal employment in any regular position, by employment before leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.*

Employment before leaving school, and sex.	All children.	Children who worked—			
		Illegally in one or more regular positions.		Legally in all regular positions.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Both sexes.....	823	410	49.8	413	50.2
Worked before leaving school.....	324	187	57.7	137	42.3
Did not work before leaving school.....	499	223	44.7	276	55.3
Boys.....	477	275	57.7	202	42.3
Worked before leaving school.....	280	170	60.7	110	39.3
Did not work before leaving school.....	197	105	53.3	92	46.7
Girls.....	346	135	39.0	211	61.0
Worked before leaving school.....	44	17	38.6	27	61.4
Did not work before leaving school.....	302	118	39.1	184	60.9

CERTIFICATION AND NATIVITY AND FATHER'S NATIONALITY.

Table 150 shows that more than one-sixteenth, 6.7 per cent, of the children interviewed failed to secure certificates for their first regular positions. In some positions, however, certificates were not required under the law,⁷ while others were held outside Boston and its suburbs—a few of them in foreign countries—and it was not known whether or not they were certificated. Only one-twentieth, 5 per cent, therefore, of these children were known to have been employed without certificates in violation of the law. Of the 41 children thus employed six could not have obtained certificates because they were under 14 years of age when they took their first regular positions. About one-tenth of the children, 9.4 per cent, were certificated late, that is, more than 10 days after they had taken their first regular positions.⁸ Of the 77 children thus certificated late 9 were under 14 when they began work.

The girls more generally held certificates, and also more generally secured them on time—that is, within 10 days after going to work in their first regular positions—than did the boys. Of the girls 95.1 per cent were certificated and 89.3 per cent were certificated on time, while of the boys only 92 per cent were certificated and only 80.1 per cent were certificated on time. The proportion of girls illegally not certificated was 4 per cent, while that of boys was 5.7 per cent.

Late certification in the first regular position was most common among native children of native fathers and least common among foreign-born children. Over one-ninth, 11.4 per cent, of the native children of native fathers, but only about one-twelfth, 8.4 per cent, of the native children of foreign-born fathers and an even smaller proportion, 7.8 per cent, of the foreign-born children took out their certificates for their first regular positions more than 10 days after they had begun work. Late certification was particularly common among the native boys whose fathers also were native. Of these boys 15 per cent, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the girls of the same nativity group, were certificated late. A much larger proportion, too, of the boys than of the girls who were themselves native but whose fathers were foreign born, 11.1 per cent as compared with 4.6 per cent, took out their certificates more than one week late. Among the foreign-born girls the proportion of late certifications was higher, 7.8 per cent, than in any other group of girls and almost exactly the same as among the foreign-born boys,

⁷ Certificates were not required by law (1) for employment during vacation in a few occupations, such as "water boy for contracting company," (2) for employment outside school hours in selling newspapers or other occupations covered by the street trades law, and (3) for employment in mercantile establishments on Saturdays. Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 57, as amended by Acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 15.

⁸ Children certificated within 10 days after going to work were not considered to have been certificated late.

7.9 per cent. Evidently the relatively greater frequency of late certifications among the native children of native fathers was due entirely to the boys.

TABLE 150.—*Certification in first regular position, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Certification in first regular position and sex.	Children.								
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	166	100.0		29
Certificated.....	768	93.3	189	94.0	397	93.0	155	93.4	27
On time.....	691	84.0	166	82.6	361	84.5	142	85.5	22
Late ¹	77	9.4	23	11.4	36	8.4	13	7.8	5
Not certificated.....	55	6.7	12	6.0	30	7.0	11	6.6	2
Legally and not reported.....	14	1.7	2	1.0	7	1.6	5	3.0	.....
Illegally.....	41	5.0	10	5.0	23	5.4	6	3.6	2
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Certificated.....	439	92.0	118	92.9	231	91.7	68	89.5	22
On time.....	382	80.1	99	78.0	203	80.6	62	81.6	18
Late.....	57	11.9	19	15.0	28	11.1	6	7.9	4
Not certificated.....	38	8.0	9	7.1	21	8.3	8	10.5	.....
Legally and not reported.....	11	2.3	2	1.6	5	2.0	4	5.3	.....
Illegally.....	27	5.7	7	5.5	16	6.3	4	5.3	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Certificated.....	329	95.1	71	95.9	166	94.9	87	96.7	5
On time.....	309	89.3	67	90.5	158	90.3	80	88.9	4
Late.....	20	5.8	4	5.4	8	4.6	7	7.8	1
Not certificated.....	17	4.9	3	4.1	9	5.1	3	3.3	2
Legally and not reported.....	3	.9	.....	.....	2	1.1	1	1.1	.....
Illegally.....	14	4.0	3	4.1	7	4.0	2	2.2	2

¹ By "late" is meant more than 10 days after going to work.
² Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.
³ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

Failure to take out a certificate for a first regular position for which under the law it was required was most common among the native children of foreign-born fathers, but least common among the foreign-born children. Of the native children of foreign-born fathers 5.4 per cent, of those of native fathers 5 per cent, and of the foreign-born children only 3.6 per cent failed to take out certificates for such positions.

Although only one-twentieth, 5 per cent, of the children were illegally uncertificated in their first regular positions, more than one-

eighth, 13.6 per cent, of them, as appears in Table 151, worked in some regular position in which certificates were required by law without having secured such certificates. These children appear to have been less likely to secure certificates for later than for first positions. Of the 1,943 positions held 1,120, or 57.6 per cent, were second or later positions, while of the 163 which were illegally not certificated 122, or 74.8 per cent, were second or later positions.* This may have been due, in part at least, to lack of familiarity, during the early part of the period covered by this study, with the provisions of the new law which required a certificate for each new employer.

Nearly one-tenth, 9.7 per cent, of all the children and over one-tenth, 10.5 per cent, of the boys alone held only one illegally uncertificated position; but 3.9 per cent of all the children and 4.4 per cent of the boys alone held two or three such positions. Five boys and two girls each held three positions for which they failed to secure the certificates required by law.

TABLE 151.—*Number of illegally uncertificated positions held, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Number of illegally uncertificated positions held, and sex.	Children.								Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	
Both sexes.....	823	100.0	201	100.0	427	100.0	106	100.0	29
Illegally uncertificated positions:									
None.....	711	86.4	176	87.6	371	86.9	141	84.9	23
One or more.....	112	13.6	25	12.4	56	13.1	25	15.1	6
One.....	80	9.7	17	8.5	42	9.8	18	10.8	3
Two.....	25	3.0	8	4.0	9	2.1	5	3.0	3
Three.....	7	.9	.....	.....	5	1.2	2	1.2	.....
Boys.....	477	100.0	127	100.0	252	100.0	76	100.0	22
Illegally uncertificated positions:									
None.....	406	85.1	110	86.6	217	86.1	61	80.3	18
One or more.....	71	14.9	17	13.4	35	13.9	15	19.7	4
One.....	50	10.5	12	9.4	24	9.5	11	14.5	3
Two.....	16	3.4	5	3.9	7	2.8	3	3.9	1
Three.....	5	1.0	.....	.....	4	1.6	1	1.3	.....
Girls.....	346	100.0	74	100.0	175	100.0	90	100.0	7
Illegally uncertificated positions:									
None.....	305	88.2	66	89.2	154	88.0	80	88.9	5
One or more.....	41	11.8	8	10.8	21	12.0	10	11.1	2
One.....	30	8.7	5	6.8	18	10.3	7	7.8	.....
Two.....	9	2.6	3	4.1	2	1.1	2	2.2	2
Three.....	2	.6	.....	.....	1	.6	1	1.1	.....

* Compare Table 150, p. 307 and Table 158, pp. 320-321.

The native children of native fathers appear to have been less likely than the native children of foreign-born fathers and the latter than the foreign-born children to hold illegally uncertificated positions. Of the first group 12.4 per cent, of the second 13.1 per cent, and of the third 15.1 per cent held one or more such positions. As it has already been seen that failure to take out a certificate for a first regular position for which, under the law, it was required, was least common among the foreign-born children, it is evident that failure to take out certificates for later positions was much more prevalent in this group than in any other. This fact seems to confirm the theory that failure to secure new certificates when children changed positions was often due to lack of familiarity with the new law, for both the foreign-born children and their employers would be least likely to secure prompt information as to the exact provisions of recent legislation.

In each nativity group a smaller proportion of the girls than of the boys held one or more illegally uncertificated positions. But the difference was least, 12 per cent as compared with 13.9 per cent, among the native children of foreign-born fathers, and most, 11.1 per cent as compared with 19.7 per cent, among the foreign-born children. Of the foreign-born girls, indeed, a smaller proportion, 11.1 per cent, than of the native girls whose fathers were foreign born, 12 per cent, held one or more positions for which they illegally failed to take out certificates. Nevertheless, failure to take out certificates for more than one position in which they were required by law was more common among the native girls whose fathers were also native than in any other group of girls and also than among the boys whose fathers were native.

Table 152 shows that of all the children of foreign-born fathers, including both native and foreign-born children, a smaller proportion, 86.3 per cent, than of the children of native fathers, 87.6 per cent, never held any illegally uncertificated positions. In other words, a larger proportion of the children of foreign-born than of native fathers held one or more illegally uncertificated positions. The largest proportion, 18.6 per cent, of children who held such positions was found in the Russian-Jewish, and the smallest, 11.4 per cent, in the Irish group. One Russian-Jewish child out of every ten, 10 per cent, held two or more and only 8.6 per cent held only one such position. Of the Italian children, on the other hand, only 1 in 50, 2 per cent, held two or more, but about 1 in 10, 10.7 per cent, held one such position. The Irish children, like the Italian though to a less degree, were more inclined to hold only one than to hold more than one illegally uncertificated position.

In general, the children of foreign-born fathers of non-English speaking nationalities were more likely than those of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities to fail to secure certificates

for positions for which, under the law, they were required. This difference occurred entirely among the girls. Of the girls whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities 13.2 per cent, and of those whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities only 8.8 per cent held one or more illegally uncertificated positions. On the other hand, of the boys whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities 14.9 per cent, and of those whose fathers were foreign born of English-speaking nationalities a slightly larger proportion, 15.1 per cent, held one or more illegally uncertificated positions. Nearly as large a proportion of the Italian girls as of the Italian boys, 12.5 per cent, as compared with 12.9 per cent, but a very small proportion, 7.5 per cent, of the Irish girls as compared with the Irish boys, 13.9 per cent, failed to secure certificates for one or more positions for which the law required such certificates.

TABLE 152.—*Number of illegally uncertificated positions held, by nationality of father and sex of child; children interviewed.*

Nationality of father and sex of child.	All children.	Children who held positions illegally uncertificated.					
		None.		One.		Two or more.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	823	711	86.4	80	9.7	32	3.9
Fathers native.....	201	176	87.6	17	8.5	8	4.0
Fathers foreign born.....	² 593	512	86.3	60	10.1	² 21	3.5
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	243	212	87.2	23	9.5	8	3.3
Irish.....	167	148	88.6	14	8.4	5	3.0
Other.....	76	64	84.2	9	11.8	3	3.9
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	349	300	86.0	37	10.6	12	3.4
Italian.....	197	172	87.3	21	10.7	4	2.0
Russian Jewish.....	70	57	81.4	6	8.6	7	10.0
Other.....	82	71	86.6	10	12.2	1	1.2
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	29	23	.....	3	.....	3	.....
Boys.....	477	406	85.1	50	10.5	21	4.4
Fathers native.....	127	110	86.6	12	9.4	5	3.9
Fathers foreign born.....	² 328	278	84.8	35	10.7	² 15	4.6
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	152	129	84.9	17	11.2	6	3.9
Irish.....	101	87	86.1	11	10.9	3	3.0
Other.....	51	42	82.4	6	11.8	3	5.9
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	175	149	85.1	18	10.3	8	4.6
Italian.....	85	74	87.1	8	9.4	3	3.5
Russian Jewish.....	40	31	.....	4	.....	5	.....
Other.....	50	44	88.0	6	12.0	.....	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	22	18	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	346	305	88.2	30	8.7	11	3.2
Fathers native.....	74	66	89.2	5	6.8	3	4.1
Fathers foreign born.....	265	234	88.3	25	9.4	6	2.3
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	91	83	91.2	6	6.6	2	2.3
Irish.....	66	61	92.4	3	4.5	2	3.0
Other.....	25	22	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	174	151	86.8	19	10.9	4	2.3
Italian.....	112	98	87.5	13	11.6	1	.9
Russian Jewish.....	30	26	.....	2	.....	2	.....
Other.....	32	27	.....	4	.....	1	.....
Nativity of fathers not reported.....	7	5	.....	.....	.....	2	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² Including one boy, the nationality of whose father was not specified.

CERTIFICATION AND THE SCHOOL.

Failure to secure a certificate for the first regular position was much more common, according to Table 153, among the children who went to work during the summer vacation than among those who went to work at any other time. About one-ninth, 11.2 per cent, of the children who went to work during the summer vacation but only one-twentieth, 5 per cent, of those who went to work during the school year held no certificates in their first regular positions.

Certificates for some kinds of work were not required by the labor law but only by the compulsory school-attendance law, which specified that children must have certificates or home permits in order to remain out of school. For such work, of course, no certificates were required during vacation periods. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that of the children who went to work during summer vacation, 3.1 per cent, but of those who went to work at some other time only 1.2 per cent, were either not required by law to hold certificates in their first regular positions, or else held these positions elsewhere than in Boston.

TABLE 153.—*Certification in first regular position, by time of entering industry, and sex; children interviewed.*

Certification in first regular position, and sex.	Children who went to work—			
	During summer vacation.		At some other time.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes.....	224	100.0	599	100.0
Certificated.....	199	88.8	569	95.0
On time.....	159	71.0	532	88.8
Late ¹	² 40	17.9	37	6.2
Not certificated.....	25	11.2	30	5.0
Legally and not reported.....	7	3.1	7	1.2
Illegally.....	³ 18	8.0	23	3.8
Boys.....	121	100.0	356	100.0
Certificated.....	102	84.3	337	94.7
On time.....	72	59.5	310	87.1
Late.....	30	24.8	27	7.6
Not certificated.....	19	15.7	19	5.3
Legally and not reported.....	5	4.1	6	1.7
Illegally.....	14	11.6	13	3.7
Girls.....	103	100.0	243	100.0
Certificated.....	97	94.2	232	95.5
On time.....	87	84.5	222	91.4
Late.....	10	9.7	10	4.1
Not certificated.....	6	5.8	11	4.5
Legally and not reported.....	2	1.9	1	.4
Illegally.....	4	3.9	10	4.1

¹ By "late" is meant more than 10 days after going to work.

² Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

³ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

The fact that 8 per cent of the children who went to work during the summer, as compared with only 3.8 per cent of those who went to work at some other time, failed to secure certificates for positions for which they were required by law shows that positions for which certificates were not required if the work did not interfere with school attendance do not by any means account for the difference. Failure to secure certificates required by law, as well as merely going to work in positions for which they were not required, appears to have been decidedly more common among children who went to work during a summer vacation than among those who went to work at any other time. For the boys alone the difference is pronounced, 11.6 per cent as compared with 3.7 per cent. More than one boy out of every nine who took his first regular position during the summer vacation did so illegally without an employment certificate.

The lack of a certificate does not tell the whole story, for children who were at first employed without certificates were likely to secure them eventually if they held their first positions long enough, generally if they held them until school opened in the fall. These children were classified, not as uncertificated but as certificated late, and late certification for first regular positions was far more prevalent among children who went to work during a summer vacation than among those who went to work at any other time. Of all the children who went to work during summer vacation 17.9 per cent, as compared with only 6.2 per cent of those who went to work at some other time, were certificated late.

Of the boys who went to work during summer vacations, practically one-fourth, 24.8 per cent, were certificated late, and considerably more than one-third, 36.4 per cent, either were certificated late or illegally held no certificates at all for their first regular positions. Yet of those who went to work at some other time only 7.6 per cent were certificated late and 11.3 per cent were either certificated late or illegally not certificated. Though less pronounced, similar differences were found among the girls, for of those who went to work during summer vacation 13.6 per cent, as compared with only 8.2 per cent of those who went to work at some other time, either held no certificates or failed to secure certificates until they had worked more than a week in first regular positions for which by law certificates were required.

The children who went directly from school to work—that is, who lost less than a week of school time in the transition—according to Table 154, were less likely to be illegally not certificated but even more likely to be certificated late for their first regular positions than were the children who had an interval of one week or more between leaving school and going to work. Of the children with no interval, 3.2 per cent were illegally not certificated and 7.9 per cent were cer-

tificated late, while of those with an interval of one week or more 4.3 per cent were illegally not certificated but only 5.4 per cent were certificated late. In this respect the same tendency was shown by both boys and girls, but it was more pronounced among the boys.

Nevertheless, as would be expected from the fact that the children who went to work during vacation were much more likely than those who went to work at any other time to be illegally not certificated or certificated late in their first regular positions, these percentages are small as compared with those for the group of children for whom such intervals as occurred between leaving school and going to work were entirely during vacation. Of the latter group of children 8.5 per cent were illegally not certificated and 16.1 per cent were certificated late in their first regular positions.

TABLE 154.—*Certification in first regular position, by amount of school time lost and sex; children interviewed.*

Certification in first regular position, and sex.	Children with interval wholly or partly during school term who lost, during interval between leaving school and going to work, specified amount of school time.						Children with interval en- tirely during vacation.	
	Total.		None or less than one week.		One week or more.			
	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.	Num- ber.	Per cent distrib- ution.
Both sexes.....	1 600	100.0	341	100.0	258	100.0	223	100.0
Certificated.....	1 569	94.8	324	95.0	244	94.6	199	89.2
On time.....	1 528	88.0	297	87.1	230	89.1	163	73.1
Late ¹	41	6.8	27	7.9	14	5.4	36	16.1
Not certificated.....	31	5.2	17	5.0	14	5.4	24	10.8
Legally and not reported.....	9	1.5	6	1.8	3	1.2	5	2.2
Illegally.....	22	3.7	11	3.2	11	4.3	19	8.5
Boys.....	1 355	100.0	222	100.0	132	100.0	122	100.0
Certificated.....	1 335	94.4	211	95.0	123	93.2	104	85.2
On time.....	1 307	96.5	191	86.0	115	87.1	75	61.5
Late.....	28	7.9	20	9.0	8	6.1	29	23.8
Not certificated.....	20	5.6	11	5.0	9	6.8	18	14.8
Legally and not reported.....	7	2.0	4	1.8	3	2.3	4	3.3
Illegally.....	13	3.7	7	3.2	6	4.5	14	11.5
Girls.....	245	100.0	119	100.0	126	100.0	101	100.0
Certificated.....	234	95.5	113	95.0	121	96.0	95	94.1
On time.....	221	90.2	106	89.1	115	91.3	88	87.1
Late.....	13	5.3	7	5.9	6	4.8	7	6.9
Not certificated.....	11	4.5	6	5.0	5	4.0	6	5.9
Legally and not reported.....	2	.8	2	1.7	.....	.....	1	1.0
Illegally.....	9	3.7	4	3.4	5	4.0	5	5.0

¹ Including one boy for whom amount of school time lost was not reported.

² By "late" is meant more than 10 days after going to work.

³ Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

⁴ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

In part probably because of the greater tendency of normal and advanced than of retarded children to go to work during a summer

vacation rather than at any other time, and in part because of their occupations, these children showed a greater tendency than did the retarded children both to work illegally without certificates and to be certificated late in their first regular positions. Table 155 shows that 8.8 per cent of the children from higher grades than normal, 4.9 per cent of those from normal grades, and 3.4 per cent of those from lower grades than normal for their ages were illegally not certificated. A larger proportion of the children from normal grades than of those from higher grades than normal, 12 per cent as compared with 10.3 per cent, but only 5.2 per cent of the retarded children, were certificated late. Nearly one-fifth, 19.1 per cent, of the advanced children, and over one-sixth, 16.9 per cent, of the normal children, but only about one-twelfth, 8.6 per cent, of the retarded children, were either illegally not certificated at all or certificated late for their first regular positions.

TABLE 155.—*Certification in first regular position, by retardation and sex; children interviewed.*

Certification in first regular position, and sex.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.					Not reported.
					Total.	One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.					Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Both sexes.....	136	100.0	409	100.0	267	100.0	233	100.0	34	11
Certificated.....	120	88.2	384	93.9	254	95.1	221	94.8	33	10
On time.....	106	77.9	335	81.9	240	89.9	210	90.1	30	10
Late ¹	* 14	10.3	49	12.0	14	5.2	11	4.7	3	.....
Not certificated.....	16	11.8	25	6.1	13	4.9	12	5.2	1	1
Legally and not reported	4	2.9	5	1.2	4	1.5	4	1.7	.....	1
Illegally.....	* 12	8.8	20	4.9	9	3.4	8	3.4	1	.....
Boys.....	82	100.0	238	100.0	149	100.0	135	100.0	14	8
Certificated.....	68	82.9	223	93.7	141	94.6	128	94.8	13	7
On time.....	54	65.9	189	79.4	132	88.6	119	88.1	13	7
Late.....	14	17.1	34	14.3	9	6.0	9	6.7	.....	.....
Not certificated.....	14	17.1	15	6.3	8	5.4	7	5.2	1	1
Legally and not reported	4	4.9	4	1.7	2	1.3	2	1.5	.....	1
Illegally.....	10	12.2	11	4.6	6	4.0	5	3.7	1	.....
Girls.....	54	100.0	171	100.0	118	100.0	98	100.0	20	3
Certificated.....	52	96.3	161	94.2	113	95.8	93	94.9	20	3
On time.....	52	96.3	146	85.4	108	91.5	91	92.9	17	3
Late.....	.....	.....	15	8.8	5	4.2	2	2.0	3	.....
Not certificated.....	2	3.7	10	5.8	5	4.2	5	5.1	.....	.....
Legally and not reported	.....	.....	1	.6	2	1.7	2	2.0	.....	.....
Illegally.....	2	3.7	9	5.3	3	2.5	3	3.1	.....	.....

¹ By "late" is meant more than 10 days after going to work.

² Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

³ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

The tendency of children from higher grades than normal to be illegally not certificated or certificated late in their first regular positions more frequently than those from normal grades was due entirely to the boys. Of the girls 5.3 per cent of those from normal grades, as compared with only 3.7 per cent of those from higher grades than normal for their ages, were illegally not certificated, and none of the advanced girls were certificated late. The retarded girls, as well as the retarded boys, however, showed less tendency both to be illegally not certificated and to be certificated late in their first regular positions than did the normal girls and boys.

CERTIFICATION AND WORK BEFORE LEAVING SCHOOL.

The children who had worked before leaving school were more likely to fail to secure certificates for their first regular positions than were those who had never had any industrial experience, and decidedly more likely to neglect to secure certificates until they had been at work for more than a week in such positions. Of the children who had worked before leaving school, according to Table 156, 6.2 per cent, and of those who had not worked, only 4.2 per cent were illegally not certificated; but of the first group 12.7 per cent and of

TABLE 156.—*Certification in first regular position, by employment before leaving school, and sex; children interviewed.*

Certification in first regular position, and sex.	Children who, before leaving school—			
	Worked.		Did not work.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
Both sexes.....	324	100.0	499	100.0
Certificated.....	299	92.3	469	94.0
On time.....	258	79.6	433	86.8
Late ²	41	12.7	36	7.2
Not certificated.....	25	7.7	30	6.0
Legally and not reported.....	5	1.5	9	1.8
Illegally.....	20	6.2	21	4.2
Boys.....	280	100.0	197	100.0
Certificated.....	258	92.1	181	91.9
On time.....	221	78.9	161	81.7
Late ²	37	13.2	20	10.2
Not certificated.....	22	7.9	16	8.1
Legally and not reported.....	4	1.4	7	3.6
Illegally.....	18	6.4	9	4.6
Girls.....	44	100.0	302	100.0
Certificated.....	41	.....	288	95.4
On time.....	37	.....	272	90.1
Late ²	4	.....	16	5.3
Not certificated.....	3	.....	14	4.6
Legally and not reported.....	1	.....	2	.7
Illegally.....	2	.....	12	4.0

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² By "late" is meant more than 10 days after going to work.
³ Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.
⁴ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

the second only 7.2 per cent were certificated late. Of the boys who had worked before leaving school nearly one-fifth, 19.6 per cent, but of those who had not worked only about one-seventh, 14.8 per cent, either failed to secure in their first regular positions the certificates required by law or secured them more than a week after going to work.

CERTIFICATION AND METHOD OF SECURING POSITIONS.

Considerable difference was found among the children who secured their first positions by different methods, as to whether or not they were certificated or took out their certificates only after having worked for 10 days or more in these positions. Table 157 shows that the largest proportion, 7.1 per cent, of first positions which were illegally not certificated was found among children who secured these positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus. There were only four of these illegally uncertificated positions, however, and in three of them the children were placed by private employment agencies. The children who secured their first positions through friends or relatives were somewhat more likely than were those who secured them independently to fail illegally to take out certificates. Of the former group 4.7 per cent and of the latter only 3.8 per cent were illegally not certificated. But a more striking difference was found between the certification status of children who secured their first regular positions through friends and those who secured them through relatives. Of the former group 6.6 per cent and of the latter only 2.5 per cent failed illegally to secure certificates for these positions.

Late certification in first regular positions was far more common among children whose first employers were relatives and among those who secured their first regular positions through private employment agencies than in any other group. Over one-fifth, 20.6 per cent, of the children whose employers were relatives failed to secure certificates until after they had been at work for more than a week. About one-seventh, 14.3 per cent, of the group of children who secured their first positions through employment agencies, schools, or placement bureaus were also certificated late, and all of them were placed by private employment agencies. It should be noted in this connection that in comparatively few, only 4.8 per cent, of the first positions in which the employer was a relative were the children illegally not certificated, but that, as has already been pointed out, illegal failure to secure any certificates at all, as well as failure to secure them on time, was particularly common among children who secured their first regular positions through private employment agencies.

TABLE 157.—*Certification in first regular position, by method of securing position; children interviewed.*

Method of securing first regular position.	All child-dren.	Children with first position certified.						Children with first position not certified.					
		Total.		On time.		Late.		Total.		Legally and not reported.		Illegally.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	823	706	84.3	691	84.0	117	9.4	55	6.7	14	1.7	41	5.0
Position secured through:	406	361	88.8	344	84.7	37	9.1	25	6.3	6	1.5	19	4.7
Friend or relative.....	163	149	92.3	158	95.3	11	6.0	14	7.7	2	1.1	12	6.6
Friend.....	100	153	94.6	140	87.5	13	8.1	7	4.4	3	1.9	4	2.5
Relative.....	63	59	93.7	46	78.0	13	20.6	4	6.3	1	1.6	3	4.8
Employer relative.....	316	290	94.6	275	87.0	24	7.6	17	5.4	5	1.6	12	3.8
Independently secured.....	284	236	86.3	209	89.3	14	6.0	11	4.7	3	1.3	8	3.4
Applied personally.....	44	41	93.2	36	86.4	5	11.4	3	7.3	2	4.8	1	2.3
Answered advertisement or advertised.....	33	35	106.1	30	85.7	5	15.2	3	9.1	2	6.1	1	3.0
Worked there before.....	33	32	97.0	25	78.1	7	21.9	6	18.2	2	6.3	4	12.1
Employment offered.....	56	52	92.9	44	78.6	8	14.3	4	7.1	1	1.9	4	7.1
Employment agency, school, placement bureau, etc.....	38	35	92.1	27	77.1	8	23.1	3	8.6	1	2.9	3	8.6
.....	4	4	100.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
.....	3	2	66.7	2	66.7	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	33.3
.....	1	1	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
.....	10	10	100.0	10	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not reported.....	7	4	57.1	3	42.9	1	14.3	3	42.9	1	14.3	2	28.6

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including nine children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.³ Including six children who were under 14 when they began work in first regular position.

CERTIFICATION AND OCCUPATION.

Whether or not an employment certificate is secured or is secured on time for a given position probably depends at least as much upon the employer as upon the child. The principal object of the child in securing a certificate is to stay out of school without being interfered with by an attendance officer, and the principal object of the employer in demanding a certificate is to secure the child's services without danger of trouble with the factory-inspection department and possible prosecution for violation of the child-labor law. Employers who have in their establishments a number of children, even if only two or three, are much more likely than are employers of only a single child to know the requirements of the law and to be careful not to violate them. In factories where many children are used methods of employment are often developed which make it very difficult for any child to secure work without presenting a certificate. This is particularly true in Massachusetts, where in factories certificates of one sort or another are required for employment, not only of children under 16, but of any person under 21 years of age. Employers who have only one child in their service, on the other hand, are sometimes not well acquainted with the legal conditions to be fulfilled and are frequently unsystematic in their methods of employment.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that failure to secure certificates and late certification are both much more common in occupations in which frequently or commonly only one child is employed than in those in which it is customary for a number of children to work for a single employer. In personal and domestic occupations, for example, Table 158 shows that nearly one-third, 30.3 per cent, of all the positions were illegally not certificated, and over one-eighth, 13.5 per cent, were certificated late, whereas in factory and mechanical occupations less than one-twentieth, 4.6 per cent, were illegally not certificated and only about one-sixteenth, 6.5 per cent, were certificated late. Failure to secure the certificates required by law was least common in positions as shoe-factory operatives, where only one position was illegally not certificated, and late certification was least common in positions for cash and messenger work in department stores, where also only one position was certificated late. The establishments in which children worked as operatives in the manufacture of clothing or in other needle trades were as a rule decidedly smaller than the shoe factories, and consequently it is not surprising to find that nearly one-tenth, 9.2 per cent, of the positions in these establishments were illegally not certificated and almost as large a proportion, 8.6 per cent, were certificated late.

Failure to secure the certificates required by law was more common in positions for office work than for any other except personal and domestic occupations. Of the office-work positions over one-eighth, 13.9 per cent, were illegally not certificated, and practically one-tenth, 9.9 per cent, were certificated late. Late certification was more common, however, in selling than in any other kind of position. In nearly one-fourth, 22.4 per cent, of the positions in which the occupation was selling the children did not take out certificates until they had been at work for 10 days or more, and in more than one-ninth, 11.8 per cent, of these positions they failed entirely to take out the certificates required by law.

The fact that girls more frequently than boys entered factory and mechanical occupations accounts, in part but not wholly, for the fact that fewer of the positions held by girls than of those held by boys were illegally not certificated or were certificated late. A larger proportion of the positions in personal and domestic occupations were also held by girls, but the total number of such positions was very small, only 89, as compared with the number (588) of positions for factory and mechanical occupations. Precisely the same proportion, 4.3 per cent, of the factory operative positions held by girls as of those held by boys were illegally not certificated, and precisely the same proportion, 5.7 per cent, were certificated late. In messenger, errand, and delivery work both lack of certification and late certification were more common in positions held by boys than in those held by girls. Of positions for this kind of work held by boys 10.8 per cent were illegally not certificated and 13.5 per cent were certificated late, and of those held by girls only 6.9 per cent were illegally not certificated and 12.6 per cent were certificated late. In a number of other occupations, too, classified as "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods," the proportion of positions held by boys which were either not certificated at all or certificated late was higher than of those held by girls. In the group as a whole, therefore, not far from one-fourth, 23.3 per cent, of the positions held by boys but only a little over one-tenth, 10.6 per cent, of those held by girls were either illegally not certificated or certificated late. It may be, of course, that even in these occupations boys were more likely than girls to be employed singly, but it appears probable either that girls were more careful to secure certificates or that employers were more careful to demand them for girls.

TABLE 158.—*Certification, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Occupation and sex.	All regular positions.	Regular positions certificated.					
		Total.		On time.		Late.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	4 1,943	4 1,731	89.1	4 1,542	79.4	2 189	9.7
Personal and domestic occupations.....	89	47	52.8	35	39.3	12	13.5
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	46	28	.....	25	.....	3	.....
House and home work.....	43	19	.....	10	.....	9	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	598	555	94.4	517	87.9	38	6.5
Factory operative.....	563	535	95.0	503	89.3	32	5.7
Shoefactory.....	199	198	99.5	194	97.5	4	2.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	185	167	90.3	151	81.6	16	8.6
Textile mill.....	53	51	96.2	49	92.4	2	3.8
Candy factory.....	19	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	107	100	93.5	90	84.1	10	9.3
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	20	.....	14	.....	6	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,248	1,120	89.7	984	78.8	136	10.9
Office work.....	101	86	85.1	76	75.2	10	9.9
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	213	208	97.7	207	97.2	1	.5
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	104	101	97.1	94	90.4	7	6.7
Selling.....	76	59	77.6	42	55.3	17	22.4
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	754	666	88.3	565	74.9	101	13.4
All other occupations.....	17	8	.....	5	.....	3	.....
Boys.....	4 1,093	4 945	86.5	4 810	74.1	135	12.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	38	18	.....	16	.....	2	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	35	18	.....	16	.....	2	.....
House and home work.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	165	151	91.5	137	83.0	14	8.5
Factory operative.....	140	131	93.6	123	87.9	8	5.7
Shoefactory.....	69	68	98.5	66	95.6	2	2.9
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	8	6	.....	5	.....	1	.....
Textile mill.....	22	20	.....	19	.....	1	.....
Other factory.....	41	37	.....	33	.....	4	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	25	20	.....	14	.....	6	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	872	767	88.0	651	74.7	116	13.3
Office work.....	73	66	90.4	57	78.1	9	12.3
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	55	53	96.4	52	94.5	1	1.8
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	34	32	.....	26	.....	6	.....
Selling.....	43	31	.....	21	.....	10	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	667	585	87.7	495	74.2	90	13.5
All other occupations.....	17	8	.....	5	.....	3	.....
Girls.....	850	786	92.5	732	86.1	54	6.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	51	29	56.9	19	37.3	10	19.6
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	11	10	.....	9	.....	1	.....
House and home work.....	40	19	.....	10	.....	9	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	423	404	95.5	380	89.8	24	5.7
Factory operative.....	423	404	95.5	380	89.8	24	5.7
Shoefactory.....	130	130	100.0	128	98.5	2	1.5
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	177	161	91.0	146	82.5	15	8.5
Textile mill.....	31	31	.....	30	.....	1	.....
Candy factory.....	19	19	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	66	63	95.5	57	86.4	6	9.1
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	376	353	93.9	333	88.6	20	5.3
Office work.....	28	20	.....	19	.....	1	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	158	155	98.1	155	98.1	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	70	69	98.6	68	97.1	1	1.4
Selling.....	33	28	.....	21	.....	7	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	87	81	93.1	70	80.5	11	12.6

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Including nine positions where child was under 14 when he began work.³ Including one position for which occupation was not reported.

TABLE 158.—*Certification, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed—Concluded.*

Occupation and sex.	Regular positions not certificated.					
	Total.		Legally and not reported.		Illegally.	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ¹
Both sexes.....	212	10.9	49	2.5	² 163	8.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	42	47.2	15	16.9	27	30.3
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	18	.....	7	.....	11	.....
House and home work.....	24	.....	8	.....	16	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	33	5.6	6	1.0	27	4.6
Factory operative.....	28	5.0	4	.7	24	4.3
Shoe factory.....	1	.5	.....	.....	1	.5
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	18	9.7	1	.5	17	9.2
Textile mill.....	2	3.8	2	3.8	.....	.....
Other factory.....	7	6.5	1	.9	6	5.6
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	128	10.3	21	1.7	107	8.5
Office work.....	15	14.9	1	1.0	14	13.9
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	5	2.3	1	.5	4	1.9
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	3	2.9	1	1.0	2	1.9
Selling.....	17	22.4	8	10.5	9	11.8
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	88	11.7	10	1.3	78	10.3
All other occupations.....	9	.....	7	.....	2	.....
Boys.....	148	13.5	39	3.6	109	10.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	20	.....	9	.....	11	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	17	.....	7	.....	10	.....
House and home work.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	14	8.5	5	3.0	9	5.5
Factory operative.....	9	6.4	3	2.1	6	4.3
Shoe factory.....	1	1.4	.....	.....	1	1.4
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Textile mill.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	4	.....	1	.....	3	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	105	12.0	18	2.1	87	10.0
Office work.....	7	9.6	.....	.....	7	9.6
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	2	3.6	.....	.....	2	3.6
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Selling.....	12	.....	7	.....	5	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	82	12.3	10	1.5	72	10.8
All other occupations.....	9	.....	7	.....	2	.....
Girls.....	64	7.5	10	1.2	54	6.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	22	43.1	6	11.8	16	31.4
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
House and home work.....	21	.....	6	.....	15	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	19	4.5	1	.2	18	4.3
Factory operative.....	19	4.5	1	.2	18	4.3
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	16	9.0	1	.6	15	8.5
Other factory.....	3	4.5	.....	.....	3	4.5
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	23	6.1	3	.8	20	5.3
Office work.....	8	.....	1	.....	7	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	3	1.9	1	.6	2	1.3
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	1	1.4	.....	.....	1	1.4
Selling.....	5	.....	1	.....	4	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	6	6.9	.....	.....	6	6.9

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Including seven positions where child was under 14 when he began work.

HOUR VIOLATIONS.

Five different kinds of hour violations could occur, and each one of these could occur in combination with one or more other kinds. First, a child could work too short hours; that is, less than 6 a day or 36 a week. This was a violation of the school-attendance law and could occur only when school was in session as the restriction related only to employment involving absence from school. Too short weekly hours could be combined with too long daily hours, with night work, or even possibly with work for seven days a week. Work for less than 6 hours a day could not be combined with either too long daily or too long weekly hours. The second kind of violation consisted of work for over 8 hours a day in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 10 hours a day for express or transportation companies, while the third kind consisted of work for over 48 hours a week in the first group of establishments or for over 54 a week for express or transportation companies. The fourth kind of violation which could occur was employment at night; that is, before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m. in manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or before 5 a. m. or after 9 p. m. in street trades. The fifth kind was employment for seven days a week.¹

Violations, moreover, might occur either in the first occupation entered in a position or in some subsequent occupation pursued while employed in a single position or in another simultaneous position. When a child's occupation was changed his hours also might be changed. If a child was employed in two positions simultaneously, the second might be for work at night or on Sunday, or the hours in the second, when added to those in the first, might make too long a day or too long a week.

In more than one-fifth, 21.2 per cent, of the positions held by all the children interviewed—over one-fourth, 26.3 per cent, of those held by boys but only about one-seventh, 14.7 per cent, of those held by girls—they were employed in their first occupations, as appears in Table 159, in violation of one or another provision of law relating to hours of labor. Wherever one such violation occurred, moreover, two or three provisions of the law were generally broken. In only one-twentieth, 4.9 per cent, of all the positions held did only one violation occur, but in about one-tenth, 10.2 per cent, there were two violations, and in another twentieth, 5.3 per cent, there were three. In four positions all four of the provisions of the labor law relating to hours of labor were broken, for the children were employed

¹ Revised Laws 1902, ch. 44, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 779, sec. 1; acts of 1913, ch. 831, secs. 8, 9; acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 48; acts of 1913, ch. 831, sec. 15.

too long hours a day, too long hours a week, at night, and seven days a week. Three of these positions were held by girls.

TABLE 159.—*Violation of law in hours of labor, by sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Violation of law in hours of labor.	Regular positions held by—					
	All children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All positions.....	1,943	100.0	1,093	100.0	850	100.0
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ¹	412	21.2	287	26.3	125	14.7
In first occupation entered.....	402	20.7	283	25.9	119	14.0
One violation.....	96	4.9	59	5.4	37	4.4
Under time.....	28	1.4	13	1.2	15	1.8
Day.....	42	2.2	23	2.1	19	2.2
Night.....	24	1.2	21	1.9	3	.4
7-day.....	2	.1	2	.2		
Two violations.....	199	10.2	120	11.8	79	9.2
Under time and day.....	2	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Under time and night.....	4	.2	4	.4		
Day and week.....	162	8.3	96	8.8	66	7.8
Day and night.....	24	1.2	21	1.9	3	.4
Day and 7-day.....	1	.1	1	.1		
Week and 7-day.....	4	.2	4	.4		
Night and 7-day.....	2	.1	2	.2		
Three violations.....	103	5.3	94	8.6	9	1.1
Under time, day and night.....	3	.2	3	.3		
Day, week, and night.....	94	4.8	86	7.9	8	.9
Day, week, and 7-day.....	2	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Week, night, and 7-day.....	4	.2	4	.4		
Four violations.....	4	.2	1	.1	3	.4
Day, week, night, and 7-day.....	4	.2	1	.1	3	.4
In subsequent occupation or simultaneous position.....	10	.5	4	.4	6	.7
Day.....	2	.1			2	.2
Night.....	2	.1	2	.2		
Day and week.....	3	.2	1	.1	2	.2
Day, week, and night.....	3	.2	1	.1	2	.2
Hours legal and not excessive ²	1,444	74.3	769	70.4	675	79.4
Hours excessive but legal ³	36	1.9	8	.7	28	3.3
Hours not reported.....	51	2.6	20	2.7	22	2.6

¹ *Violations.*—Undertime: Less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week, where child has an employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school. Day: Over 8 hours per day in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 10 hours per day for express or transportation companies. Week: Over 48 hours per week in manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 54 per week for express or transportation companies. Night. Before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m. in manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or before 5 a. m. or after 9 p. m. in street trades. 7-day: 7 days per week.

² Not more than 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, or 6 days per week; no work before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m., and not less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week where child has employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school.

³ Including three positions showing also an undertime violation. These children worked irregular hours, less than 36 a week, but either more than 8 hours on certain days or else at night.

Positions in which the children worked too short hours—that is, less than six a day or 36 a week—were somewhat uncommon. In 28 positions, or 1.4 per cent of the total number, this kind of violation occurred alone. In addition, there were two cases in which the weekly hours were too short but the daily hours too long; in four the daily or weekly hours were too short but there was night work, and in three too short weekly hours were combined with both night work and too long daily hours. In about 1 position in 50, therefore, or,

to be exact, 1.9 per cent of all the positions, the children worked too short hours. Undertime alone was more common among the girls, but, combined with violations of other laws relating to hours of labor, it was more common among the boys.

Too long daily hours were generally accompanied by too long weekly hours, and the latter form of violation seldom occurred except in connection with the former. In only 42 positions were the daily hours alone too long, but in 162 both the daily and the weekly hours were too long, and in 93 others the night-work law also was violated. When all the positions in which the hours per day were longer than permitted by law are added together, regardless of whether the violation occurred in subsequent occupations or simultaneous positions and also of whether it was accompanied by other violations, it is found that in over one-sixth, 17.5 per cent, of all the positions—over one-fifth, 21.4 per cent, of those held by boys, but only about one-eighth, 12.6 per cent, of those held by girls—the provisions of law relating to daily hours were violated. Similarly, when all the positions in which the hours per week were longer than permitted by law are added together it is found that in about one-seventh, 14.2 per cent, of all positions—over one-sixth, 17.7 per cent, of those held by boys, but less than one-tenth, 9.6 per cent, of those held by girls—the provisions of law relating to weekly hours were violated. In only eight cases were the weekly hours too long without the daily hours also being too long, and in all of these the children worked seven days a week—in four cases working also at night. Evidently violations of the legal provisions relating to hours per week were somewhat less common than of those relating to hours per day and were almost always accompanied by the latter.

Employment of children, particularly boys, in night work was not at all uncommon. In about one-twelfth, 8.4 per cent, of all the positions held by the children interviewed, they were employed in violation of the night-work law. In only 19, or 2.2 per cent, of the positions held by girls, but in 144, or 13.2 per cent, of those held by boys night work was required. In other words, the boys were employed at night in over one-eighth of all the positions which they held. In 26 cases night work occurred without any other violation, but in 4 cases it was combined with undertime, in 24 with too long daily hours, in 2 with a seven-day week, in 3 with both too short hours per week and too long hours per day, in 96 with both too long hours per day and per week, and in 4 with too long hours both per day and per week and a seven-day week.

Positions in which children were required to work seven days a week were relatively rare, this kind of violation being found in only

1 position out of every 100 held by these children. Like positions requiring night work, they were much more frequently held by boys than by girls. Of the 19 positions requiring work for seven days a week 15 were held by boys.

A few cases were found in which, although no violation of any law relating to hours actually existed because hours in the particular occupations concerned were not regulated, violations would have existed if the 8-hour day, 48-hour week, 6-day week, and night work provisions in force for other occupations had been in effect for these. Most of these cases, 28 out of 36, were in positions held by girls.

In nearly three-fourths, 74.3 per cent, of all the positions held by these children, however, the hours were not only legal but were not excessive—that is, were not over 8 a day or 48 a week—and did not involve work at night—that is, before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m.—or for more than six days a week. In over seven-tenths, 70.4 per cent, of the positions held by boys and nearly eight-tenths, 79.4 per cent, of those held by girls, the hours of labor fell within these limits.

Violations of law as to hours of labor were most likely to occur, according to Table 160, in the positions held by children of foreign-born fathers, especially in those held by children whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities, and particularly in those held by Russian-Jewish children. Such violations were found in only 17.9 per cent of the positions held by children of native fathers, but in 22 per cent of those held by children of foreign-born fathers, 24.7 per cent of those held by children whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities, and 28.6 per cent of those held by Russian-Jewish children.

In this respect much less difference was found between the girls than between the boys whose fathers were native and foreign born. Of the positions held by the daughters of native fathers 13.9 per cent and of those held by the daughters of foreign-born fathers 15 per cent involved hour violations. Of those held by the sons of native fathers, on the other hand, 20.6 per cent, and of those held by the sons of foreign-born fathers 27.7 per cent involved such violations. Of the positions held by boys whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities not far from one-third, 31.7 per cent, and of those held by Russian-Jewish boys about the same proportion, 31.6 per cent, involved illegal hours. Much more difference was found between the Russian-Jewish girls and all the girls whose fathers were foreign born of non-English-speaking nationalities in the matter of hour violations; for in nearly one-fourth, 24 per cent, of the positions held by the former but only 18.2 per cent of those held by the latter were such violations discovered.

TABLE 160.—*Violation of law in hours of labor, by nationality of father and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Nationality of father and sex of child.	All regular posi- tions.	Regular positions in which—					
		Violations of law as to hours of labor occurred. ¹					
		Total.		In first occupa- tion entered.		In subsequent occupation or simultaneous position.	
		Num- ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num- ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num- ber.	Per cent. ⁴
Both sexes.....	1,943	412	21.2	402	20.7	10	0.5
Children of native fathers.....	459	82	17.9	81	17.6	1	.2
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	^b 1,424	^b 313	22.0	^b 304	21.3	9	.6
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	574	100	17.4	96	16.7	4	.7
Irish.....	382	58	15.2	55	14.4	3	.8
Other.....	192	42	21.9	41	21.4	1	.5
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	845	209	24.7	204	24.1	5	.6
Italian.....	485	117	24.1	114	23.5	3	.6
Russian-Jewish.....	192	55	28.6	54	28.1	1	.5
Other.....	168	37	22.0	36	21.4	1	.6
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.....	60	17	28.3	17	28.3	.....	.....
Boys.....	1,098	287	26.3	283	25.9	4	.4
Children of native fathers.....	272	56	20.6	56	20.6	.....	.....
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	^b 779	^b 216	27.7	^b 212	27.2	4	.5
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	364	82	22.5	80	22.0	2	.5
Irish.....	239	46	19.2	45	18.8	1	.4
Other.....	125	36	28.8	35	28.0	1	.8
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	410	130	31.7	128	31.2	2	.5
Italian.....	201	64	31.8	62	30.8	2	1.0
Russian-Jewish.....	117	37	31.6	37	31.6	.....	.....
Other.....	92	29	31.5	29	31.5	.....	.....
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.....	42	15	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	6	.7
Children of native fathers.....	187	26	13.9	25	13.4	1	.5
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	645	97	15.0	92	14.3	5	.8
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	210	18	8.6	16	7.6	2	1.0
Irish.....	143	12	8.4	10	7.0	2	1.4
Other.....	67	6	9.0	6	9.0	.....	.....
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	435	79	18.2	76	17.5	3	.7
Italian.....	284	53	18.7	52	18.3	1	.4
Russian-Jewish.....	75	18	24.0	17	22.7	1	1.3
Other.....	76	8	10.5	7	9.2	1	1.3
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.....	18	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....

¹ *Violations.*—Undertime: Less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week, where child has an employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school. Day: Over 8 hours per day in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 10 hours per day for express or transportation companies. Week: Over 48 hours per week in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 54 per week for express or transportation companies. Night: Before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m. in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or before 5 a. m. or after 9 p. m. in street trades. 7 days: 7 days per week.

⁴ Not shown where base is less than 50.

^b Includes five positions held by a boy, the nationality of whose father was not reported. In four of these positions violations occurred.

TABLE 160.—*Violation of law in hours of labor, by nationality of father and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed—Concluded.*

Nationality of father and sex of child.	Regular positions in which—					
	Hours were legal and not excessive. ²		Hours were excessive but legal. ²		Hours were not reported.	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ⁴
Both sexes.....	1,444	74.3	36	1.9	51	2.6
Children of native fathers.....	354	77.1	13	2.8	10	2.2
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	1,050	73.7	22	1.5	39	2.7
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	445	77.5	13	2.3	16	2.8
Irish.....	304	79.6	10	2.6	10	2.6
Other.....	141	73.4	3	1.6	6	3.1
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	604	71.5	9	1.1	23	2.7
Italian.....	353	72.8	3	.6	12	2.5
Russian-Jewish.....	130	67.7	2	1.0	5	2.6
Other.....	121	72.0	4	2.4	6	3.6
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.	40	66.7	1	1.7	2	3.3
Boys.....	769	70.4	8	.7	29	2.7
Children of native fathers.....	210	77.2	3	1.1	3	1.1
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	532	68.3	5	.6	26	3.3
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	271	74.5	1	.3	10	2.7
Irish.....	185	77.4	1	.4	7	2.9
Other.....	86	68.8	.....	.....	3	2.4
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	260	63.4	4	1.0	16	3.9
Italian.....	127	63.2	2	1.0	8	4.0
Russian-Jewish.....	77	65.8	.....	.....	3	2.6
Other.....	56	60.9	2	2.2	5	5.4
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	675	79.4	28	3.3	22	2.6
Children of native fathers.....	144	77.0	10	5.3	7	3.7
Children of foreign-born fathers.....	518	80.3	17	2.6	13	2.0
Of English-speaking nationalities.....	174	82.9	12	5.7	6	2.9
Irish.....	119	83.2	9	6.3	3	2.1
Other.....	55	82.1	3	4.5	3	4.5
Of non-English-speaking nationalities.....	344	79.1	5	1.1	7	1.6
Italian.....	226	79.6	1	.4	4	1.4
Russian-Jewish.....	53	70.7	2	2.7	2	2.7
Other.....	65	85.5	2	2.6	1	1.3
Children the nativity of whose fathers was not reported.	13	.....	1	.....	2	.....

¹ Not more than 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, or 6 days per week; no work before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m.; and not less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week where child has employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school.

² Including three positions, showing also an undertime violation.

³ Not shown where base is less than 50.

⁴ Includes five positions held by a boy, the nationality of whose father was not reported. In four of these positions violations in hours occurred.

TABLE 161.—Violation of law in hours of labor, by occupation and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.

Occupation and sex.	All regular positions.	Regular positions in which—										Hours were legal and not excessive. ³		Hours were excessive but legal. ³		Hours were not reported.	
		Violations of law as to hours of labor occurred. ¹				In subsequent occupation or simultaneous position.											
		In first occupation entered.		Total.		In first occupation entered.		Total.									
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴	Num-ber.	Per cent. ⁴				
Both sexes.....	1,943	412	21.2	402	20.7	10	0.5	1,444	74.3	26	1.9	54	2.6				
.....ants	80	21	26.6	21	26.6			31	34.6	29	32.6	3	3.6				
.....	46	20		20				21		1		4					
.....	43	1		1				10		23		15					
.....	588	35	10.2	32	15.6	3	.5	473	81.3			14					
.....	563	90	16.0	87	15.5	3	.5	459	81.5			14					
.....	199	11	5.5	11	5.5			184	92.5			4					
.....selle	185	46	24.9	44	23.8	2	1.1	135	73.0			4					
.....	52	8	15.1	8	15.1			44	83.0			1					
.....	19	3		3				16									
.....	107	22	20.6	21	19.6	1	.9	80	74.8			5					
.....les, and	25	5		5				19				1					
.....	1,293	202	23.4	202	22.8	7	.6	926	74.1	4	.3	27					
.....	101	10	9.9	9	8.9	1	1.0	59	58.1			2					
.....ment	213	16	7.0	15	7.0			185	91.5			3					
.....ship-	104	10	9.6	9	8.7	1	1.0	91	87.5			3					
.....	76	24	44.7	22	42.1	2	2.6	57	45.7			2					
.....ery..	754	223	20.6	200	20.3	3	.4	512	68.0			17					
.....	17	4		4				10									
Boys.....	1,083	267	26.3	263	25.9	4	.4	799	70.4	6	.7	29					
Personal and domestic occupations.....	26	18		18				14		1		5					
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	45	18		13				12		1		4					
House and home work.....	3							2				1					

104.	165	20	15.8	20	15.8	135	31.8	22	2.6
140	140	21	15.0	21	15.0	116	82.9	3	2.1
69	69	4	5.3	4	5.3	64	92.8	1	1.4
8	8	5	.....	5	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
22	22	3	.....	3	.....	19	.....	.....	.....
41	41	9	.....	9	.....	30	.....	2	.....
25	25	5	.....	5	.....	19	.....	1	.....
872	872	289	27.4	285	26.9	610	70.0	4	.5
73	73	3	4.1	3	4.1	60	94.5	1	.....
55	55	5	9.1	5	9.1	50	90.9	.....	.....
34	34	5	.....	5	.....	28	.....	1	.....
43	43	19	.....	17	.....	20	.....	3	.....
657	657	207	31.0	205	30.7	443	66.4	1	.1
17	17	4	.....	4	.....	10	.....	3	.....
850	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
51	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
11	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
40	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
423	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
423	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
120	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
177	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
31	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
19	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
65	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
376	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
28	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
158	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
70	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
33	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
87	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
Ohio.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	6	20
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0
.....	33	15	15	17
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5
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.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	2	9
.....	40	1	1	8	28
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675	79.4	28	3.3
.....	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	17	33.3	28	54.8
.....	11	2	.....	2	.....	9	.....	.....	.....
.....	40	1	.....	1	.....	8	.....	28	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	423	69	16.3	66	15.6	343	61.1	.....	.....
.....	120	7	5.4	7	5.4	120	92.3	.....	.....
.....	177	41	23.2	29	22.0	132	74.6	.....	.....
.....	31	5	.....	5	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
.....	19	3	.....	3	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
.....	65	13	19.7	12	18.2	50	75.8	.....	.....
.....	376	53	14.1	50	13.3	315	83.8	.....	.....
.....	28	7	.....	6	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
.....	158	10	6.2	10	6.2	145	91.8	.....	.....
.....	70	5	7.1	4	5.7	63	90.0	.....	.....
.....	33	15	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....
.....	87	16	16.4	15	17.2	70	80.5	.....	.....
.....	850	125	14.7	119	14.0	675			

Violence.—Undertime: Less than 6 hours per day or 24 per week. **where child has an employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school. Day: Over**

The difference in the matter of hour violations between the children of the various nationality groups, as well as that between the boys and the girls, was due primarily to differences in occupations. Violations of the laws restricting hours, like those of the laws requiring employment certificates, are much more likely to occur, as appears in Table 161, in occupations where as a rule only one child is hired by a single employer than in those in which a number of children are usually employed in a single establishment. Thus in nearly one-fourth, 23.6 per cent, of all the positions in personal and domestic occupations but in less than one-sixth, 16.2 per cent, of those in factory and mechanical occupations, were hour violations found. Moreover, as in the case of illegal or late certification, there was a striking difference between shoe factory operative positions and positions as operatives in clothing factories or other needle trades. Of the former little more than one-twentieth, 5.5 per cent, but of the latter practically one-fourth, 24.9 per cent, involved violations of the laws relating to hours of labor. The proportion of positions in "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" in which hour violations occurred was almost as high, 23.4 per cent, as of positions in clothing factories and other needle trades. An even larger proportion, 29.6 per cent, of the messenger, errand, and delivery work positions involved hour violations. But decidedly the largest proportion of positions involving such violations, 44.7 per cent, not far from half, was found among positions in which the occupation was "selling." If the figures in Table 161 are compared with those in Tables 110, 118, and 119, which give the occupational distribution of children of the different sexes and the different fathers' nationalities, it appears obvious that this occupational distribution accounts in general for the differences in hour violations found in positions held by children of the different groups.

Table 162 shows further the close relationship between hour violations and failure to obtain employment certificates or to obtain them on time. Of all the positions in which the hours were legal and not excessive only 7.7 per cent were not certificated, 5.3 per cent illegally not certificated, and 8 per cent certificated late; but of those in which any kind of hour violation occurred, 15.5 per cent were not certificated, 14.6 per cent illegally not certificated, and 15 per cent certificated late. To a certain extent this may be due to greater carelessness as to the hours of labor of children who did not hold employment certificates, but primarily and fundamentally it is due to the fact that hour violations were most likely to occur in the same occupations as violations of the certificate law—occupations in which employers hired single children rather than groups of children.

TABLE 162.—*Certification, by violation of law in hours of labor, and sex of child; regular positions held by children interviewed.*

Violation of law in hours of labor, and sex.	All regular posi- tions.	Regular positions certificated.					
		Total.		On time.		Late.	
		Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹
Positions held by both sexes.....	1, 943	1, 731	89. 1	1, 542	79. 4	189	9. 7
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴ ...	412	848	84. 5	286	69. 4	62	15. 0
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	1, 444	1, 333	92. 3	1, 217	84. 3	116	8. 0
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	36	17	.....	9	.....	8	.....
Hours not reported.....	51	33	64. 7	30	58. 8	3	5. 9
Positions held by boys.....	1, 093	945	86. 5	810	74. 1	135	12. 4
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴ ...	287	238	82. 9	193	67. 2	45	15. 7
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	769	686	89. 2	600	78. 0	86	11. 2
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	8	3	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Hours not reported.....	29	18	.....	16	.....	2	.....
Positions held by girls.....	850	786	92. 5	732	86. 1	54	6. 4
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴ ...	125	110	88. 0	93	74. 4	17	13. 6
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	675	647	95. 9	617	91. 4	30	4. 4
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	28	14	.....	8	.....	6	.....
Hours not reported.....	22	15	.....	14	.....	1	.....

Violation of law in hours of labor, and sex.	Regular positions not certificated.					
	Total.		Legally and not reported.		Illegally.	
	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹	Num- ber.	Per cent. ¹
Positions held by both sexes.....	212	10. 9	49	2. 5	163	8. 4
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴	64	15. 5	4	1. 0	60	14. 6
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	111	7. 7	35	2. 4	76	5. 3
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	19	.....	6	.....	13	.....
Hours not reported.....	18	35. 3	4	7. 8	14	27. 5
Positions held by boys.....	148	13. 5	39	3. 6	109	10. 0
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴	49	17. 1	3	1. 0	46	16. 0
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	83	10. 8	29	3. 8	54	7. 0
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	5	.....	3	.....	2	.....
Hours not reported.....	11	.....	4	.....	7	.....
Positions held by girls.....	64	7. 5	10	1. 2	54	6. 4
Showing violation of law in hours of labor ⁴	15	12. 0	1	. 8	14	11. 2
Hours legal and not excessive ⁵	28	4. 1	6	. 9	22	3. 3
Hours excessive but legal ⁶	14	.....	3	.....	11	.....
Hours not reported.....	7	.....	.....	.....	7	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.
² Includes 9 positions held by children who were under 14 when they began work.
³ Includes 7 positions held by children who were under 14 when they began work.
⁴ *Violations.*—Undertime: Less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week, where child has an employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school. Day: Over 8 hours per day in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 10 hours per day for express or transportation companies. Week: Over 48 hours per week in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or over 54 per week for express or transportation companies. Night: Before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m. in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, workshops, etc., or before 5 a. m. or after 9 p. m. in street trades. Seven day: Seven days per week.
⁵ Not more than 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, or 6 days per week; no work before 6.30 a. m. or after 6 p. m.; and not less than 6 hours per day or 36 per week where child has employment certificate and works during school hours or is out of school.
⁶ Including two positions held by boys and one by a girl, showing an undertime violation also.

OCCUPATIONS, HOURS, AND WAGES THREE YEARS LATER.

For the children interviewed additional information was secured as to occupations, hours of labor, and wages in 1918, when, though still minors and therefore subject to a few legal restrictions, they were no longer limited by the strict provisions of the child-labor law. At that time these children had been at work from nearly three to not far from five years during a period of considerable increase in demand for labor due to the World War and especially to the entrance of this country into that war. They still had to hold certificates for employment in most occupations, but these were merely "educational" certificates which were only a form, as the children were no longer obliged to attend continuation school and, as they had all proved their literacy before receiving their employment certificates, none of them was obliged to attend evening school. In a considerable number of occupations, moreover, they could work without any certificates.

The hours of labor of girls in factories, workshops, manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments, and in most other common employments were limited by the woman's work law to 10 a day, 54 a week, and 6 days a week, and night work was prohibited between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m. (between 6 p. m. and 5 a. m. in textile manufacturing). The hours of the boys were unregulated, except that if they were employed as messengers they could not work between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m.¹⁰ Both boys and girls were prohibited from work in certain occupations dangerous to morals.¹¹ Otherwise they could work whenever and wherever they pleased.

About two-fifths, 39.8 per cent, of the children interviewed—38.2 per cent of the boys and 42.2 per cent of the girls—replied to the questionnaire sent out in 1918. Of the 182 boys who replied, however, 37 had enlisted in the service of the United States or Canada, and the information as to the occupations, hours, and wages of this group was not, of course, comparable with similar information for the group of boys who were engaged in civilian occupations. In the following tables, therefore, these enlisted boys are excluded from the percentages, which are based upon the 146 girls and the 145 boys engaged in civilian occupations who replied to the questionnaires.

¹⁰ Occupations furnishing public service, in case of extraordinary emergency, and delivery to a newspaper office of messages directly connected with the business of publishing a newspaper were exempted. Acts of 1909, ch. 514, sec. 48, as amended by Acts of 1916, ch. 222; Acts of 1913, ch. 831, secs. 9, 10.

¹¹ Acts of 1913, ch. 831, secs. 7, 9, 10.

The children who could be located in 1918 or who, when they received the questionnaire, replied to it, may have been, upon the whole, more prosperous than those who were not located or who failed to give the desired information. Those who were engaged in purely manual occupations involving no use of their school training may have been less likely to write out and post their answers to the questions asked them. Of the children who did reply a somewhat larger proportion, 18 per cent, had entered industry from higher grades and a somewhat smaller proportion, 29.6 per cent, from lower grades than normal for their ages, than among all the children interviewed, for whom the corresponding percentages were 16.5 per cent and 32.4 per cent. At any rate in considering the results of the 1918 inquiry it should be kept continually in mind that they are based upon a comparatively small proportion, and upon a group perhaps subject to a certain degree to a selective process, from among the children interviewed in the continuation school before they were 16 years of age. Nevertheless, these results are of importance as showing the industrial progress made during a period of nearly three years by a group of children all of whom had definitely left school for work before their sixteenth birthdays.

OCCUPATIONS.

A much larger proportion of the positions held in 1918 than of those held before the children became 16 years of age were for factory and mechanical, and a much smaller proportion for clerical and similar occupations. Table 163 shows that considerably over one-half, 54.3 per cent, of the children who answered the questionnaire were employed in 1918 in factory and mechanical occupations and not much over one-third, 36.1 per cent, in "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods." Yet of all the regular positions held by the interviewed children before the date of the interview, as already noted, less than one-third, only 30.3 per cent, were for factory and mechanical occupations and almost two-thirds, 64.2 per cent, were for clerical and similar occupations. This tendency to drift out of clerical and similar occupations and into factory and mechanical occupations was shown by both the boys and the girls but was most pronounced among the boys, comparatively few of whom had worked in factories before their sixteenth birthdays. Nearly one-half, 49.8 per cent, of the positions held by the girls before they were interviewed but 58.9 per cent of those held in 1918 were in factory and mechanical occupations. On the other hand, less than one-sixth, 15.1 per cent, of those held by boys before they were interviewed, but nearly half, 49.7 per cent, of those held in 1918 were in occupations of this kind.¹²

¹² See Table 118, pp. 236-237.

TABLE 163.—Occupation in 1918, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Occupation in 1918, ¹ and sex.	Children reporting 1918 information.								Nativity of fathers not reported; children native.
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.				
					Children native.		Children foreign born.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ²	
Both sexes.....	328	.....	72	.....	181	.....	66	.....	9
Civilian occupations.....	291	100.0	55	100.0	163	100.0	64	100.0	9
Personal and domestic occupations.....	6	2.1	1	1.8	2	1.2	3	4.7	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	5	1.7	.....	.....	2	1.2	3	4.7	.....
House and home work.....	1	.3	1	1.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	158	54.3	29	52.7	85	52.1	40	62.5	4
Factory operative.....	115	39.5	18	32.7	64	39.3	32	50.0	1
Shoe factory.....	23	7.9	3	5.5	13	8.0	7	10.9	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	19	6.5	2	3.6	9	5.5	7	10.9	1
Textile mill.....	8	2.7	3	5.5	3	1.8	2	3.1	.....
Candy factory.....	12	4.1	.....	.....	6	3.7	6	9.4	.....
Other factory.....	53	18.2	10	18.2	33	20.2	10	15.6	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	43	14.8	11	20.0	21	12.9	8	12.5	3
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	106	36.1	21	38.2	62	38.0	19	29.7	3
Office work.....	36	12.4	12	21.8	20	12.3	3	4.7	1
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	4	1.4	.....	.....	4	2.5	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	28	9.6	3	5.5	16	9.8	8	12.5	1
Selling.....	18	6.2	2	3.6	12	7.4	4	6.3	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	19	6.5	4	7.3	10	6.1	4	6.3	1
All other occupations.....	16	5.5	2	3.6	11	6.7	1	1.6	2
Not reported.....	6	2.1	2	3.6	3	1.8	1	1.6	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	17	.....	18	.....	2	.....	.....
Boys.....	182	.....	45	.....	101	.....	28	.....	8
Civilian occupations.....	145	100.0	28	100.0	83	100.0	26	100.0	8
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	2.1	.....	.....	1	1.2	2	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	3	2.1	.....	.....	1	1.2	2	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	72	49.7	13	.....	44	53.0	12	.....	3
Factory operative.....	30	20.7	2	.....	23	27.7	5	.....	.....
Shoe factory.....	5	3.4	.....	.....	5	6.0	.....	.....	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	1	.7	.....	.....	1	1.2	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	24	16.6	2	.....	17	20.5	5	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	42	29.0	11	.....	21	25.3	7	.....	3
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	54	37.2	13	.....	27	32.5	11	.....	3
Office work.....	16	11.0	7	.....	6	7.2	2	.....	1
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	10	6.9	1	.....	4	4.8	4	.....	1
Selling.....	12	8.3	1	.....	9	10.8	2	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	16	11.0	4	.....	8	9.6	3	.....	1
All other occupations.....	14	9.7	1	.....	10	12.0	1	.....	2
Not reported.....	2	1.4	1	.....	1	1.2	.....	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	17	.....	18	.....	2	.....	.....

¹ In 406 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.
² Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 163.—Occupation in 1918, by nativity of father and nativity and sex of child; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918—Concluded.

Occupation in 1918, and sex.	Children reporting 1918 information.							
	Total.		Both fathers and children native.		Fathers foreign born.			
					Children native.		Children foreign born.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Girls.....	146	.....	27	.....	80	.....	38	.....
Civilian occupations.....	146	100.0	27	100.0	80	100.0	38	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	2.1	1	.....	1	1.3	1	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	2	1.4	.....	.....	1	1.3	1	.....
House and home work.....	1	.7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	86	58.9	16	.....	41	51.3	28	.....
Factory operative.....	85	58.2	16	.....	41	51.3	27	.....
Shoe factory.....	18	12.3	3	.....	8	10.0	7	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	18	12.3	2	.....	8	10.0	7	.....
Textile mill.....	8	5.5	3	.....	3	3.8	2	.....
Candy factory.....	12	8.2	.....	.....	6	7.5	6	.....
Other factory.....	29	19.9	8	.....	16	20.0	5	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	1	.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	51	34.9	8	.....	35	43.8	8	.....
Office work.....	20	13.7	5	.....	14	17.5	1	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	4	2.7	.....	.....	4	5.0	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	18	12.3	2	.....	12	15.0	4	.....
Selling.....	6	4.1	1	.....	3	3.8	2	.....
Messenger work, errand, and delivery.....	3	2.1	.....	.....	2	2.5	1	.....
All other occupations.....	2	1.4	1	.....	1	1.3	.....	.....
Not reported.....	4	2.7	1	.....	2	2.5	1	.....

The larger proportion of children employed in factory and mechanical occupations in 1918 was due in great part to the employment of boys as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades, but there was also a decided increase in employment as factory operatives. Only 1.3 per cent of the regular positions held before the date of the interview, but 14.8 per cent of those held in 1918, involved work as apprentices and helpers in skilled trades. In 1918 nearly three-tenths, 29 per cent, of the boys who replied to the questionnaire were employed in occupations which could thus be classified. Nevertheless nearly four-tenths, 39.5 per cent, of the children were factory operatives, an occupation which accounted for less than three-tenths, 29 per cent, of the regular positions held before the children were interviewed in continuation school. The proportion of factory operative positions held by girls increased from about one-half, 49.8 per cent, of the positions held before they were interviewed to not far

from six-tenths, 58.2 per cent, of the 1918 positions; but the increase was even more striking among the boys, for although only about one-eighth, 12.8 per cent, of the earlier regular positions held by boys were for work as operatives in factories about two-fifths, 20.7 per cent, of those held in 1918 were for this kind of work. Both boys and girls showed, however, a general tendency away from the kinds of factories in which they had so frequently worked when under 16 years of age and toward "other factories." The only exception to this rule was in the increased employment of girls in textile mills and candy factories in 1918.

The comparatively small proportion of children employed in "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" in 1918 was due entirely to the fact that messenger, errand, and delivery work and cash and messenger work in department stores is left in most cases to younger children. Messenger, errand, and delivery work, which accounted for almost two-fifths, 38.8 per cent, of all the positions, and for over three-fifths, 61 per cent, of those held by boys before the children were interviewed, accounted for only about one-sixteenth, 6.5 per cent, of all the positions and less than one-ninth, 11 per cent, of those held by boys in 1918. Moreover, cash and messenger work in department stores, which accounted for about one-ninth, 11 per cent, of all the positions, and for not far from one-fifth, 18.6 per cent, of those held by girls before the children were interviewed, accounted for only 1.4 per cent of all the positions and only 2.7 per cent of those held by girls in 1918.

The other three occupations classified as "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods" furnished larger proportions of the positions held in 1918 than of those held before the children were 16. At the later date about one-eighth, 12.4 per cent, of the children were engaged in office work, which accounted for only about one-twentieth, 5.2 per cent, of the positions held before the children were interviewed. During their earlier work histories a larger proportion of the positions held by boys than of those held by girls, 6.7 per cent, as compared with 3.3 per cent, were in offices, but by 1918 the girls had overtaken and passed the boys in this kind of work, for at that time more than one-eighth, 13.7 per cent, of the girls, but only about one-ninth, 11 per cent, of the boys were engaged in office work. In "packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work," on the other hand, the proportion of positions held by boys showed a greater rate of increase, from 3.1 to 6.9 per cent, than did the proportion of positions held by girls, which increased from 8.2 to 12.3 per cent. Selling occupations accounted for only a slightly larger proportion of the positions held by the girls in 1918 than of

those held before they were interviewed, 4.1 per cent, as compared with 3.9 per cent; but they accounted for a considerably larger proportion, 8.3 per cent, as compared with 3.9 per cent, of the positions held by boys in 1918.

Only six, or 2.1 per cent, of the children who replied to the questionnaire were engaged in personal and domestic occupations in 1918. Three of them were boys and three girls, but all except one girl, who was engaged in "house and home work," were employed in "personal service (other than servants in the home)." Yet 4.6 per cent of all the regular positions held by the children interviewed before the date of the interview were in personal and domestic occupations.

The children of each nativity group showed the tendency to leave clerical and similar occupations for factory and mechanical occupations, but this tendency was most pronounced among the native children of native fathers. The proportion of positions in factory and mechanical occupations held by native children of native fathers in 1918 was more than twice as large, 52.7 per cent, as the proportion, 23.5 per cent, of such positions held before the children were interviewed. On the other hand, a very slightly larger proportion of the positions held by foreign-born children in 1918 than of those held before they were interviewed, 4.7 per cent, as compared with 4.5 per cent, were in personal and domestic occupations.

A decidedly larger proportion of the children of native fathers than of either the native or foreign-born children of foreign-born fathers were employed in 1918 as apprentices or helpers in skilled trades. One-fifth, 20 per cent, of the children of native fathers but only a little more than one-eighth, 12.9 per cent, of the native and exactly one-eighth, 12.5 per cent, of the foreign-born children of foreign-born fathers were at work in this occupation. Fifteen of the 28 children who were employed as apprentices or helpers in 1918 were engaged in some sort of war production.

Of the 37 boys who reported in 1918 that they had enlisted 17 had native fathers, and 18 of the 20 whose fathers were foreign born had themselves been born in the United States. In other words, of the boys who replied to the questionnaire 17 out of 45, or 38 per cent, of those who were native and whose fathers also were native, 18 out of 101, or 18 per cent, of those who were native but whose fathers were foreign born, and 2 out of 28, or 7.1 per cent, of those who were themselves foreign born are known to have enlisted either in the Army or the Navy. In many other cases, of course, such enlistment may have prevented the boys from receiving or replying to the questionnaire. These boys were all, it should be noted, less than 20 years of age in 1918.

TABLE 164.—Occupation in 1918, by nationality of father and sex of child; children of foreign-born fathers interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Occupation in 1918. ¹	Children of foreign-born fathers.					
	Both sexes.					
	Total.		Of English-speaking nationalities.		Of non-English-speaking nationalities.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All occupations.....	247	.....	92	.....	155	.....
Civilian occupations.....	227	100.0	77	100.0	150	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	5	2.2	1	1.3	4	2.7
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	5	2.2	1	1.3	4	2.7
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	125	55.1	37	48.1	88	58.7
Factory operative.....	96	42.3	25	32.5	71	47.3
Shoe factory.....	20	8.8	8	10.4	12	8.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	16	7.0	4	5.2	12	8.0
Textile mill.....	5	2.2	2	2.6	3	2.0
Candy factory.....	12	5.3	.....	.....	12	8.0
Other factory.....	35	15.4	8	10.4	27	18.0
Other factory—war production.....	8	3.5	3	3.9	5	3.3
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades...	29	12.8	12	15.6	17	11.3
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	81	35.7	32	41.6	49	32.7
Office work.....	23	10.1	10	13.0	13	8.7
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	4	1.8	3	3.9	1	.7
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	24	10.6	9	11.7	15	10.0
Selling.....	16	7.0	3	3.9	13	8.7
Messenger work, errand and delivery....	14	6.2	7	9.1	7	4.7
All other occupations.....	12	5.3	7	9.1	5	3.3
Not reported.....	4	1.8	.....	.....	4	2.7
Enlisted ²	20	.....	15	.....	5	.....

Occupation in 1918. ¹	Children of foreign-born fathers.					
	Boys.					
	Total.		Of English-speaking nationalities.		Of non-English-speaking nationalities.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ³	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All occupations.....	129	.....	57	.....	72	.....
Civilian occupations.....	109	100.0	42	100.0	67	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	2.8	1	.....	2	3.0
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	3	2.8	1	.....	2	3.0
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	56	51.4	23	.....	34	50.7
Factory operative.....	28	25.7	10	.....	18	26.9
Shoe factory.....	5	4.6	3	.....	2	3.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	1	.9	.....	.....	1	1.5
Other factory.....	20	18.3	6	.....	14	20.9
Other factory—war production.....	2	1.8	1	.....	1	1.5
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades...	28	25.7	12	.....	16	23.9
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	38	34.9	13	.....	25	37.3
Office work.....	8	7.3	4	.....	4	6.0
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	8	7.3	1	.....	7	10.4
Selling.....	11	10.1	2	.....	9	13.4
Messenger work, errand and delivery....	11	10.1	6	.....	5	7.5
All other occupations.....	11	10.1	6	.....	5	7.5
Not reported.....	1	.9	.....	.....	1	1.5
Enlisted ²	20	.....	15	.....	5	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.
² Not shown where base is less than 50.
³ Including two in Canadian forces.

TABLE 164—Occupation in 1918, by nationality of father and sex of child; children of foreign-born fathers interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918—Concluded.

Occupation in 1918. ¹	Children of foreign-born fathers.					
	Girls.					
	Total.		Of English-speaking nationalities.		Of non-English-speaking nationalities.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ²	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All occupations.....	118	.....	35	.....	83	.....
Civilian occupations.....	118	100.0	35	100.0	83	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	2	1.7	.....	.....	2	2.4
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	2	1.7	.....	.....	2	2.4
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	69	58.5	15	.....	54	65.1
Factory operative.....	68	57.6	15	.....	53	63.9
Shoe factory.....	15	12.7	5	.....	10	12.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	15	12.7	4	.....	11	13.3
Textile mill.....	5	4.2	2	.....	3	3.6
Candy factory.....	12	10.2	.....	.....	12	14.5
Other factory.....	15	12.7	2	.....	13	15.7
Other factory—war production.....	6	5.1	2	.....	4	4.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades...	1	.8	.....	.....	1	1.2
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	43	36.4	19	.....	24	28.9
Office work.....	15	12.7	6	.....	9	10.8
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	4	3.4	3	.....	1	1.2
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work.....	16	13.6	8	.....	8	9.6
Selling.....	5	4.2	1	.....	4	4.8
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	3	2.5	1	.....	2	2.4
All other occupations.....	1	.8	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	3	2.5	.....	.....	3	3.6

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.² Not shown where base is less than 50.

The increase in the proportion of positions in factory and mechanical occupations held by children of foreign-born fathers between their earlier work histories and 1918 was decidedly greater, according to Table 164, among the children whose fathers were of English-speaking than among those whose fathers were of non-English-speaking nationalities. Of the positions held by the children of fathers of non-English-speaking nationalities before they were interviewed, about two-fifths, 38.5 per cent,¹³ and of those held by the children of this group who replied to the questionnaire in 1918 nearly three-fifths, 58.7 per cent, belonged in this group of occupations. The positions in factory and mechanical occupations held by children of foreign-born fathers of English-speaking nationalities, on the other hand, increased from about one-fourth, 24.4 per cent, to not far from half, 48.1 per cent; but in 1918, as earlier, both these groups showed a greater tendency to follow these occupations than did the children of native fathers.

¹³ See Table 119, pp. 238-239.

TABLE 165.—Occupation in 1918, by retardation and sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Occupation in 1918. ¹	Children who, on leaving school, had completed for their ages—						
	A higher grade than normal.	A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.			
				Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.	
		Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution. ²	Number.	Per cent distribution. ²
Both sexes.....	59	170	.....	97	.....	87	.....
Civilian occupations.....	49	150	100.0	90	100.0	80	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	2	4	2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	4	2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations....	25	73	48.7	58	64.4	51	63.8
Factory operative.....	15	57	38.0	41	45.6	37	46.3
Shoe factory.....	4	9	6.0	9	10.0	8	10.0
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	4	10	6.7	5	5.6	4	5.0
Textile mill.....	1	6	4.0	1	1.1	1	1.3
Candy factory.....	1	5	3.3	6	6.7	4	5.0
Other factory.....	5	21	14.0	18	20.0	18	22.5
Other factory—war production.....	.....	6	4.0	2	2.2	2	2.5
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	10	16	10.7	17	18.8	14	17.6
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	17	66	44.0	22	24.4	20	25.0
Office work.....	6	29	19.3	1	1.1	1	1.3
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	.....	3	2.0	1	1.1	1	1.3
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	4	15	10.0	9	10.0	9	11.3
Selling.....	6	9	6.0	3	3.3	3	3.8
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	1	10	6.7	8	8.9	6	7.5
All other occupations.....	5	5	3.3	6	6.7	6	7.5
Not reported.....	.....	2	1.3	4	4.4	3	3.8
Enlisted ³	10	20	.....	7	.....	7	.....
Boys.....	39	89	.....	53	.....	48	.....
Civilian occupations.....	29	69	100.0	46	100.0	41	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	.....	3	4.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	.....	3	4.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations....	15	28	40.6	28	.....	25	.....
Factory operative.....	8	13	18.8	11	.....	11	.....
Shoe factory.....	1	2	2.9	2	.....	2	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	.....	1	1.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other factory.....	4	9	13.0	8	.....	8	.....
Other factory—war production.....	.....	1	1.4	1	.....	1	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades...	10	15	21.7	17	.....	14	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	11	33	47.8	10	.....	8	.....
Office work.....	3	13	18.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	5	7.2	3	.....	3	.....
Selling.....	5	7	10.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	1	8	11.6	7	.....	5	.....
All other occupations.....	3	5	7.2	6	.....	6	.....
Not reported.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....
Enlisted ³	10	20	.....	7	.....	7	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.³ Including two in Canadian forces.

TABLE 165.—*Occupation in 1918, by retardation and sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918—Concluded.*

Occupation in 1918.	Children who, on leaving school, had completed for their ages—						
	A higher grade than normal.	A normal grade.		A lower grade than normal.			
				Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Girls.....	20	81	.....	44	.....	39	.....
Civilian occupations.....	20	81	100.0	44	100.0	39	100.0
Personal and domestic occupations.....	2	1	1.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	1	1	1.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations....	10	45	55.6	30	.....	26	.....
Factory operative.....	10	44	54.3	30	.....	26	.....
Shoe factory.....	3	7	8.6	7	.....	6	.....
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	4	9	11.1	5	.....	4	.....
Textile mill.....	1	6	7.4	1	.....	1	.....
Candy factory.....	1	5	6.2	6	.....	4	.....
Other factory.....	1	12	14.8	10	.....	10	.....
Other factory—war production.....	.....	5	6.2	1	.....	1	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	.....	1	1.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	6	33	40.7	12	.....	12	.....
Office work.....	3	16	19.8	1	.....	1	.....
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	.....	3	3.7	1	.....	1	.....
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	2	10	12.3	6	.....	6	.....
Selling.....	1	2	2.5	3	.....	3	.....
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	.....	2	2.5	1	.....	1	.....
All other occupations.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	.....	2	2.5	2	.....	1	.....

The retarded children showed a greater tendency than did the normal children to gravitate toward factory and mechanical occupations. Table 165 shows that of the positions held in 1918 by children who, on leaving school, had completed lower grades than normal for their ages almost two-thirds, 64.4 per cent, and of those held by children who had completed normal grades less than half, 48.7 per cent, were in factory and mechanical occupations. Of the regular positions held by the retarded children before they were interviewed 37.4 per cent and of those held by the normal children before they were interviewed 29.9 per cent were for occupations in this group.¹⁴ In other words, the proportion of positions in factory and mechanical occupations held by retarded children increased 72.2 per cent and the proportion held by normal children increased only 62.9 per cent.

On the other hand, the normal children showed a greater tendency than did the retarded children to remain in clerical and similar posi-

¹⁴ See Table 122, pp. 248-249.

tions. Office work, which accounted for only 3 per cent of the positions held by the retarded children, and 6.8 of those held by the normal children before they were interviewed accounted for an even smaller proportion, 1.1 per cent, of the positions held by the retarded children but for nearly one-fifth, 19.3 per cent, of those held by the normal children in 1918.

HOURS OF LABOR.

As the children who replied to the questionnaire in 1918 were no longer subject to the legal restrictions which applied to them before they were 16 years of age, their hours of labor were generally much longer than in the positions which they held before they were interviewed. In only 15.3 per cent of the regular positions held by all

TABLE 166.—Hours weekly in 1918, by occupation and sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Occupation in 1918, ¹ and sex.	All children.	Children reporting specified number of hours weekly in 1918.					
		48 hours or under.					
		Total.		12 under 24.		36 under 42.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent. ²
Both sexes.....	328	150	48.5	1	0.3	10	3.0
Civilian occupations.....	291	150	54.6	1	.3	10	3.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	158	86	54.4	.....	.....	2	1.3
Factory operative.....	115	50	51.3	.....	.....	1	.9
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	43	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	105	61	58.1	.....	.....	6	5.7
All other occupations.....	16	9	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Not reported.....	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	182	77	42.3	1	.5	6	3.3
Civilian occupations.....	145	77	53.1	1	.7	6	4.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	72	44	61.1	.....	.....	1	1.4
Factory operative.....	30	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	42	26	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	54	25	46.3	.....	.....	4	7.4
All other occupations.....	14	7	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	146	82	56.2	.....	.....	4	2.7
Civilian occupations.....	146	82	56.2	.....	.....	4	2.7
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	86	42	48.8	.....	.....	1	1.2
Factory operative.....	85	41	48.2	.....	.....	1	1.2
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	51	36	70.6	.....	.....	2	3.9
All other occupations.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Not reported.....	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 positions was secured.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 166.—Hours weekly in 1918, by occupation and sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918—Concluded.

Occupation in 1918, and sex.	Children reporting specified number of hours weekly in 1918.									
	48 hours or under.				Over 48, under 54.		54 and over.		Not reported.	
	42 under 48.		48 even.							
	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.
Both sexes.....	56	17.1	92	28.0	70	21.3	56	17.1	43	13.1
Civilian occupations.....	56	19.2	92	31.6	70	24.1	56	19.2	6	2.1
Personal and domestic occupations.....			1				4		1	
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	32	20.3	52	32.9	46	29.1	25	15.8	1	.6
Factory operative.....	20	17.4	38	33.0	36	31.3	20	17.4		
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	12		14		10		5		1	
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	21	20.0	34	32.4	21	20.0	19	18.1	4	3.8
All other occupations.....	1		5				7			
Not reported.....	2				3		1			
Enlisted.....									37	
Boys.....	22	12.1	48	26.4	35	19.2	31	17.0	39	21.4
Civilian occupations.....	22	15.2	48	33.1	35	24.1	31	21.4	2	1.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....			1				2			
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	15	20.8	28	38.9	20	27.8	7	9.7	1	1.4
Factory operative.....	3		15		10		2			
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	12		13		10		5		1	
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	7	13.0	14	25.9	13	24.1	15	27.8	1	1.9
All other occupations.....			5				7			
Not reported.....					2					
Enlisted.....									37	
Girls.....	34	23.3	44	30.1	35	24.0	25	17.1	4	2.7
Civilian occupations.....	34	23.3	44	30.1	35	24.0	25	17.1	4	2.7
Personal and domestic occupations.....							2		1	
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	17	19.8	24	27.9	26	30.2	18	20.9		
Factory operative.....	17	20.0	23	27.1	26	30.6	18	21.2		
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....			1							
Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.....	14	27.5	20	39.2	8	15.7	4	7.8	3	5.9
All other occupations.....	1									
Not reported.....	2				1		1			

the children interviewed during the earlier period,¹⁵ but in 43.3 per cent of those held in civilian occupations in 1918, according to Table 166, the hours were over 48 a week. Moreover, whereas in only 6.4 per cent of the regular positions held before they were 16 had weekly hours been 54 or over, in 19.2 per cent of the civilian positions held in 1918 they worked these hours. It appears, therefore, that over two-fifths of the children who were engaged in civilian occupations in 1918 were working over 48 hours and nearly one-fifth were working over 54 hours a week.

The boys more frequently worked long hours than did the girls. Of the boys who were employed in civilian occupations 53.1 per cent, as compared with 56.2 per cent of the girls, worked 48 hours or less.

¹⁵ See Table 130, pp. 268-269.

The weekly hours of practically the same proportion of boys as of girls, 24.1 per cent, as compared with 24 per cent, were over 48 but under 54. Over one-fifth, 21.4 per cent, of the boys, as compared with little more than one-sixth, 17.1 per cent, of the girls worked 54 hours or more a week.

In factory and mechanical occupations, in which the hours were over 48 a week in only about one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, of the positions held before the children were 16, they were over 48 in not far from half, 44.9 per cent, of those held in 1918. More girls than boys, 51.1 per cent of the former as compared with only 37.5 per cent of the latter, worked over 48 hours in 1918 in these occupations. Furthermore, about two-tenths, 20.9 per cent, of the girls, but less than one-tenth, 9.7 per cent, of the boys worked 54 hours or over.

In clerical and similar occupations, on the other hand, the hours of the boys in 1918 were much more likely to be long than were those of the girls. Over half, 51.9 per cent, of the boys, but less than one-fourth, 23.5 per cent, of the girls engaged in these occupations worked more than 48 hours a week, and more than one-fourth, 27.8 per cent, of the boys as compared with only 7.8 per cent of the girls worked 54 hours or over. Yet in only 15 per cent of the positions held before they were interviewed had the children engaged in these occupations worked over 48 hours and in only 6.1 per cent had they worked 54 hours or more weekly.

It should be stated in connection with the hours in 1918 that the questionnaires were answered in December not long after the signing of the armistice, and that many manufacturing establishments had on hand orders for Army goods which they were still trying to fill as rapidly as possible. A few of the children stated that they were working on Army goods—but a larger number were evidently working part of the time on Army and part of the time on civilian work according to the needs of the establishment. Moreover, some of the children who were working on goods destined for war-supply purposes may not have known that fact. The general pressure of war production, however, may easily have led to more cases of long hours than would usually be found among a similar group of children over 16 but under 21 years of age.

WEEKLY WAGES.

The weekly wages received by the children in 1918 were naturally much higher than those received before they became 16 years of age. Not only were the children older, more experienced, and no longer subject to as rigid restrictions in hours and to compulsory continuation-school attendance, but they could be employed in many of the machine processes and in other occupations in which they were prohibited from engaging before they were 16. By the fall of 1918, moreover, the pressure of war work, combined with the increased cost of living, had both enlarged industrial opportunities and increased wages for all, but especially perhaps for young and adaptable workers who could readily be fitted into whatever kind of work was most pressing.

TABLE 167.—*Weekly wage in 1918, by sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.*

Weekly wage in 1918, ¹ and sex.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	328	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	291	100.0
Weekly wage:		
Under \$10.....	31	10.7
\$10 under \$20.....	166	57.0
\$10 under \$15.....	91	31.3
\$15 under \$20.....	75	25.8
\$20 under \$30.....	71	24.4
\$20 under \$25.....	48	16.5
\$25 under \$30.....	23	7.9
\$30 or over.....	9	3.1
Not all cash wage.....	3	1.0
Not reported.....	11	3.8
Enlisted.....	37	.....
Boys.....	182	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	145	100.0
Weekly wage:		
\$10 under \$20.....	66	45.5
\$10 under \$15.....	12	8.3
\$15 under \$20.....	54	37.2
\$20 under \$30.....	67	46.2
\$20 under \$25.....	44	30.3
\$25 under \$30.....	23	15.9
\$30 or over.....	9	6.2
Not all cash wage.....	1	.7
Not reported.....	2	1.4
Enlisted.....	37	.....
Girls.....	146	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	146	100.0
Weekly wage:		
Under \$10.....	31	21.2
\$10 under \$20.....	100	68.5
\$10 under \$15.....	79	54.1
\$15 under \$20.....	21	14.4
\$20 under \$30.....	4	2.7
\$20 under \$25.....	4	2.7
Not all cash wage.....	2	1.4
Not reported.....	9	6.2

¹ In 495 cases no information was secured in regard to the 1918 position.

Although nearly three-fourths, 73.5 per cent, of the children interviewed had received less than \$5 a week in their first regular positions,¹⁶ Table 167 shows that in 1918 only about one-tenth, 10.7 per cent, of the children who replied to the questionnaire received weekly wages of less than \$10, while nearly one-fourth, 24.4 per cent, received from \$20 to \$30; and 9 boys, 3.1 per cent of all the children, received \$30 or more a week. For the majority, however, 57 per cent, the wages in 1918 were from \$10 to \$20; for not far from one-third, 31.3 per cent, they were between \$10 and \$15; and for slightly over one-fourth, 25.8 per cent, they were between \$15 and \$20.

The boys, as in their earlier positions, received higher wages than did the girls. None of the girls was making more than \$25 a week when they answered the questionnaire, and only 2.7 per cent of them were making more than \$20 a week. More than half, 52.4 per cent, of the boys earned over \$20, and not far from one-fourth, 22.1 per cent, earned over \$25. Moreover, none of the boys, but over one-fifth, 21.2 per cent, of the girls received less than \$10, and only about one-twelfth, 8.3 per cent of the boys, as compared with more than one-half, 54.1 per cent, of the girls, received from \$10 to \$15 weekly.

Larger proportions of the children who, on leaving school, had completed normal grades than of those who had completed only lower grades than normal for their ages were found in 1918 both in the two highest and in the lowest wage groups. Table 168 shows that considerably more than one-eighth, 14 per cent, of the children from normal grades, but only a little over one-twentieth, 5.5 per cent, of those from lower grades than normal were earning in 1918 \$25 a week or more. But at the same time 14 per cent of the children from normal grades and only 5.6 per cent of those from lower grades than normal were earning less than \$10 a week. A slightly larger proportion of the normal than of the retarded children, 34.7 per cent as compared with 33.3 per cent, was also found in the group for which the weekly wages were \$10 but less than \$15, but this difference is almost negligible considering the small numbers involved. It may be, of course, that in some of the more poorly paid positions the opportunities to learn a trade or business were better than in some of the better paid positions; but the larger proportion of children from grades normal for their ages who were found in 1918 in poorly paid positions is more probably due to the fact that these children so frequently entered clerical occupations and that wages in these occupations had not been as much influenced as in manufacturing by war production. At any rate a decidedly greater proportion of children from normal grades than of retarded

¹⁶ See Table 95, p. 195.

children was found in 1918 in the most highly paid positions. Eight of the nine boys who were making \$30 or more a week in 1918 had completed normal grades for their ages when they left school for work.

TABLE 168.—Weekly wage in 1918, by retardation; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Weekly wage in 1918. ¹	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—					
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade.		Grade lower than normal.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distri-bution.
All children	59	.....	170	.....	97	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	49	100.0	150	100.0	90	100.0
Weekly wage:						
Under \$10.....	5	.....	21	14.0	5	5.6
\$10 under \$20.....	22	.....	86	57.3	56	62.2
\$10 under \$15.....	9	.....	52	34.7	30	33.3
\$15 under \$20.....	13	.....	34	22.7	26	28.9
\$20 under \$30.....	16	.....	31	20.7	24	26.7
\$20 under \$25.....	10	.....	18	12.0	20	22.2
\$25 under \$30.....	6	.....	13	8.7	4	4.4
\$30 or over .....	.....	.....	8	5.3	1	1.1
Not all cash wage.....	1	.....	1	.7	1	1.1
Not reported.....	5	.....	3	2.0	3	3.3
Enlisted (wages not comparable).....	10	.....	20	.....	7	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.
² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.

The children who had worked before they left school appear to have continued, in 1918, to hold the advantage over those who had not worked, which they were found to have had in their first regular positions after leaving school.¹⁷ Only 2.7 per cent of the children who had worked, according to Table 169, as compared with 15.7 per cent of those who had not worked, were receiving in 1918 less than \$10 a week. On the other hand, more than one-sixth, 17.7 per cent, of the children who had worked, as compared with less than one-twelfth, 6.8 per cent, of those who had not worked, were making \$25 or more in 1918. About one-half, 50.4 per cent, of the children who had worked before leaving school but over three-fifths, 61.2 per cent, of those who had not worked were found in 1918 in the group earning \$10 but less than \$20, whereas the group earning \$20 but less than \$30 contained not far from two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, of the children who had worked but less than one-sixth, 15.7 per cent, of those who had not worked before leaving school. The boys alone showed the same tendency; and six of the nine boys whose weekly wages in 1918 were \$30 or over had worked before

¹⁷ See Table 99, p. 200.

they left school. In this connection it should be recalled that the group of children who worked before leaving school contained a larger proportion of native children, especially of native children whose fathers also were native, than did the group of children who did not work before leaving school.¹⁸

TABLE 169.—*Weekly wage in 1918, by employment before leaving school and sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.*

Weekly wage in 1918, ^a and sex.	Children who, before leaving school—			
	Worked.		Did not work.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution. ^b	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Both sexes.....	132	.....	196	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	113	100.0	178	100.0
Weekly wage—				
Under \$10.....	3	2.7	28	15.7
\$10 under \$20.....	57	50.4	100	61.2
\$10 under \$15.....	22	19.5	60	38.8
\$15 under \$20.....	35	31.0	40	22.5
\$20 under \$30.....	43	38.1	28	15.7
\$20 under \$25.....	20	25.7	19	10.7
\$25 under \$30.....	14	12.4	9	5.1
\$30 or over.....	6	5.3	3	1.7
Not all cash wage.....	1	.9	2	1.1
Not reported.....	3	2.7	8	4.5
Enlisted.....	19	.....	18	.....
Boys.....	112	.....	70	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	93	100.0	52	100.0
Weekly wage—				
\$10 under \$20.....	41	44.1	25	48.1
\$10 under \$15.....	8	8.6	4	7.7
\$15 under \$20.....	33	35.5	21	40.4
\$20 under \$30.....	43	46.2	24	46.2
\$20 under \$25.....	20	31.2	15	28.8
\$25 under \$30.....	14	15.1	9	17.3
\$30 or over.....	6	6.5	3	5.8
Not all cash wage.....	1	1.1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	2.2	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	19	.....	18	.....
Girls.....	20	.....	126	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	20	100.0	126	100.0
Weekly wage—				
Under \$10.....	3	.....	28	22.2
\$10 under \$20.....	16	.....	84	66.7
\$10 under \$15.....	14	.....	65	51.6
\$15 under \$20.....	2	.....	19	15.1
\$20 under \$30.....	.....	.....	4	3.2
\$20 under \$25.....	.....	.....	4	3.2
Not all cash wage.....	.....	.....	2	1.6
Not reported.....	1	.....	8	6.3

^a In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.

^b Not shown where base is less than 50.

¹⁸ See Table 65, p. 151.

The children whose wages were high in 1918 were somewhat more likely to work long hours—that is, over 48 hours a week—than were those whose wages were comparatively low. Of the children whose weekly wages were \$10 but less than \$15, as appears in Table 170, not far from three-fifths, 58.2 per cent, worked 48 hours or less a week; but of those whose wages were \$15 but less than \$20, about one-half, 50.7 per cent, and of those whose wages were \$20 but less than \$30, only 46.5 per cent worked these hours. On the other hand, not far from one-third, 31 per cent, of the children who earned \$20 but less than \$30 a week, as compared with 14.7 per cent of those who earned from \$15 to \$20 and with 15.4 per cent of those who earned from \$10 to \$15 were working 54 hours or more a week. More than one-half, 53.5 per cent, of the children who earned \$20 but less than \$30, as compared with somewhat less than one-half, 48 per cent, of those who earned from \$15 to \$20 and with less than two-fifths, 39.6 per cent, of those who earned from \$10 to \$15 were working 48 hours or more. Of the boys whose weekly wages were \$20 but less than \$30 more than one-half, 52.3 per cent, and four of the nine boys whose weekly wages were \$30 or more were working over 48 hours a week.

Wages in 1918 were higher, according to Table 171, in factory and mechanical than in clerical and similar occupations. Nearly one-half, 48.6 per cent, of the boys employed in factory and mechanical occupations, as compared with four-ninths, 44.4 per cent, of those employed in clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods received \$20 but less than \$30 weekly. The wages of the girls, as already noted, were much lower than those of the boys, but 4.7 per cent of the girls who were engaged in factory occupations, as compared with only 2.7 per cent of those who were engaged in all occupations received \$20 but less than \$25, none of them receiving more than \$25. Moreover, about one-fifth, 20.9 per cent, of the girls employed in factories, as compared with less than one-sixth, 14.4 per cent, of all the girls received \$15 but less than \$20 a week.

TABLE 170.—Hours weekly in 1918, by weekly wage and sex;

Weekly wage in 1918, ¹ and sex	All chil- dren.	Children reporting specified number of hours weekly in 1918.					
		48 hours or under.					
		Total.		12 under 24.		36 under 42.	
		Num- ber.	Per cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per cent. ²
Both sexes.....	328	159	48.5	1	0.3	10	3.0
Employed in civilian occupations.....	291	159	54.6	1	.3	10	3.4
Weekly wage:							
Under \$10.....	31	24	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$10 under \$20.....	166	91	54.8	1	.6	5	3.0
\$10 under \$15.....	91	53	58.2	.....	.....	3	2.3
\$15 under \$20.....	75	38	50.7	1	1.3	2	2.7
\$20 under \$30.....	71	33	46.5	.....	.....	2	2.8
\$20 under \$25.....	48	21	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$25 under \$30.....	23	12	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$30 or over.....	9	5	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Not all cash wage.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	11	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	182	77	42.3	1	.5	6	3.3
Employed in civilian occupations.....	145	77	53.1	1	.7	6	4.1
Weekly wage:							
\$10 under \$20.....	66	39	59.1	1	1.5	2	3.0
\$10 under \$15.....	12	9	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$15 under \$20.....	54	30	55.6	1	1.9	1	1.9
\$20 under \$30.....	67	32	47.8	.....	.....	2	3.0
\$20 under \$25.....	44	20	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$25 under \$30.....	23	12	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$30 or over.....	9	5	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Not all cash wage.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	146	82	56.2	.....	.....	4	2.7
Employed in civilian occupations.....	146	82	56.2	.....	.....	4	2.7
Weekly wage:							
Under \$10.....	31	24	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$10 under \$20.....	100	52	52.0	.....	.....	3	3.0
\$10 under \$15.....	79	44	55.7	.....	.....	2	2.5
\$15 under \$20.....	21	8	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$20 under \$30.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$20 under \$25.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not all cash wage.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.

children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Children reporting specified number of hours weekly in 1918.										Weekly wage in 1918, ¹ and sex.
48 hours or under.				Over 48 under 54.		54 or over.		Not reported.		
42 under 48.		48 even.								
Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	Num- ber.	Per- cent. ²	
56	17.1	92	28.0	70	21.3	56	17.1	43	13.1	Both sexes.
56	19.2	92	31.6	70	24.1	56	19.2	6	2.1	Employed in civilian occupations.
6	.....	17	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	Weekly wage:
37	22.3	48	28.9	47	28.3	25	15.1	3	1.8	Under \$10.
22	24.2	28	30.8	22	24.2	14	15.4	2	2.2	\$10 under \$20.
15	20.0	20	26.7	25	33.3	11	14.7	1	1.3	\$10 under \$15.
8	11.3	23	32.4	16	22.5	22	31.0	.....	.....	\$15 under \$20.
4	.....	16	.....	11	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	\$20 under \$30.
4	.....	7	.....	5	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	\$20 under \$25.
1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	\$25 under \$30.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	\$30 or over.
4	.....	2	.....	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	Not all cash wage.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	.....	Not reported.
22	12.1	48	26.4	35	19.2	31	17.0	39	21.4	Enlisted.
22	15.2	48	33.1	35	24.1	31	21.4	2	1.4	Boys.
12	18.2	24	36.4	18	27.3	8	12.1	1	1.5	Employed in civilian occupations.
2	.....	6	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	Weekly wage:
10	18.5	18	33.3	16	29.6	7	13.0	1	1.9	\$10 under \$20.
8	11.9	22	32.8	16	23.9	19	28.4	.....	.....	\$10 under \$15.
4	.....	15	.....	11	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	\$15 under \$20.
4	.....	7	.....	5	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	\$20 under \$30.
1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	\$20 under \$25.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	\$25 under \$30.
1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$30 or over.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	.....	Not all cash wage.
34	23.3	44	30.1	35	24.0	25	17.1	4	2.7	Not reported.
34	23.3	44	30.1	35	24.0	25	17.1	4	2.7	Enlisted.
6	.....	17	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	Girls.
25	25.0	24	24.0	29	29.0	17	17.0	2	2.0	Employed in civilian occupations.
20	25.3	22	27.8	20	25.3	13	16.5	2	2.5	Weekly wage:
5	.....	2	.....	9	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	Under \$10.
.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	\$10 under \$20.
.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	\$10 under \$15.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	\$15 under \$20.
3	.....	2	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	\$20 under \$30.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	\$20 under \$25.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not all cash wage.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 171.—Weekly wage in 1918, by occupation and sex;

Occupation in 1918, ¹ and sex.	All children.	Children reporting specified weekly wage in 1918.							
		Under \$10.		\$10 under \$20.					
				Total.		\$10 under \$15.		\$15 under \$20.	
		Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²
Both sexes.....	328	31	9.5	166	50.6	91	27.7	75	22.9
Civilian occupations.....	291	31	10.7	166	57.0	91	31.3	75	25.8
Personal and domestic occupations.....	6	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	158	15	9.5	92	58.2	46	29.1	46	29.1
Factory operative.....	115	15	13.0	76	66.1	44	38.3	32	27.8
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	43	.....	.....	16	.....	2	.....	14	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	106	15	14.3	60	57.1	37	35.2	23	21.9
All other occupations.....	16	1	.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....
Not reported.....	6	.....	.....	5	.....	2	.....	3	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	182	.....	.....	66	36.3	12	6.6	54	29.7
Civilian occupations.....	145	.....	.....	66	45.5	12	8.3	54	37.2
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	72	.....	.....	32	44.4	4	5.6	28	38.9
Factory operative.....	30	.....	.....	17	.....	3	.....	14	.....
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	42	.....	.....	15	.....	1	.....	14	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	54	.....	.....	26	48.1	5	9.3	21	38.9
All other occupations.....	14	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....	3	.....
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Enlisted.....	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Girls.....	146	31	21.2	100	68.5	79	54.1	21	14.4
Civilian occupations.....	146	31	21.2	100	68.5	79	54.1	21	14.4
Personal and domestic occupations.....	3	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	86	15	17.4	60	69.8	42	48.8	18	20.9
Factory operative.....	85	15	17.6	59	69.4	41	48.2	18	21.2
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	51	15	29.4	34	66.7	32	62.7	2	3.9
All other occupations.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	4	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 positions was secured.

INCREASE IN WEEKLY WAGES.

All the children who reported their weekly wages in the positions which they held on the date of the interview, or if unemployed on that date in their last positions, and who also reported their weekly wages in 1918, were earning more at the time they answered the questionnaire than when interviewed. Even considering the small wages which they were receiving at the earlier date, when they were all under 16 years of age, the amount of these increases, as shown in Table 172, is somewhat surprising. In 10 cases, or 3.4 per cent of the whole number, the increase amounted to \$24 or more a week and more than one-fourth, 27.1 per cent, of all the children received increases of from \$14 to \$24, while over one-fifth, 21 per cent, received

children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Children reporting specified weekly wage in 1918.										Occupation in 1918, ¹ and sex.
\$20 under \$30.						\$30 or over.		Not all cash wage and not reported.		
Total		\$20 under \$25.		\$25 under \$30.						
Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	Num-ber.	Per-cent. ²	
71	21.6	48	14.6	23	7.0	9	2.7	51	15.5	Both sexes.
71	24.4	48	16.5	28	7.9	9	8.1	14	4.8	Civilian occupations.
1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	Personal and domestic occupations.
39	24.7	28	17.7	11	7.0	3	1.9	9	5.7	Factory and mechanical occupa- tions.
15	13.0	14	12.2	1	.9	1	.9	8	7.0	Factory operative.
24	.....	14	.....	10	.....	2	.....	1	.....	Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.
24	22.9	16	15.2	8	7.6	3	2.9	3	2.9	Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.
7	.....	3	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	All other occupations.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	Not reported.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	.....	Enlisted.
67	36.8	44	24.2	23	12.6	9	4.9	40	22.0	Boys.
67	46.2	44	30.3	23	15.9	9	6.2	3	2.1	Civilian occupations.
1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Personal and domestic occupations.
35	48.6	24	33.3	11	15.3	3	4.2	2	2.8	Factory and mechanical occupa- tions.
11	.....	10	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	Factory operative.
24	.....	14	.....	10	.....	2	.....	1	.....	Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.
24	44.4	16	29.6	8	14.8	3	5.6	1	1.9	Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.
7	.....	3	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	All other occupations.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37	.....	Enlisted.
4	2.7	4	2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	7.5	Girls.
4	2.7	4	2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	7.5	Civilian occupations.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	Personal and domestic occupations.
4	4.7	4	4.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	8.1	Factory and mechanical occupa- tions.
4	4.7	4	4.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	8.2	Factory operative.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3.9	Clerical occupations, wrapping, sell- ing, and delivery of goods.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	All other occupations.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	Not reported.

² Not shown where base is less than 50.

increases of from \$10 to \$14. More than one-half, 51.5 per cent, of the children, therefore, were receiving in 1918 at least \$10 more in weekly wages—and many of them much more than this—than they were receiving less than three years before when interviewed in the continuation school, or, if unemployed at that time, in their last positions before the interview.

The wage increases of the boys were greater than those of the girls. None of the girls, but nearly three-tenths, 29.6 per cent, of the boys, were receiving in 1918 increases of \$18 a week or more over the wages earned in their last regular positions at the time they were interviewed. Less than one-fifth, 19.2 per cent, of the girls,

as compared with considerably over four-fifths, 84.2 per cent, of the boys, were receiving in 1918 wage increases of \$10 or more.

In the matter of wage increases, as well as in that of weekly wages in 1918, the children who had completed normal grades for their ages were found more frequently than the retarded children in the lower as well as in the higher groups. Table 173 shows that of the children from normal grades 6 per cent, but of those from lower grades than normal only 1.1 per cent received in 1918 less than \$4 more a week than they did when they were interviewed. Moreover, the proportion of normal children whose increases in weekly wages ranged from \$4 to \$14 was slightly higher, 59.3 per cent, than the proportion, 56.7 per cent, of retarded children, while the proportion of retarded children whose increases ranged from \$14 to \$24 was considerably higher, 30 per cent as compared with 23.3 per cent, than the proportion of normal children. Nevertheless, the percentages of children from normal grades were higher than those of retarded children in each wage increase class above \$20. Over one-tenth, 10.6 per cent, of the children who on leaving school had completed normal grades for their ages, and little more than one-twentieth, 5.5 per cent, of those who had completed lower grades than normal for their ages, received as much as \$20 more in weekly wages than they were receiving at the time of the interview or in the last positions they held before the interview. Of the 10 children whose wages had increased \$24 or more, 8 were from normal grades and 2 were retarded.

TABLE 172.—*Change in weekly wage from last scheduled position to position held in 1918, by sex; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.*

Change in weekly wage in 1918. ¹	All children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.	Num-ber.	Per cent distribution.
All children.....	328	.....	182	.....	146	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	291	100.0	145	100.0	146	100.0
Increase in weekly wage ²	266	91.4	137	94.5	129	88.4
Under \$4.....	11	3.8	.....	.....	11	7.5
\$4 under \$14.....	166	57.0	56	38.6	110	75.3
\$4 under \$6.....	43	14.8	.....	.....	43	29.5
\$6 under \$8.....	41	14.1	7	4.8	34	23.3
\$8 under \$10.....	21	7.2	8	5.5	13	8.9
\$10 under \$12.....	34	11.7	18	12.4	16	11.0
\$12 under \$14.....	27	9.3	23	15.9	4	2.7
\$14 under \$24.....	79	27.1	71	49.0	8	5.5
\$14 under \$16.....	30	10.3	24	16.6	6	4.1
\$16 under \$18.....	16	5.5	14	9.7	2	1.4
\$18 under \$20.....	17	5.8	17	11.7	.....	.....
\$20 under \$22.....	9	3.1	9	6.2	.....	.....
\$22 under \$24.....	7	2.4	7	4.8	.....	.....
\$24 or over.....	10	3.4	10	6.9	.....	.....
Not reported.....	25	8.6	8	5.5	17	11.6
Enlisted (wages not comparable).....	37	.....	37	.....	.....	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.

² Increase over wage in last regular position before date of interview.

As in the case of actual weekly wages in 1918, the differences in wage increases are probably due primarily, if not entirely, to differences in the choice of occupations between the children from normal grades and the retarded children. The latter group, which contained a larger proportion of foreign-born children and children of foreign extraction than the former, tended more frequently to work in factory and mechanical occupations where the positions open to young people carried higher wages, perhaps owing in part to war production, than did the positions open to them in clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.

TABLE 173.—Change in weekly wage from last scheduled position to position held in 1918, by retardation; children interviewed who replied to questionnaire in 1918.

Change in weekly wage in 1918. ¹	Children who, on leaving school, had completed, for their ages—									
	A higher grade than normal.		A normal grade		A lower grade than normal.					
					Total.		One or two grades lower than normal.		Three or more grades lower than normal.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ²	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion. ³
All children ¹	50	.....	170	.....	97	.....	87	.....	10	.....
Employed in civilian occupations.....	49	100.0	150	100.0	90	100.0	80	100.0	10	100.0
Increase in weekly wage: ³										
Under \$4.....	1	.....	9	6.0	1	1.1	.....	.....	1	.....
\$4 under \$14.....	24	.....	89	59.3	51	56.7	46	57.5	5	.....
\$4 under \$6.....	5	.....	25	16.7	13	14.4	12	15.0	1	.....
\$6 under \$8.....	5	.....	24	16.0	12	13.3	10	12.5	2	.....
\$8 under \$10.....	2	.....	12	8.0	7	7.8	6	7.5	1	.....
\$10 under \$12.....	8	.....	12	8.0	13	14.4	12	15.0	1	.....
\$12 under \$14.....	4	.....	16	10.7	6	6.7	6	7.5	.....	.....
\$14 under \$24.....	17	.....	35	23.3	27	30.0	23	28.8	4	.....
\$14 under \$16.....	8	.....	12	8.0	10	11.1	9	11.3	1	.....
\$16 under \$18.....	2	.....	8	5.3	6	6.7	5	6.3	1	.....
\$18 under \$20.....	2	.....	7	4.7	8	8.9	7	8.8	1	.....
\$20 under \$22.....	2	.....	5	3.3	2	2.2	1	1.3	1	.....
\$22 under \$24.....	3	.....	3	2.0	1	1.1	1	1.3	.....	.....
\$24 or over.....	.....	.....	8	5.3	2	2.2	2	2.5	.....	.....
Not reported.....	7	.....	9	6.0	9	10.0	9	11.3	.....	.....
Enlisted.....	10	.....	20	.....	7	.....	7	.....	.....	.....

¹ In 495 cases no information in regard to 1918 position was secured.
² Rate not shown where base is less than 50.
³ Increase over wage in last regular position before date of interview.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I. TABLES.

TABLE I.—Occupation, by sex; comparison of positions held by children interviewed, with those held by children in Boston continuation school and by children issued certificates in four cities.

Occupation.	Positions held by—											
	Children issued certificates.						Children in Boston continuation school.			Children interviewed (Boston).		
	All cities.			Boston.								
	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.	Both sexes.	Boys.	Girls.
All occupations.	8, 146	4, 602	3, 544	6, 416	3, 568	2, 848	7, 381	4, 134	3, 247	1, 943	1, 093	850
Personal and domestic occupations	242	103	139	195	79	116	202	86	116	89	38	51
Personal service (other than servants in the home)	162	96	66	124	72	52	121	79	42	46	35	11
House and home work	80	7	73	71	7	64	81	7	74	43	3	40
Factory and mechanical occupations	2, 685	951	1, 734	2, 154	732	1, 422	2, 296	700	1, 596	588	165	423
Factory operative	2, 477	765	1, 712	1, 990	587	1, 403	2, 143	564	1, 579	563	140	423
Shoe factory	722	244	478	670	224	446	744	227	517	199	69	130
Clothing factory and other needle trades	476	27	449	439	25	414	533	23	510	185	8	177
Textile mill	246	72	174	227	69	158	239	72	167	53	22	31
Candy factory	69	18	51	50	12	38	49	9	40	19	.....	19
Other factory	964	404	560	604	257	347	578	233	345	107	41	66
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades	208	186	22	164	145	19	153	136	17	25	25	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods	5, 170	3, 506	1, 664	4, 032	2, 727	1, 305	4, 854	3, 322	1, 532	1, 248	872	376
Office work	596	433	163	476	342	134	440	321	119	101	73	28
Cash and messenger work — department store	1, 011	397	614	897	343	554	1, 053	294	759	213	55	158
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work	551	110	441	310	73	237	323	63	260	104	34	70
Selling	338	187	151	254	136	118	213	105	108	76	43	33
Messenger work, errand and delivery	2, 674	2, 379	295	2, 095	1, 833	262	2, 825	2, 539	286	754	667	87
All other occupations	38	35	3	29	26	3	26	24	2	17	17	.....
Not reported	11	7	4	6	4	2	3	2	1	1	1	.....

TABLE II.—Occupation first entered, country of birth, and sex; children issued certificates in four cities.

Occupation first entered, and sex.	Children.							
	Total.	Country of birth.						
		United States.	Foreign countries.					
			Total.	Rus-sia.	Italy.	Eng-land and Wales.	British North America.	Other.
All children.....	15,692	4,646	1,044	349	323	111	96	165
Personal and domestic occupations.....	159	114	45	5	29	1	5	5
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	107	71	36	2	28	1	1	4
House and home work.....	52	43	9	3	1	.....	4	1
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	1,585	1,208	377	117	149	31	27	53
Factory operative.....	1,463	1,117	346	104	140	25	27	50
Shoe factory.....	422	348	74	23	28	8	8	7
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	262	172	110	32	57	4	3	14
Textile mill.....	135	94	41	14	13	4	3	7
Candy factory.....	31	24	7	.....	3	.....	1	3
Other factory.....	593	479	114	35	39	9	12	15
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	122	91	31	13	9	6	.....	3
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	3,922	3,304	616	227	140	79	64	106
Office work.....	404	354	50	23	5	7	7	8
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	751	668	82	24	8	20	13	17
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	347	268	79	41	15	7	2	14
Selling.....	252	174	78	30	36	3	2	7
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	2,168	1,840	327	109	76	42	40	60
All other occupations.....	23	17	6	.....	5	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boys.....	13,419	2,860	557	170	174	74	52	87
Personal and domestic occupations.....	67	39	28	1	21	1	1	4
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	64	36	28	1	21	1	1	4
House and home work.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	551	433	118	23	54	12	5	14
Factory operative.....	440	352	88	21	45	6	5	11
Shoe factory.....	131	107	24	5	15	1	1	2
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	11	7	4	1	3	.....	.....	.....
Textile mill.....	49	38	11	.....	8	1	.....	2
Candy factory.....	9	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Other factory.....	240	192	48	15	19	4	4	6
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	111	81	30	12	9	6	.....	3
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	2,779	2,371	408	136	95	61	46	68
Office work.....	287	256	31	13	2	5	5	6
Cash and messenger work—department store.....	271	243	27	7	1	11	2	6
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	60	48	12	7	3	1	.....	1
Selling.....	135	100	35	8	23	3	.....	1
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	2,026	1,724	301	101	66	41	39	54
All other occupations.....	20	15	5	.....	4	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Includes two boys, one of whom was engaged in cash and messenger work—department store—and one in messenger work, etc., whose nativity was not reported.

TABLE II.—*Occupation first entered, country of birth, and sex; children issued certificates in four cities—Concluded.*

Occupation first entered, and sex.	Children.							
	Total.	Country of birth.						
		United States.	Foreign countries.					
			Total.	Rus-sia.	Italy.	Eng-land and Wales.	British North America.	Other.
Girls.....	2,273	1,786	487	179	149	37	44	78
Personal and domestic occupations.....	92	75	17	4	8	.....	4	1
Personal service (other than servants in the home).....	43	35	8	1	7	.....	.....	.....
House and home work.....	49	40	9	3	1	.....	4	1
Factory and mechanical occupations.....	1,034	775	259	84	95	19	22	39
Factory operative.....	1,023	765	258	83	95	19	22	39
Shoe factory.....	291	241	50	18	13	7	7	5
Clothing factory and other needle trades.....	271	165	106	31	54	4	3	14
Textile mill.....	86	56	30	14	5	3	3	5
Candy factory.....	22	16	6	.....	3	.....	1	2
Other factory.....	353	287	66	20	20	5	8	13
Apprentice and helper—skilled trades.....	11	10	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods.....	1,143	933	210	91	45	18	18	38
Office work.....	117	98	19	10	3	2	2	2
Cash and messenger work—depart-ment store.....	490	425	55	17	7	9	11	11
Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping-room work.....	287	220	67	34	12	6	2	13
Selling.....	117	74	43	22	13	.....	2	6
Messenger work, errand and delivery.....	142	116	26	8	10	1	1	6
All other occupations.....	3	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE III.—*Duration of first regular position, by termination, and by sex of child; children interviewed.*

Time employed in first regular position.	First regular position terminated.						First regular position not terminated.					
	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.		Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.	Num-ber.	Per cent dis-tribu-tion.
Total.....	552	100.0	315	100.0	237	100.0	271	100.0	162	100.0	109	100.0
Under 3 months.....	295	53.4	153	48.6	142	59.9	6	2.2	3	1.9	3	2.8
Under 1 week.....	42	7.6	12	3.8	30	12.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 week under 1 month..	129	23.4	64	20.3	65	27.4	1	.4	.....	.....	1	.9
1 month under 2 months.	69	12.5	40	12.7	29	12.2	1	.4	.....	.....	1	.9
2 months under 3 months.....	55	10.0	37	11.7	18	7.6	4	1.5	3	1.9	1	.9
3 months under 6 months..	139	25.2	82	26.0	57	24.0	6	2.2	2	1.2	4	3.7
6 months under 12 months..	91	16.5	64	20.3	27	11.4	80	29.5	53	32.7	27	24.8
6 months under 9 months.....	54	9.8	36	11.4	18	7.6	35	12.9	24	14.8	11	10.1
9 months under 12 months.....	37	6.7	28	8.9	9	3.8	45	16.6	29	17.9	16	14.7
12 months under 24 months.	27	4.9	16	5.1	11	4.7	179	66.1	104	64.2	75	68.8
12 months under 18 months.....	22	4.0	12	3.8	10	4.2	117	43.2	70	43.2	47	43.1
18 months under 24 months.....	5	.9	4	1.3	1	.4	62	22.9	34	21.0	28	25.7

APPENDIX II. METHODS OF CLASSIFICATION USED IN TABULATION.

DIAGRAM SHOWING SCALE USED IN DETERMINING RETARDATION.

Grade completed.	Age at leaving school.					
	11 years.	12 years.	13 years.	14 years.	15 years.	16 years.
Third.	Retarded 1 year.	Retarded 1 or 2 years.	Retarded 3 years or more.	Retarded 3 years or more.	Retarded 3 years or more.	Retarded 3 years or more.
Fourth.	Normal.		Retarded 1 or 2 years.				Retarded 3 years or more.
Fifth.		Normal.		Retarded 1 or 2 years.		
Sixth.	In advance of normal grade.		Normal.		Retarded 1 or 2 years.	Retarded 1 or 2 years.
Seventh.		Normal.		Retarded 1 or 2 years.		
Eighth.			Normal.		Retarded 1 or 2 years.	
High first.		In advance of normal grade.		In advance of normal grade.		In advance of normal grade.	Normal.	Normal.
High second.			In advance of normal grade.		In advance of normal grade.	
High third and fourth.	In advance of normal grade.	In advance of normal grade.		In advance of normal grade.		In advance of normal grade.	In advance of normal grade.

OCCUPATION CLASSIFICATION USED IN TABULATION.**Personal and domestic occupations:**

Personal service, other than servants in the home. (Includes bootblacks, hotel servants, laundry workers, barbers' helpers, caddies, janitors, bathhouse workers, etc.).

House and home work. (Includes domestic servants in private families, nurse girls, etc.).

Factory and mechanical occupations:**Factory operative—**

Shoe factory. (Includes assemblers, sole catchers, cementers, dinkers, pattern makers, pressers, stitchers, taggers, etc.).

Clothing factory and other needle trades. (Includes dressmakers' and milliners' apprentices and helpers, and also stitchers, finishers, buttonholers, machine operators, and folders in clothing and other needle trades.

Textile mill. (Includes doffers, loopers, tubemakers, spinners, color setters, back boys, sweepers, etc.).

Candy factory.

Other factory.

Apprentice and helper—skilled trades. (Includes apprentices and helpers to carpenters, plumbers, engravers, gasfitters, upholsterers, coopers, cobblers, jewelers, machinists, tinsmiths, printers, paperhangers, electricians, roofers, typesetters, etc.; excludes children in any industry who seemed to be doing odd jobs rather than learning a trade.)

Clerical occupations, wrapping, selling, and delivery of goods:

Office work. (Includes bookkeepers, filers, cashiers—not in department stores—and clerical workers.)

Cash and messenger work—department store. (Includes examiners, checkers, bundle wrappers, messengers, stock boys or girls, etc.).

Packing, wrapping, labeling, and shipping room work. (Excludes bundle wrappers in department stores, classified above.)

Selling. (Includes newsboys, as well as sales boys and girls in all stores.)

Messenger work, errands, and delivery. (Includes all errands not in department stores, delivery and order boys, messengers, water boys, etc.)

All other occupations.

APPENDIX III. SPECIAL STUDIES.

SPECIAL HOME PERMITS.

The Massachusetts law requires every child between 14 and 16 years of age to attend school unless he has received an employment certificate and is regularly employed for at least 6 hours a day or has the "written permission of the superintendent of schools * * * to engage in profitable employment at home."¹ This "written permission" is the basis for the special home permit, in form much like an employment or educational certificate, which has been prepared by the State board of labor and industries.

At the time of this study in order to obtain such a permit the child had to come to the certificate-issuing office and bring with him a school-record card and evidence of age. The school-record card had to show that the child possessed such ability to read, write, and spell in English as was required for completion of the fourth grade,² but not necessarily that he had attended school for 130 days after becoming 13 years of age. The evidence of age required was usually the same as for an employment certificate. If these documents were satisfactory, the issuing officer partly filled out the special home permit form, and the child signed it. It was then given to the attendance officer of the district in which the child lived. The attendance officer made an investigation at the child's home and, if he was satisfied that the permit should be granted, entered on the permit the reason for its issue, and signed the certification that, having made an investigation, he had found the facts claimed as the reason for issue true to the best of his knowledge and belief. The permit was then returned to the office of the superintendent of schools for his stamped signature, after which the attendance officer took it to the child's home.

While the State board of labor and industries had no power to fix a minimum standard for "profitable employment at home," it had ruled that such employment would include any work, such as farm or house work, for which the parents would ordinarily be obliged to pay if it were not done by the children, regardless of whether or not the children received any remuneration.

In Boston, at the time of this study, it was not necessary for a parent to prove that there was any actual need of a child's services before the child could secure a special home permit. It was thought

¹ There is a further exception of a child whose physical or mental condition makes attendance unexpedient or impracticable, or who is being otherwise instructed in a manner approved in advance by the superintendent of schools or the school committee. (Revised Laws, 1902, ch. 44, sec. 1, as amended by acts of 1913, ch. 719, sec. 1, and by acts of 1915, ch. 81, sec. 1.)

² This requirement was changed by acts of 1921, ch. 463, to completion of the sixth grade.

that, if the child was over 14 and possessed the requisite educational requirements, there was no authority for keeping him or her in school. Most of these permits are issued to girls, and parents often consider it best for a girl who is discontented with school to stay at home and learn cooking and dressmaking from her mother.

Sometimes, however, children secured special home permits merely to enable them to stay out of school until they were able to find work, or to allow them to look for work while they were unemployed.

In connection with obtaining schedules for employed children in Boston it was thought desirable to visit a number of children to whom special home permits had been issued, so as to include in the study all types of children released from school for work of any kind, whether at home or in industry.

One hundred and eighteen children were interviewed, all of them between 14 and 16 years of age, who had secured home permits during approximately the same period as that during which the children interviewed in the continuation school had obtained employment certificates. All but one of them were girls.

A considerable amount of data was secured for these children concerning age, education, nationality, family relationships, and industrial and other history since leaving school; but, on account of the small number of schedules obtained, a detailed comparison of this group with the group of employed children interviewed was found to be impracticable.

The significant fact revealed by these histories relates primarily to the problem of law administration. Of the 118 children interviewed, 56 had not been employed during any part of the period since receiving home permits. Forty-two, however, had worked at some time during this period. Of these, 20, or nearly half, at some period after they had secured home permits, had worked illegally—that is, without securing employment certificates. Four children had been thus illegally employed in two positions and one in three positions. The significance of these figures lies in their revelation of the probability of the use of the home permit as a cloak for illegal employment, particularly if it is issued when there is no definite need of the child's help in the home or if careful supervision is not given afterwards. Only 26 children received even one visit from an attendance officer after the permit was issued, and only three received as many as two visits. Obviously, the need for the child's services might be urgent at the time the permit was issued, but cease within a few weeks or months; yet if the school authorities do not keep in touch with the child he is left to his own devices, to enter employment without the safeguards which the law purports to throw around him, perhaps under the plea that "he did not know that he had to get a certificate," or to idle away the time which the law intends he should spend in school.

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